

The Crown of Aragon

VISIT...

LANZAROTE
Caliente.COM

Brill's Companions to European History

VOLUME 12

The titles published in this series are listed at *brill.com/bceh*

The Crown of Aragon

A Singular Mediterranean Empire

Edited by

Flocel Sabaté

Linguistic correction by

Chris Boswell



BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON

Cover illustration: Roy D'Aragon. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms. 4790, f. 108r, miniature number 228.
With kind permission of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Sabaté, Flocel editor, author.

Title: The Crown of Aragon : a singular Mediterranean empire / edited by
Flocel Sabaté ; linguistic correction by Chris Boswell.

Description: Leiden ; Boston : Brill, 2017. | Series: Brill's companions to
European history ; volume 12 | Includes bibliographical references and
index. | Description based on print version record and CIP data provided
by publisher; resource not viewed.

Identifiers: LCCN 2017024416 (print) | LCCN 2017025421 (ebook) | ISBN
9789004349612 (E-book) | ISBN 9789004349605 (hardback : alk. paper) | ISBN
9789004349612 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: Aragon (Spain)—History. | Aragon (Spain)—Kings and rulers.

Classification: LCC DP125 (ebook) | LCC DP125 .C84 2017 (print) | DDC
946/.5502—dc23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2017024416>

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: "Brill". See and download: brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 2212-7410

ISBN 978-90-04-34960-5 (hardback)

ISBN 978-90-04-34961-2 (e-book)

Copyright 2017 by Koninklijke Brill nv, Leiden, The Netherlands.

Koninklijke Brill nv incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Hes & De Graaf, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Rodopi and
Hotei Publishing.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system,
or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise,
without prior written permission from the publisher.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Koninklijke Brill nv provided
that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive,
Suite 910, Danvers, MA 01923, USA. Fees are subject to change.

This book is printed on acid-free paper and produced in a sustainable manner.

Contents

Preface VII

Flocel Sabaté

List of Maps XI

List of Contributors XII

1 The Crown of Aragon in Itself and Overseas: A Singular Mediterranean Empire 1

Flocel Sabaté

2 The Northeast Iberian Peninsula and its Muslim Rulers (Eighth–Twelfth Century) 37

Jesús Brufal

3 Aragon and the Catalan Counties Before the Union 70

Adam J. Kosto

4 An Intense but Stymied Occitan Campaign 92

Pere Benito

5 The Culture (Ninth–Twelfth Centuries): Clerics and Troubadours 125

Isabel Grifoll

6 The Romanesque in the Mountains and on the Border 150

Xavier Barral-i-Altet

7 Territory, Power and Institutions in the Crown of Aragon 172

Flocel Sabaté

8 The Beginnings of Urban Manufacturing and Long Distance Trade 201

Antoni Riera

9 Crises and Changes in the Late Middle Ages 237

Antoni Riera

- 10 **The Commercial Influence of the Crown of Aragon in the Eastern Mediterranean (Thirteenth–Fifteenth Centuries)** 279
Damien Coulon
- 11 **The People: Labourers and Rulers in an Expanding Society** 309
Maria Bonet
- 12 **Islands and the Control of the Mediterranean Space** 337
Alessandra Cioppi and Sebastiana Nocco
- 13 **Language: From the Countryside to the Royal Court** 361
Lola Badia and Isabel Grifoll
- 14 **Writers at the End of Middle Ages** 387
Lola Badia
- 15 **A Gothic Mediterranean Catalan Art** 411
Xavier Barral-i-Altet
- 16 **Identities in Contact in the Mediterranean** 431
Flocel Sabaté
- 17 **The Medieval Legacy: Constitutionalism versus Absolutism. The Case of Catalonia** 459
Antoni Simon
- 18 **The Medieval Heritage: Islands and Territories with a Specific Identity?** 484
Luciano Gallinari and Esther Martí Sentañes
- 19 **The Catalans and the Mediterranean** 510
David Abulafia
- Bibliography** 517
- Index** 528

Preface

Flocel Sabaté

This book contributes a new perspective about what was known as the Crown of Aragon, a set of territories that became a leading actor in the Late Middle Ages before disappearing and becoming absorbed within various modern nations. It is a collective endeavour written by several specialists, working under a common well-defined line in order to clearly present the perspectives of analysis with which historiography has been renewed recently.

In medieval Europe, societies were structured into political entities according to the systems and values then valid, giving rise to models that appeared complex. This makes sense because political management combined power organised on different levels, fragmented jurisdictions, legislations adapted to diverse realities, permeable frontiers, polycentric areas and a play on identities and combinable otherness. The homogenisation that was gradually imposed in the modern centuries led to attention being focused on explaining the models adapted to the more centralised and vertical systems. Then, the elaboration of history in line with the national parameters in the nineteenth century contributed powerfully not only to ignoring the diverse entities of the dominant model but also, especially, to eliminating the tools with which to approach knowledge about this.

Amidst this difficulty of understanding systems outwith the pattern of political model imposed during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the majority of the historians of these centuries were contaminated, more or less consciously, by a certain teleological view of history. That enabled the different systems to be dealt with as imperfect and immature and be left in a marginal sector. In contrast, recent historiography has attempted to analyse the Middle Ages through the values of the men and women involved, with the aim of grasping their real meaning. That has also meant a revision of the structures of power they lived under and the values that society was organised around. This task is more necessary than it might seem because, in the end, the roots of most current European identities, languages and societies lie in the Middle Ages.

Within this framework, this book focuses on the trajectory of an entity that enjoyed a special leadership in the late-medieval Mediterranean, the Crown of Aragon, so called in reference to the name of the royal lineage that presided over it. In fact, in the Middle Ages, these political entities did not require any official denomination, which is why the first dispute nowadays arises from

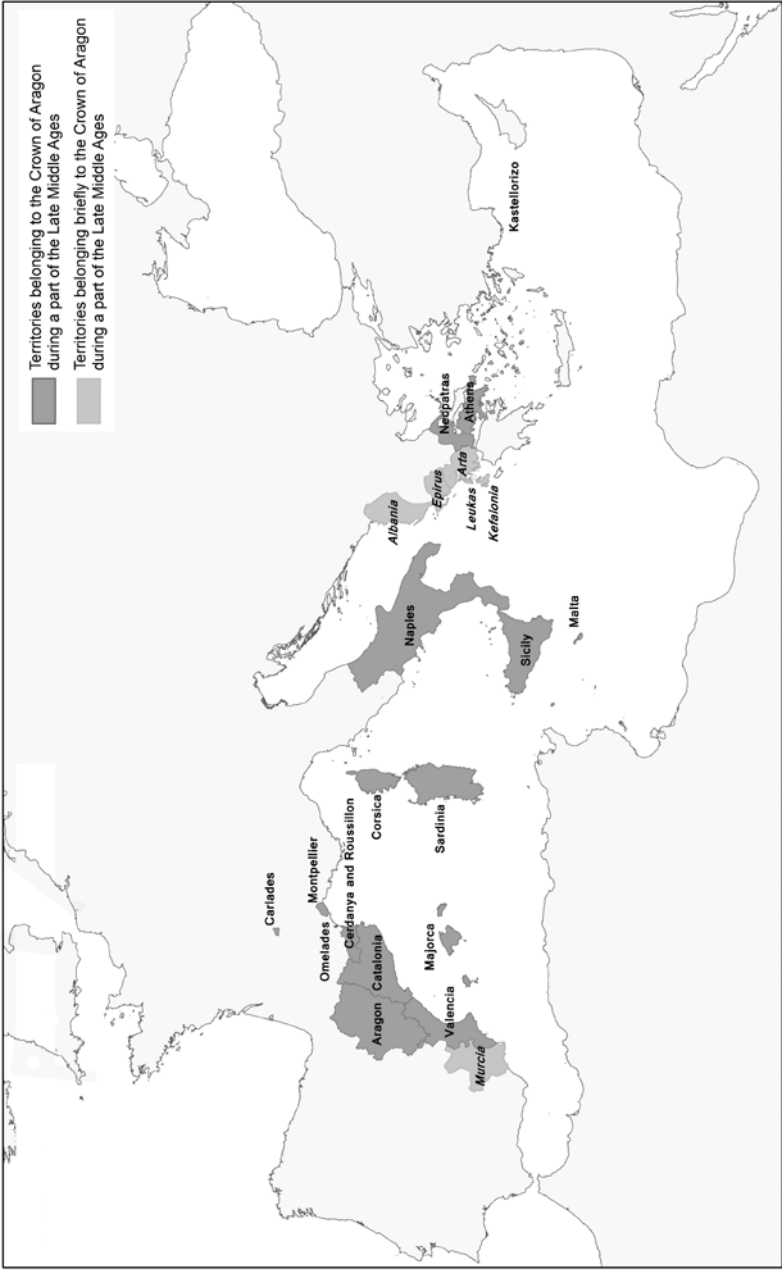
what to call them and how to define them. Thus, the first chapter (written by Flocel Sabaté) looks into how valid it is to use denominations such as empire for these entities. The roots of the Crown of Aragon entity are to be found in the northeast of the Iberian Peninsula, in a context of the frontier between the area of Carolingian origin and Islam (analysed separately by Adam Kosto and Jesús Brufal) and include expansion towards Occitania, in the south of modern France, finally cut short in the midst of the Cathar conflict (studied by Pere Benito). In this late-medieval period, society moved towards a cohesion clearly shown in the literature, that began in an ecclesiastic framework and culminated with the troubadours (as Isabel Grifoll shows) and the artistic and architectural expression of the Romanesque (presented by Xavier Barral-i-Altet).

Consolidation in the twelfth century furnished the bases of a feudal and bourgeois society, with a heavy jurisdictional and fiscal fragmentation, over which, nevertheless, a structure of political government and social projection was built. This dynamic took place in the thirteenth century when the Muslim territories in the east of the Iberian Peninsula and the neighbouring islands were conquered, immediately followed by expansion across the Mediterranean and that culminated in the fifteenth century (as explained by Flocel Sabaté). The strong economic growth (with both its take-off and its slowdown detailed by Antoni Riera) was principally based on commercial expansion across Mediterranean (as Damien Coulon explains) and infused the people who formed part of it with specific characteristics (as presented by Maria Bonet).

This Mediterranean expansion stimulated new systems for the control of the sea, (as stated by Alessandra Cioppi and Sebastiana Nocco). In any case, the territorial growth and spread of maritime influence led to interactions between identities, and here, the cohesive function of culture based on the Catalan language stands out (as Flocel Sabaté analyses). It was precisely this interweaving of language, royal court and social strength that propelled Catalan into an outstanding position (as Lola Badia and Isabel Grifoll present), giving rise to a prestigious literature (as detailed by Lola Badia). This was also when a Mediterranean Gothic style appeared (as explained by Xavier Barral-i-Altet).

The changes to values, attitudes and political forms that characterised Europe in the modern centuries altered and fragmented this singular political entity spread across the Mediterranean. However, a specific legacy remains, even cultural and landscape, scattered across the territories that adopted new identities (as Luciano Gallinari and Esther Martí present) together with a clear ideological legacy (studied by Antoni Simon). This is the inheritance of the old Crown of Aragon, one that has left specific traits on the Mediterranean (as David Abulafia concluded).

This path, detailed by outstanding researchers, shows that the network of territories and peoples spread around the Mediterranean perhaps extended more or less randomly, depending on luck or misfortune in battles and trade disputes, but nevertheless adopted a sense, a structure and solid political, economic, social and cultural axes, the comprehension of which is essential for really understanding our present.



MAP 0.1 *Mediterranean territories of the Crown of Aragon.*
MAP BY FLOCEL SABATÉ AND SERVEI CIENTÍFICOTÈCNIC DE CARTOGRAFIA I SISTEMES D'INFORMACIÓ GEOGRÀFICA DE LA UNIVERSITAT DE LLEIDA.

List of Maps

- 0.1 Mediterranean territories of the Crown of Aragon x
- 2.1 The Iberian Peninsula during the Caliphate of Cordoba 52
- 2.2 The taifa's kingdoms in Al-Andalus and the Christian kingdoms and counties in the North of the Iberian Peninsula in mid-eleventh century 61
- 2.3 Al-Andalus under the Almoravids Empire in the context of the Iberian Peninsula before 1118 67
- 3.1 Aragon and Catalonia 800–1160 71
- 4.1 The opposed domains of the King of Aragon and the Count of Toulouse (1180) 108
- 9.1 Internal trade routes of the Crown of Aragon in the Late Middle Ages 239
- 9.2 The main external trade routes of the Crown of Aragon in the mid-fifteenth century 263
- 10.1 Catalan Consulates 301

List of Contributors

David Abulafia

Cambridge University

Lola Badia

Universitat de Barcelona

Xavier Barral-i-Altet

Università Ca'Foscari Venezia

Pere Benito

Universitat de Lleida

Maria Bonet

Universitat Rovira i Virgili (Tarragona)

Jesús Brufal

Universitat de Lleida

Alessandra Cioppi

Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche. Istituto di Storia dell'Europa Mediterranea (Cagliari)

Damien Coulon

Université de Strasbourg

Luciano Gallinari

Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche. Istituto di Storia dell'Europa Mediterranea (Cagliari)

Isabel Grifoll

Universitat de Lleida

Adam J. Kosto

Columbia University (New York)

Esther Martí Sentañes

Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche. Istituto di Storia dell'Europa Mediterranea
(Cagliari)

Sebastiana Nocco

Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche. Istituto di Storia dell'Europa Mediterranea
(Cagliari)

Antoni Riera

Universitat de Barcelona

Flocel Sabaté

Universitat de Lleida

Antoni Simon

Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

The Crown of Aragon in Itself and Overseas: A Singular Mediterranean Empire

Flocel Sabaté

Throughout human history, the combination of continuity and renovation has led to ambiguities. One may think that the human essence has always been the same: in the Middle Ages the soul was seen from the perspective of the seven deadly sins,¹ as it still was literally in times much closer to us.² However, the social and human structures with which people adapt to the territory can change, as can the concepts used to denominate these. Thus, both the place and the terms with which we approach the past must be defined.

1 From the *mer i mixt imperi* to the *imperi e senyoria*

*“Aquesta és aquella ja benaventurada, gloriosa e fidelíssima nació de Catalunya, qui per lo passat era temuda per les terres e les mars; aquella qui ab sa feel e valent espasa ha dilatat l'imperi e senyoria de la casa d'Aragó.”*³

These were the words with which Bishop Joan Margarit addressed the Parliament or Courts in Barcelona in 1454. One and a half centuries earlier, around the start of the fourteenth century, the word *imperi* was used by civil servants in the royal chancellery of the Crown of Aragon in an attempt to seat the bases for the power of the sovereign on the Romanist formula of the *mer e mixt imperi* to serve royal pre-eminence while accepting access to part of the jurisdiction in certain places by all those (nobles, barons, churchmen and bourgeoisie) who were able to claim they had already enjoyed said jurisdiction

1 Carla Casagrande, Silvana Vecchio, *I sette vizi capitali. Storia dei peccati nel Medioevo* (Turin, 2000).

2 Angus Wilson, Edith Sitwell, Cyril Connolly, Patrick Leigh-Fermor, Evelyn Waugh, Christopher Syker, W. H. C., Auden, *The Seven Deadly Sins* (London, 1962).

3 “This is that blessed, glorious and most faithful nation of Catalonia, which in the past was feared on land and on the seas; that which with its loyal and brave sword has spread the empire and lordship of the house of Aragon”. Ricard Albert, Joan Gassiot, *Parlaments a les corts catalanes* (Barcelona, 1928), p. 209.

for a long time.⁴ Throughout the thirteenth century, jurists had stated that the monarch should hold the *merum imperium* over the whole country as a kind of higher jurisdiction “*del Príncep per rahon de general jurisdicció que ha en son regne, cor en tots homes del regne seu a mer imperi, cor totes coses que són e-l regne són del rey quant a jurisdicció*”.⁵

These are practically the same words Guido de Bayisio used to defend the *imperium generalis jurisdictionis et potestatis* of the king of France.⁶ Placing the empire over the kingdom was one of the demands spread by Romanist jurists around Europe to consolidate a royal *plenitudo potestatis*.⁷ The simultaneous spread of Aristotelian philosophy also contributed to this aim, and reinforced “*il ‘regime di uno solo’ anche come la forma di governo più consona all’ordito ontologico dell’universo*”.⁸ With these arguments, the sovereign sought a higher position from which to negotiate with the estates. Negotiation was inevitable, which is why all sides aimed to start from as strong a position as possible. Power in the Middle Ages was based by definition on agreement, because the sovereign had to reach agreement with the different holders of power,⁹ while the latter claimed to be representative.¹⁰ That is why there was a move towards a political system based on groups with social power, like the estates, and this generated institutional mechanisms where the “right of

4 Albert, Gassiot, *Parlaments*, p. 623.

5 “of the Prince because of general jurisdiction that there is in his kingdom, because he has the *merum imperium* over all the men in his kingdom and because everything in the kingdom belongs to the king because he has the jurisdiction”. Pere Albert, “Commemoracions,” in *Usatges de Barcelona i Commemoracions de Pere Albert* (Barcelona, 1933), p. 185.

6 *Unde omnes homines, qui sunt in regno Franciae, sunt sub potestate et principatu regis Franciae et in eis habet imperium generalis jurisdictionis et potestatis*. Walter Ullmann, “The Development of the Medieval Idea of Sovereignty,” *English Historical Review* 44 (1949) 11.

7 Olivier Bertrand, “Histoire du lexique politique français: émergence des corpus aristotélicien et augustinien à la fin du moyen âge,” in *The Languages of Political Society. Western Europe, 14th–17th Centuries*, eds. Andrea Gamberini, Jean-Philippe Genet, Andrea Zorzi (Rome, 2011), p. 172.

8 “the ‘regime of one alone’ is the form of government most coherent with the ontological order of the universe”. Roberto Lambertini, “Governo ideale e riflessione politica dei frati mendicanti nella prima metà del Trecento,” in *Etica e politica: le teorie dei frati mendicanti nel due e trecento, Atti del XXVI Convegno internazionale (Assisi, 15–17 ottobre 1998)* (Spoleto, 1999), pp. 231–77.

9 Henry John Randall, *The Creative Centuries. A Study in Historical Development* (London, 1947), p. 248.

10 Susan Reynolds, “Medieval urban history and the history of political thought,” in *Urban History Yearbook* (Leicester, 1982), pp. 15–16.

consent" could be applied.¹¹ This explains the establishment of parliaments in the thirteenth century.¹²

This Europe-wide reality adapted to the balance of forces in each territory. In the case of the Crown of Aragon, the king required the backing of the Romanist discourse because his position was very weak. Thus, the 1137 dynastic union through the marriage of the count of Barcelona and the infant Aragonese heiress, aged only one,¹³ led to a union of the territories in the northeast of the Iberian Peninsula. The fact that this union was only dynastic was precisely due to the weakness of the crown. Indeed, in the second half of the twelfth century, both Aragon and Catalonia were united internally, but, despite sharing the same sovereign, did not form a single country. In other words, the unifying force did not flow from the dynasty but rather from the separate dynamics within the Aragonese and Catalan societies.¹⁴ Thus, in the former case, at the end of the twelfth century and after a century of expanding southwards into areas outside its original Pyrenean nucleus, and coinciding with a growing social harmonisation, the name of the initial small kingdom of Aragon came to identify the sum of all these lands.¹⁵ At the same time, in the latter, the Carolingian-origin counties in the northeast of the Peninsula had grown so close socially by the start of the twelfth century that they were perceived under a common name: Catalonia.¹⁶ From the outset, given a lack of a stronger force, the joint sovereign had to respect the institutional and social duality of the two regions.¹⁷

Catalonia is made up of territories that had been counties that split from the Carolingian matrix as a result of the ninth-century crisis of the Empire. They became independent from each other but gradually came closer between the ninth and twelfth centuries given the common context of being on the frontier between Islam to the south and the continuity with Europe to the north. The

-
- 11 Joseph R. Strayer, *On the medieval origins of the modern state* (Princeton, 1970), p. 61.
 - 12 Antony Black, *El pensamiento político en Europa, 1250–1450* (Cambridge, Eng., 1996), pp. 52–262.
 - 13 Antonio de Bofarull, *La confederación catalano-aragonesa* (Barcelona, 1872), pp. 59–79.
 - 14 Flocel Sabaté, "Els primers temps: segle XII (1137–1213)," in *Història de la Corona d'Aragó*, ed. Ernest Belenguier, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 2007), 1: 62–65.
 - 15 Esteban Sarasa, "Semblanza de Alfonso II, rey de Aragón y fundador de Teruel," *Turia* 38 (1996) 235–56.
 - 16 Flocel Sabaté, "Identity, perception and cohesion of a medieval region: Catalonia," in *Different Europes. The historical evolution of territorial identities and attachments as formative forces in a changing Europe*, eds. Dick de Boer, Bar Spierings, Nils Holder Pedersesen (Turnhout, forthcoming).
 - 17 José María Lacarra, *Aragón en el pasado* (Madrid, 1979), pp. 79–83.

institutional and social cohesion of each of the counties between the ninth and tenth centuries, their expansion over the frontier in the tenth and eleventh centuries under the impulse of the barons¹⁸ and the feudal fragmentation of the eleventh and twelfth centuries¹⁹ led to a mosaic of jurisdictions and incomes that the count of Barcelona was unable to correct despite dominating all Catalonia in the twelfth century.²⁰ Meanwhile, the Aragonese nobility went from dependence on the monarch through the local domains (*tenencias*) received in the original territory or from expansion over the frontier, to a feudal structure.²¹ This was imposed at the beginning of the thirteenth century, the same period when municipal governments were consolidated. The latter combined their power inside the town or city and their projection over their respective areas of influence.²² Consequently, the thirteenth-century monarch was forced to adapt to the nobles and municipalities in both Aragon and Catalonia.²³ Expansion into the ever-weaker Muslim-held lands could compensate for the monarch's difficulties. Thus, James I claimed these conquests for himself, titling himself king of Majorca and Valencia from 1238 on,²⁴ and treating these as new domains where he could establish a favourable jurisdictional structure and tax regime.²⁵ However, the monarch soon also had to cede power in these territories, not only to the emerging urban capitals²⁶ but also, more importantly, into the hands of the nobles, who cut back his powers to tax and his jurisdictional reach.²⁷

18 Flocel Sabaté, *L'expansió territorial de Catalunya. Conquesta o repoblació?* (Lleida, 1996), pp. 68–86.

19 Flocel Sabaté, *La feudalización de la sociedad catalana* (Granada, 2007), pp. 23–30.

20 José Enrique Ruiz Domenec, *A propósito de Alfonso, rey de Aragón, conde de Barcelona y marqués de Provenza* (Barcelona, 1996), pp. 39–129.

21 Juan F. Utrilla, “De la aristocracia a la nobleza: hacia la formación de los linajes nobiliarios aragoneses (1076–1276),” in *La nobleza peninsular en la Edad Media. VI Congreso de Estudios Medievales* (Ávila, 1999), pp. 471–77.

22 Flocel Sabaté, “Municipio y monarquía en la Cataluña bajomedieval,” *Anales de la Universidad de Alicante* 13 (2000–2002), 261–72.

23 Flocel Sabaté, “Poder i territori durant el regnat de Jaume I. Catalunya i Aragó,” in *Jaume I: Commemoració del VIII centenari del naixement de Jaume I*, ed. Maria Teresa Ferrer, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 2011), 1: 62–129.

24 Pau Cateura, *Realitat, identitat i tradició* (Palma of Majorca, 2000), pp. 12–13.

25 Pau Cateura, “Las cuentas de la colonización feudal (Mallorca, 1231–1245),” *En la España Medieval* 20 (1997), 127–31.

26 Pedro López Elum, *Los orígenes de los 'Furs de València' y de las Cortes en el siglo XIII* (Valencia, 1998), pp. 97–100.

27 Enric Guinot, “‘Donamus et concedimus vobis’. Monarquía i senyorialització del patrimoni reial al País Valencià en temps de Jaume II,” in *XV Congreso de historia de la Corona*

There were strategic and commercial reasons for the interventions by James I in Ifriqiyah, nowadays Tunisia, especially after 1240. However, in 1279 when his son, Peter the Great, wanted to reinforce his domain through a tribute, a conflict of interests arose with Sicily. Then, in 1282, the same sovereign accepted the crown of Sicily. This was offered to him by the burghers of Palermo and part of the Norman nobility who rose against the French Angevins who then ruled the island.²⁸ This is what Pope Martin IV condemned when he excommunicating Peter and called the crusade against Catalonia that Philip III of France headed. The defence against this invasion illustrates the state of power in the Crown: the Aragonese king received support from his subjects after agreeing to wide concessions to the estates in the Parliaments (*Cortes* or *Corts*).²⁹ This led to the consolidation of a jurisdictional mosaic. The consequence was that until the end of the Ancien Régime, the royal officials could not even enter territories outwith the royal domain, and these thus remained beyond the sovereign's jurisdiction and fiscal reach.³⁰

The diplomatic solution to the Sicilian crisis was to leave the island under the dynasty of the Catalan-Aragonese king but with a change of monarch.³¹ This came about in 1297, when after the Treaty of Anagni signed in 1295, Pope Boniface VIII created the kingdom of Sardinia and Corsica for James II of Aragon, who quickly withdrew from Sicily and left it in the hands of his brother Frederick.³² However, two decades passed before James could attempt to take possession of Sardinia by force.³³ In fact, this invasion led to a whole century of costly confrontation that drained the monarchs' resources.³⁴ We can see this

de Aragón (Jaca, 1993). *El poder real en la Corona de Aragón*, ed. María Isabel Falcón, 3 vols. (Saragossa, 1996), 1/2: 221–36.

- 28 Henri Bresc, Laura Sciacia, "Mort aux Angevins!", in *Palerme 1070–1492: mosaïque de peuples, nation rebelle. La naissance violente de l'identité sicilienne*, eds. Henri Bresc, Geneviève Bresc-Bautier (Paris, 1993), pp. 120–34; Jean Dunbabin, *The French in the Kingdom of Sicily 1266–1305* (Cambridge, Eng., 2011), pp. 279–80.
- 29 José Luis Martín, *Economía y sociedad en los reinos hispánicos de la Baja Edad Media*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1983), 1: 239–54.
- 30 Flocel Sabaté, "El veguer a Catalunya. Anàlisi del funcionament de la jurisdicció reial al segle XIV," *Butlletí de la Societat Catalana d'Estudis Històrics* 6 (1995), 153–57.
- 31 Maria Eugenia Cadeddu, "Giacomo II d'Aragona e la conquista del regno di Sardegna e Corsica," *Medioevo. Saggi e Rassegne* 20 (1996), 253–54.
- 32 Vincenzo D'Alessandro, "Un re per un nuovo regno," *Archivio Storico Siciliano*, 4th series, 23 (1997), 21–45.
- 33 Antonio Arribas y Palau, *La conquista de Cerdeña por Jaime II de Aragón* (Barcelona, 1952).
- 34 Luciano Gallinari, *Les judicats sardes: Un modèle de souveraineté médiévale?*, PhD Dissertation (Paris, 2009), pp. 229–372.

in Lleida, one of the most important cities of Catalonia, in the debate in 1366 in the municipal council about the monarch's request for financial backing because "*ell no pot provehir com no haje moneda de què proveesque a la guerra*".³⁵

The king, needful of credit,³⁶ had to repeat these requests to a population that was immersed in grain shortages and a demographic crisis.³⁷ The country also suffered thirteen incursions from the north, mainly by idle troops from the Hundred Year's War,³⁸ as well as the havoc wreaked by piracy, now not only on the high seas but also right on the coast.³⁹ The parliaments were called whenever the monarch required finance.⁴⁰ This led to agreements on compensation and public indebtedness to supply him with enough credit to cover his demands.⁴¹ This was how the king hoped to tackle the serious invasions by Castilian troops between 1356 and 1375 (which ended up decanting pre-eminence in the Peninsula towards Castile)⁴² and the challenges in the Mediterranean. In fact, the growing Catalan participation in the Sicilian trade accentuated tensions with the Genoese republic before the end of the thirteenth century.⁴³ This led to outbreaks of privateering that intensified in

35 "he cannot do anything because he has no money with which to prosecute the war" (Lleida, Arxiu Municipal de Lleida, llibre d'actes 400, f. 37r).

36 Manuel Sánchez, *El naixement de la fiscalitat d'Estat a Catalunya (segles XII–XIV)* (Vic - Girona, 1995), pp. 114–18.

37 Antoni Riera, "Crisis frumentarias y políticas municipales de abastecimiento en las ciudades catalanas durante la baja edad media," in *Crisis de subsistencia y crisis agrarias en la Edad Media*, eds. Hipólito Rafael Oliva, Pere Benito (Seville, 2007), pp. 144–56.

38 Flocel Sabaté, '*Companyies estranyes d'armes qui eren entrades en lo Principat*'. *Les Companies sur la Catalogne au XIV siècle* (forthcoming).

39 Isabel Companys, Núria Montardit, *El Castell del Rei en temps de Jaume II* (Tarragona, 1995), pp. 29–31; Andrés Díaz Borrás, *El ocaso cuatrocentista de Valencia en el tumultuoso mediterráneo 1400–1480* (Barcelona, 2002); José Hinojosa, *La piratería y el corso en el litoral alicantino a finales de la Edad Media* (Alicante, 2004).

40 Ramon d'Abadal, *Pere el Cerimoniós i els inicis de la decadencia política de Catalunya* (Barcelona, 1987), pp. 257–79.

41 Manuel Sánchez, Pere Ortí, *Corts, parlaments i fiscalitat a Catalunya: els capítols del donatiu (1288–1384)* (Barcelona, 1997).

42 Maria Teresa Ferrer, "Causes i antecedents de la guerra dels dos Peres," *Boletín de la Sociedad Castellonense de Cultura* 63/4 (1987), 445–508; Maria Teresa Ferrer, "La frontera meridional valenciana durant la guerra amb Castella dita dels dos Peres," in *Pere el Cerimoniós i la seva época* (Barcelona, 1989), pp. 245–357; José Vicente Cabezuolo, *La Guerra de los dos Pedros en las tierras alicantinas* (Alicante, 1991); Mario Lafuente, *Dos Coronas en guerra. Aragón y Castilla (1356–1366)* (Saragossa 2012).

43 Antoni Riera, "El Mediterrani Occidental al darrer quart del segle XIII: concurrència comercial i conflictivitat política," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 26/2 (1996), 760–71.

the following decades⁴⁴ and drew the Crown of Aragon into the war between Genoa and Venice after 1350. This acute danger from privateering continued throughout the century despite a series of arbitral sentences and peaces.⁴⁵ In fact, these tensions and problems became mixed up from the 1390s, when the Aragonese royal house attempted to take direct political control of Sicily.⁴⁶ In 1392, the Sicilian, Andrea Chiaromonte, received a letter of encouragement from the Sard, Brancalone Doria, to join forces so that “*els iniqui et malvagi cathalani meteriamo a morte*”.⁴⁷

There were two immediate consequences of that situation. Firstly, there was an increase in the monarch's institutional weakness given that he had had to cede huge amounts of royal patrimony in exchange for funds. In fact, only 13.43% of the territory of Catalonia and 22.17% of its population remained under royal domain in 1392.⁴⁸ Then, a political model was applied that placed sovereignty in the hands of the people, not the monarchs,⁴⁹ because the estates granted the requested assistance according to their own interests but under a discourse in which they presented themselves as representatives of the country.⁵⁰ This gave rise to an explicit duality between the monarch and “the land” (*la terra*),⁵¹ the latter coming increasingly under municipal guidance.⁵²

44 Antoni Riera, “El regne de Mallorca en el context internacional de la primera meitat del segle XIV,” in *Homenatge a la memòria del prof. Dr. Emilio Sáez. Aplec d'estudis dels seus deixebles i col·laboradors* (Barcelona, 1989), pp. 60–61.

45 Maria Teresa Ferrer, “El cors català contra Gènova segons una relclamació del 1370,” in *Sardegna, Mediterraneo e Atlantico tra medioevo ed età moderna*, ed. Luisa D'Arienzo, 3 vols. (Rome, 1993), 2: 257–69; Maria Teresa Ferrer, “Antecedenti e trattative per la pace del 1402 fra la corona catalano-aragonese e Genova: un tentativo per porre fine alla guerra di corsa,” *Archivio Storico Sardo* 39 (1998), 99–137; Maria Teresa Ferrer, “I genovesi visti dai catalani nel medioevo da amici a nemici,” in *Genova una 'porta' del Mediterraneo*, ed. Luciano Gallinari (Cagliari, 2005), pp. 151–62.

46 Patrizia Sardina, *Palermo e I Chiaromonte. Splendore e tramonto di una signoria. Potere nobiliare, ceti dirigenti e società tra XIV e XV secolo* (Caltanissetta, 2003), pp. 287–310.

47 “we will bring death to the perverse and evil Catalans.” (Francesco Cèsare Casula, *La Sardenya catalano-aragonese. Perfil històric* (Barcelona, 1985), p. 68.

48 Flocel Sabaté, “Discurs i estratègies del poder reial a Catalunya al segle XIV,” *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 25 (1995), 633.

49 Dieter Mertens, *Il pensiero politico medievale* (Bologna, 1986), pp. 111–17.

50 Tomàs de Montagut, *Les institucions fiscalitzadores de la Generalitat de Catalunya (Des dels seus orígens fins a la reforma de 1413)* (Barcelona, 1996), pp. 102–06.

51 Flocel Sabaté, “Expressões da representatividade social na Catalunha tardomedieval,” in *Identidades e Fronteiras no Medioevo Ibérico*, ed. Fátima Regina Fernandes (Curitiba, 2013), pp. 61–79.

52 Flocel Sabaté, “États et alliances dans la Catalogne du bas Moyen-Âge,” in *Du contrat d'alliance au contrat politique. Cultures et sociétés politiques dans la péninsule Ibérique*

Claiming economic and social pre-eminence under political formulae, the city of Barcelona sought to consolidate a leading role in the running of the Crown. This was reflected in the protocol and epistolary communication⁵³ with the other cities of the Crown in a pyramidal network. These other places also took part in these municipal political manoeuvres but distrusted the weight claimed by Barcelona.⁵⁴ In fact, the royal dynasty was unable to unify the Crown and had to respect the unity reached by each of the territories they ruled over⁵⁵ and which became institutionally ever more autonomous.⁵⁶ In 1363, even state taxation appeared, applied to everyone. However, this was not in the sovereign's hands, but was instead held by the estates, represented by a permanent diputation (*diputació*) in each of the territories, Aragon, Valencia and Catalonia.⁵⁷ These *diputacions* quickly worked to ensure their own permanence, taking over political functions and justifying themselves by presenting themselves as the representatives of their territories. This was explicitly proclaimed in Valencia in 1409: “*lo offici de la Diputació representàs tot lo regne*”.⁵⁸ In fact, the power of the estates even reached the institutional aspect closest to sovereignty: the succession to the throne. In 1396, it was the city of Barcelona that guided the succession to John I and in 1410, there was an interregnum resolved formally two years later through election by a small group legitimated by parliamentary representativeness,⁵⁹ in other words, “*fo lo XI Rey de Aragó e comte de Barçelona elegit per la terra*”.⁶⁰

Meanwhile, the chronicler Bernat Desclot put the following in the mouth of admiral Roger of Lauria in 1285: “*no solament galera ni lleny, mas no crec que*

à la fin du moyen Âge, eds. François Foronda, Ana Isabel Carrasco (Toulouse, 2007), pp. 325–60.

53 Flocel Sabaté, *Cerimònies fúnebres i poder municipal a la Catalunya baixmedieval* (Barcelona, 2003), pp. 7–14.

54 AML, correspondència, 842, f. 22v.

55 Próspero de Bofarull, *Procesos de las antiguas cortes y parlamentos de Cataluña, Aragón y Valencia*, 7 vols. (Barcelona, 1850), 6: 23.

56 Flocel Sabaté, “Corona de Aragón,” in *Historia de España. La época medieval: administración y gobierno*, eds. Pedro Andrés Porras, Eloísa Ramírez Vaquero, Flocel Sabaté (Barcelona, 2003), pp. 325–88.

57 Ángel Sesma, “Fiscalidad y poder. La fiscalidad centralizada como instrumento de poder en la Corona de Aragón (siglo XIV),” *Espacio, tiempo y forma* 4 (1989), 453–63.

58 “the institution of the Diputation represents all the kingdom”. María Rosa Muñoz, *Orígenes de la Generalidad Valenciana* (Valencia, 1987), pp. 400–01.

59 Flocel Sabaté, “Per què hi va haver un Compromís de Casp?,” in *Els valencians en el Compromís de Casp i en el Cisme d'Occident*, ed. Ricard Bellveser (Valencia, 2013), pp. 45–119.

60 “the 11th King of Aragon and count of Barcelona was chosen by the land”. Pere Tomic, *Històries e conquestes dels reis d'Aragó e comtes de Barcelona* (Bagà, 1990), p. 261.

ningun peix se gos alçar sobre mar si no porta un escut amb senyal del rei d'Aragó en la coa".⁶¹ In fact, the different groups with power in the Crown of Aragon strengthened their positions thanks to the Mediterranean.⁶² The presence in Greece, and control over the duchies of Athens (1311–1388) and Neopatras (1319–1391), could be summed up as the by-product of the help the Almogavars lent to the Byzantine emperor in his fight against the Turks.⁶³ However, it was really the imposition of a feudal domain and the attraction of Catalan population⁶⁴ that converted Thebes into a major trading centre linked to investors, mainly those from Barcelona.⁶⁵ This Greek domain not only contributed to the glory of the Sicilian and Catalan-Aragonese monarchs but also enabled them to seek out relics considered favourable to the dynasty, like those of Saint George.⁶⁶

Similarly, the sovereigns sought further glory in all the Mediterranean campaigns, either Peter the Great, who seized Sicily,⁶⁷ or Peter the Ceremonious, concerned with leaving a victorious image for posterity.⁶⁸ The Catalan nobility also found a way to consolidate itself by establishing minor branches overseas, both in the early action in Sardinia in the twelfth century headed by the Viscounts of Bas,⁶⁹ and in ties with the Sicilian nobility in the late-medieval centuries⁷⁰ and the settlements on Sardinia after the conquest in the fourteenth

-
- 61 "no galley, large or small, nor any fish would dare to rise above the surface of the sea if it did not bear a shield with the insignia of the king of Aragon on its tail". Bernat Desclot, *Llibre del rei en Pere*, ed. Stefano M. Cingolani (Barcelona, 2010), p. 422 [chapter CLXVI].
 - 62 Flocel Sabaté, "Jaume II i la demarcació i la delimitació de la Corona d'Aragó," in *Les fronteres catalanes i el Tractat dels Pirineus*, ed. Àngel Casals (Cabrera de Mar, 2009), pp. 77–84.
 - 63 Ernest Marcos, *Almogàvers. La història* (Barcelona, 2005), pp. 70–342.
 - 64 Antoni Rubió i Lluch, *La població de la Grècia catalana en el XIV segle* (Barcelona, 1933), pp. 35–59.
 - 65 Ana Pérez Castillo, "Noticia d'un inventari de l'arxiu de la catedral de Barcelona dels béns d'un barceloní a Tebes)," in *Homenatge a la memòria del prof. Dr. Emilio Sáez* (Barcelona, 1989), pp. 139–49.
 - 66 Kenneth M. Setton, *Recerca i troballa del cap de Sant Jordi* (Barcelona, 1974), pp. 11–24.
 - 67 José Enrique Ruiz Domenec, "¿Por qué la conquista de Sicilia? : una lectura receptiva de Desclot," in *XI Congresso di Storia della Corona di Aragona. La società mediterranea all'epoca del Vespro (Palermo-Trapani-Erice 25–30 aprile, 1982)*, ed. Francesco Giunta, Pietro Corrao, 4 vols. Palermo, 1984), 4: 161–80.
 - 68 Frédéric Alchalabi, "A Chronicher King: Rewriting History and the Quest for Image in the Catalan Chronicle of Peter III (13–19–1336/1387)," *Imago Temporis. Medium Aevum* 2 (2008), 177–89.
 - 69 Joan Armangué, *Estudis sobre la cultura catalana a Sardenya* (Barcelona, 2001), pp. 19–20.
 - 70 Henri Bresc, Geneviève Bresc-Bautier, "'Felix Urbs Panormi': spectacle et violence," in *Palermes 1070–1492. Mosaïque de peuples, nation rebelle: la naissance violente de l'identité sicilienne*, eds. Henri Bresc, Geneviève Bresc-Bautier (Paris, 1993), pp. 169–70.

century.⁷¹ Notably, the Mediterranean soon became part of the power of the budding twelfth-century Catalan bourgeoisie. The diplomatic contacts between the house of Barcelona and the Italian coastal republics in the first half of the twelfth century⁷² produced notable joint actions like the campaign against Majorca in 1113,⁷³ the taking of Almería in 1147⁷⁴ and the conquest of Tortosa in 1148,⁷⁵ as well as the concern to reinforce the Provençal coast⁷⁶ and contacts with Ligurian and Tuscan republics,⁷⁷ and were related to involvement in maritime trade. In the early years of the twelfth century, Barcelona became increasingly important as a distribution centre that attracted many Italian merchants,⁷⁸ while the Barcelonan merchants were frequent visitors to all the ports of the Mediterranean.⁷⁹ By the end of the century, the trade route from Barcelona to the Eastern Mediterranean and its branches had become

71 Antoni Arribas, *La conquesta de Sardenya* (Barcelona, 1961), pp. 52–57.

72 Blanca Garí, “Paz y el control del mediterráneo noroccidental. Carta de los cónsules de Pisa a Ramón Berenguer IV a mediados del siglo XII,” *Acta historia et archaeologica Mediaevalia* 13 (1992), 10–16.

73 Giuseppe Scalia, “Contributi pisani alla lotta anti-islamica nel Mediterraneo centro-occidentale durante il secolo XI e nei prime decenni del XII,” *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 10 (1980), 138; Cécile Crabot, “I problemi dell’espansione territoriale catalana nel Mediterraneo: conquistare un feudo in Sardegna, un bene o un male?,” *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 33/2 (2003), 915–48.

74 Ernesto Fernández-Xesta y Vázquez, *Un magnate catalán en la corte de Alfonso VII. Comes Poncius de Cabreira, Princeps Çemore* (Madrid, 1991), pp. 91–92.

75 Martín Fernández de Navarrete, “Disertación histórica sobre la parte que tuvieron los españoles en las guerra de ultramar o de las cruzadas y como influyeron en las expediciones desde el siglo XI hasta el XV en la extensión del comercio marítimo y en los progresos del arte de navegar,” *Memorias de la Real Academia de la Historia* 5 (1817), 151–58.

76 Pere Benito, “L’expansió territorial ultrapirinenca de Barcelona i de la Corona d’Aragó: guerra, política i diplomàcia (1067–1213),” in *Tractats i negociacions diplomàtiques de Catalunya i de la corona catalanoaragonesa a l’edat mitjana*, eds. Maria Teresa Ferrer, Manuel Riu, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 2009), 1: 37–130.

77 María Teresa Ferrer, “Les relacions del comtat de Barcelona i de la Corona catalanoaragonesa amb els estats italians en el segle XI–XII,” in *Tractats i negociacions diplomàtiques de Catalunya i de la corona catalanoaragonesa a l’edat mitjana*, eds. Maria Teresa Ferrer, Manuel Riu, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 2009), 1: 151–228.

78 Silvia Orvietani Buch, *Medieval Mediterranean Ports. The Catalan and Tuscan Coast. 1100 to 1225* (Leiden, 2001), pp. 207–54.

79 Gaspar Feliu, “Activitats econòmiques,” in *Història de Barcelona*, ed. Jaume Sobrequès, 8 vols. (Barcelona, 1992), 2: 234–44.

increasingly important⁸⁰ without affecting the existing routes to North Africa and the trade with Ceuta. Ships carried European textiles, increasingly the middling quality material produced in Catalonia, to the East and returned with spices to be distributed around Europe for the elites to use in their food to show off their wealth, as did the Catalan and Occitan elites from the twelfth century.⁸¹ Thus, in the thirteenth century, relations with the north of Africa were reinforced. Trade with Tunisia and Salée increased,⁸² but more notably, given the large profit margins involved, trade with the East grew, and this also benefited even more from the seizure of Sicily. Links with the Eastern Mediterranean thus became the mainstay of the late-medieval Catalan economy, as they generated profits and incentives that were felt throughout the economy.⁸³

There was a notable proliferation of Catalan consulates in Mediterranean ports. The antecedents for these lay in the twelfth century and they were consolidated over the following century under royal control until James I ceded them to the local authorities of Barcelona in 1268.⁸⁴ Thus, the latter were allowed to designate consuls "*in partibus ultramarinis et in terra de Romania et in quibuslibet aliis partibus in quibus naves vel ligna Barchinone navigaverint*".⁸⁵ These were the Catalan consulates -*consulem Cathalanorum*. However, as in the specific case of Ragusa, these also served all the Aragonese king's subjects: "*omnes et singulos Cathalanos et alios subditos et naturales dicti domini nostri regis*".⁸⁶ This was the king of Aragon ("*Nós, el rey d'Aragón*" as he presented

80 José María Madurell, Arcadio García Sanz, *Comandas comerciales barcelonesas de la baja edad media* (Barcelona, 1973), pp. 20–21; Gaspar Feliu, "El comercio catalán con Oriente," *Revista de Historia Económica* 6/3 (1988) 691–92.

81 Antoni Riera, "'Transmarina vel orientalis especies magno labore quaesita, multo precio empta'. Especies y sociedad en el Mediterráneo Noroccidental en el siglo XII," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 30/2 (2000), 1015–87.

82 Charles-Emmanuel Dufourcq, *L'Espagne catalane et le Maghrib aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles* (Paris, 1966), pp. 41–43.

83 Damien Coulon, *Barcelone et le grand commerce d'Orient au Moyen Âge. Un siècle de relations avec l'Égypte et la Syrie-Palestine (ca.1330–ca.1430)* (Madrid, 2004).

84 Daniel Duran, "Consolats nàutics, consolats ultramarins i altres formes d'organització nauticomercantil en l'àmbit català," in *Jaume I. Commemoració del VIII centenari del naixement de Jaume I*, ed. Maria Teresa Ferrer, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 2013), 2: 747–60.

85 Ambrosio Huici, María Desamparados Cabanes, eds., *Documentos de Jaime I de Aragón* (Saragossa, 1988), p. 271.

86 Nénad Fejić, *Шпанци ч Дубровникч ч срєњем векч* [The Spanish in Dubrovnik in the Middle Ages] (Belgrade, 1988), pp. 210–11.

himself)⁸⁷ even when he was acting in his royal domains overseas, like the *regni Sicilie*⁸⁸ or the *regne de Cerdenya*,⁸⁹ places where those who fought under his name did so in the name of the dynasty: “*Aragón! Aragón!*”⁹⁰ At the same time, the proper name used to describe his subjects was Catalan, a term used both by those who welcomed them and those who fought them. The fact that everyone from the Iberian Crown of Aragon was called Catalan evidently reflected the political and economic⁹¹ weight of Catalonia in these Mediterranean activities,⁹² but was also indicative of a cultural unity. This was very clear with Catalan being the common language for all those from Catalonia, Roussillon, Majorca and Valencia.⁹³

James II seized the kingdom of Sardinia in 1323, an act that led to recurrent armed conflict throughout the fourteenth century. This was not seen as a war between sovereigns but as a conflict between nations, explained and expressed in very strong terms, often with great aggressiveness and always as a reaction of the Sards against the perverse acts of the Catalans, and this emphasised the collective perception of identity.⁹⁴

Thus, the Mediterranean catalysed the Crown of Aragon. It had a leading place in all the main events that affected the kingdom. When, under pressure from the estates led by the city of Barcelona in 1396, John I was to be succeeded by his brother, Martin, the latter was in Sicily finishing carving out a royal domain for his son, Martin the Younger.⁹⁵ And when the latter's condition as heir to the Crown of Aragon ended in 1409, it was because he met a premature

-
- 87 Maria Teresa Ferrer, “Documents sobre el consolat de castellans a Catalunya i Balears,” *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 1 (1964), 602.
 - 88 “kingdom of Sicily”. Patrizia Sardina, ed., *Registri di lettere e atti, 1395–1410* (Palermo, 1994), p. 118.
 - 89 “kingdom of Sardinia”. Francesco Cesare Casula, ed., *Carte reali diplomatiche di Giovanni I il Cacciatore, re d'Aragona, riguardanti l'Italia* (Padua, 1977), p. 103; Alberto Boscolo, ed., *I Parlamenti di Alfonso il Magnanimo, 1421–1452* (Cagliari, 1993), p. 95.
 - 90 Ramon Muntaner, *Crònica*, ed. Ferran Soldevila (Barcelona, 2011), p. 347 [chapter CCVII].
 - 91 Francesco Giunta, *Aragonesi e Catalani nel Mediterraneo*, 2 vols. (Palermo, 1972), 2: 1.
 - 92 Vincenzo d'Alessandro, “Spazio geografico e morfologie sociali nella Sicilia del basso Medioevo,” in *Commercio, finanza, funzione pubblica. Stranieri in Sicilia e Sardegna nei secoli XIII–XV*, ed. Marco Tangheroni (Naples, 1989), p. 7.
 - 93 Flocel Sabaté, “L'idéal politique et la nation catalane: la terre, le roi et le mythe des origines,” in *La légitimité implicite*, ed. Jean-Philippe Genet, 2 vols. (Paris, 2015), 2: 98–105.
 - 94 Flocel Sabaté, “Il ‘Regnum Sardiniae’ nella Corona d'Aragona durante la seconda metà del XIV secolo,” in Alessandra Cioppi, *Le strategie dell'invincibilità. Corona d'Aragona e ‘Regnum Sardiniae’ nella seconda metà del Trecento* (Cagliari, 2012), pp. 15–17.
 - 95 Ennio Igor Mineo, *Nobiltà di Stato. Famiglie e identità aristocratiche nel tardo medioevo. La Sicilia* (Rome, 2001), p. 254.

death on Sardinia, through the *mala aria*.⁹⁶ This deadly disease had taken over the Sardinian atmosphere⁹⁷ despite King Peter the Ceremonious⁹⁸ writing poems about “*lo bon ayre e la noblea d'esta isla de Cerdenya*”⁹⁹ and invoking the protection of Our Lady of Bonaria in the mid-fourteenth century.

The Mediterranean merged the discourses that reinforced the monarchs of the Crown of Aragon, the commercial interests of its elite, the spread of a political and social model and growing cultural influence. In 1412, the new dynasty from Castile immediately seized it. Ferdinand I retained Sicily for the Crown of Aragon, against the conditions of the will of Martin I, who had bequeathed the island to his grandson Frederick,¹⁰⁰ and also managed to obtain papal confirmation for his rights over the kingdoms of Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica. In 1420, Alfonso the Magnanimous finally subdued Sardinia and went on to concern himself with Corsica where conflict continued until his death in 1458. These tensions were really with Genoa and led to both war and privateering and involved joining the infighting that fractured the Ligurian city.¹⁰¹ In any case, the Catalan imprint transformed Sardinia. It lost its own traits, replaced by the institutional and social forms of Catalonia, not only with the imposition of figures of government and representativeness but also changes to its social identity, with feudalisation and the spread of urban influence into rural area.¹⁰²

The Mediterraneanisation of the Crown of Aragon became even more marked under Alfonso the Magnanimous. After being in Sicily from 1432, he made a triumphal entry into Naples in 1442 and set up a notable court there where cultural patronage became part of a strategy to exalt the figure of the sovereign. He was idealised first for capitalising humanistic values, beginning

96 Alberto Boscolo, *La politica italiana di Martino il Vecchio, re d'Aragona* (Padua, 1958), p. 150.

97 Francesco Manconi, “La Sardegna d'antico regime: una terra ‘pestilente’?” in *Sardegna, Mediterraneo e Atlantico tra Medioevo ed età Moderna. Studi Storici in memoria di Alberto Boscolo*, ed. Luisa d'Arienzo, 3 vols. (Rome, 1993), 1: 451–71.

98 Pere Català, Joan Gala, “Entorn de ‘Lo bon ayre e la noblea d'esta illa de Sardenya,” in *XIV Congresso di Storia della Corona d'Aragona (Sassari-Alghero, 19–24 maggio 1990). La Corona d'Aragona in Italia (secc. XIII–XVIII)*, eds. Maria Giuseppina Meloni, Olivetta Scheni, 5 vols. (Sassari, 1995), 2/1: 263–76.

99 Joan Armangué i Herrero, “Formes de literatura catalana a Sardenya durant el segle XIV,” *Llengua & Literatura* 14 (2003), 26.

100 Carlos López, “Últimas voluntades de Martín I el Humano (30 y 31 de mayo de 1410),” *Aragón en la Edad Media* 24 (2013), 253–59.

101 Giancarlo Sorgia, *Sardenya i Còrsega des de la infeudació fins a Alfons ‘el Magnànim’* (Barcelona, 1968), pp. 42–60.

102 Sabaté, “Il ‘Regnum Sardiniae,’” pp. 12–13.

with virtue and continuing with the rules that governed society.¹⁰³ While burnishing his humanistic image, he immersed himself fully in the power struggles in the Italian Peninsula.¹⁰⁴ He was unable to inherit the promised lordship of Milan, in 1447, and despite his splendid reception in Naples in 1452, he failed to convince the Emperor Frederick to designate him imperial vicar in Tuscany and Pisa. However, he did take his full part in the political chess game played out in Italy, where he used his eminence to contain the French and handle the fear of the Turks, while in 1455, he managed to have one of his subjects, the Valencian Calixtus III, chosen as pope. Nevertheless, the latter would not avoid a clash with Alfonso by reinforcing papal pre-eminence over the Church of the Crown of Aragon.¹⁰⁵ The culture of his origins continued to make itself felt: the Great Hall of the Castel Nuovo in Naples with its Gothic archaism, built by the Majorcan Guillem Sagrera,¹⁰⁶ was defined by Pietro Summonte as “*é cosa catalana*”;¹⁰⁷ “*a la catalana*” dishes were added to the refined cuisine and recipes from the south of Italy,¹⁰⁸ while the book that the chef Robert de Nola dedicated to Alfonso’s son, Ferdinand I, was written in Catalan.¹⁰⁹ In Rome, Catalan was the language of the papal courts of Calixtus III and his nephew Alexander VI, alongside Italian and Latin,¹¹⁰ and Catalan culture and language were studied by the humanists in both Rome and Naples.¹¹¹

The king, from his throne consolidated in Naples, could feel closer to the eastern side of the Adriatic and look towards the Balkans. The lower Adriatic

-
- 103 Roberto Delle Donne, “La corte napoletana di Alfonso il Magnanimo: il mecenatismo regio,” in *La Corona de Aragón en el centro de su historia 1208–1458. La Monarquía aragonesa y los reinos de la Corona*, ed. José Ángel Sesma (Saragossa, 2010), pp. 255–70.
 - 104 Coral Cuadrada, “Política italiana de Alfonso V de Aragón (1420–1442),” *Acta historica et archaeologica Mediaevalia* 7–8 (1986–1987), 269–307.
 - 105 Miguel Navarro, *Alfonso de Borja, papa Calixto III en la perspectiva de sus relaciones con Alfonso el Magnánimo* (Valencia, 2005), pp. 180–272.
 - 106 Xavier Barral, *Història de l’art a Catalunya. Creació artística, paisatge i societat* (Barcelona, 2013), pp. 80–81.
 - 107 Amadeo Serra, “‘È cosa catalana’. La Gran Sala de Castelnuovo en el contexto mediterráneo,” in *XVI Congresso Internazionale di Storia della Corona d’Aragona. La Corona d’Aragona ai tempi di Alfonso il Magnanimo*, eds. Guido D’Agostino, Giulia Buffardi, 2 vols. (Naples, 2000), 2: 1787–99.
 - 108 Bruno Laurioux, *Une histoire culinaire du Moyen Âge* (Paris, 2005), pp. 357–73.
 - 109 Mestre Robert, *Libre del Coch* (Barcelona, 1996).
 - 110 Miguel Batllori, *La familia de los Borja* (Madrid, 1999), pp. 149–83.
 - 111 Antoni Ferrando, “La gènesi romana d’una norma lingüística catalana del segle XV: les ‘Regles d’esquivar vocables o mots grossers o pagesívols’, ‘fetes’ per Jeroni Pau,” in *Da Papa Borgia a Borgia ‘Papa’. Letteratura, lingua e traduzione a Valencia*, eds. Nancy De Benedetto, Ines Ravasini (Lecce, 2010), pp. 50–52.

was a region well known to Catalan merchants through the port of Ragusa,¹¹² whose consulate was extended in 1443. The Neapolitan royal title included the Angevin rights over the kingdoms of Jerusalem and Hungary. In this context, in 1444 the Voivode of Bosnia swore an oath of allegiance to Alfonso. Nevertheless, when the regent Janco Hunyadi offered the crown of Hungary to the Magnanimous in 1447, he rejected it because it would mean an open battle with the Turks. Shortly after, in 1448, the Ottomans vanquished the Hungarians in the Second Battle of Kosovo.¹¹³

In any case, in 1437 the lord of the Despotate of Arta, Carlo II Tocco, reinforced his position with royal confirmation from the Magnanimous.¹¹⁴ This was repeated in 1452 with Leonardo III Tocco as Duke of Leukas, Count Palatine of Cephallonia and Despot of Arta, including the rights and family titles over different parts of Greece.¹¹⁵ Alfonso intervened directly in Albania in 1451, even sending a viceroy, who minted *reys d'argent* in Kruje in 1454 to pay the castellans in Albania, while also taking on a theoretical viceroy of Greece and Sclavonia.¹¹⁶ In 1455, the king appointed a viceroy for Morea, with power over the Strait of Corinth, although in reality he remained in Epirus, given the impossibility of slowing Turkish expansion.

The fall of Constantinople in 1453 was the culmination of Turkish power but, for the Magnanimous, this also pointed to the prophecies that proclaimed him as a future liberator of Christendom.¹¹⁷ However, he would never have enough power to undertake an open campaign, nor any of the hoped-for crusades against the Turks.¹¹⁸ Neither would the ephemeral domain over Kastellorizo,

112 Flocel Sabaté, "The Ports of the Medieval Adriatic. Open research prospect," in *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 22 (2016), 11–20.

113 Barnabas Bartok, *Preventing the Ottomans from Conquering Western Europe in the Fifteenth Century* (New York, 2012), pp. 80–97.

114 Nada Zečević, *The Tocco of the Greek Realm. Nobility, Power and Migration in Latin Greece (14th–15th centuries)* (Sarajevo, 2014), pp. 116–30.

115 Nada Zečević, "Confirmation grant to king Alfonso V of Aragon to Leonardo III Tocco (July 16 1452): an authentic charter with a fake justification?," *Faculty of Philosophy. Collection of Papers* 14/2 (2012), 9–19.

116 Miquel Crusafont, "La moneda albanesa d'Alfons el Magnànim," *Acta Numismàtica* 32 (2002), 91–99.

117 Martin Aurell, "Eschatologie, spiritualité et politique dans la confédération catalano-aragonaise (1382–1412)," in *Fin du monde et signes des temps. Visionnaires et prophètes en France méridionale (fin XIII^e–début XV^e siècle)*, ed. Marie-Humbert Vicaire (Toulouse, 1992), pp. 230–31.

118 Alan Ryder, *Alfonso el Magnánimo, rey de Aragón, Nápoles y Sicilia (1396–1458)* (Valencia, 1992), pp. 481–527.

the islet off the coast of Anatolia seized by the Magnanimous in 1450 and held under Neapolitan sovereignty until 1522, be of use as a military or commercial outpost.¹¹⁹

The main trading base in the Eastern Mediterranean was the island of Rhodes, seat of the Order of the Knights of Saint John of the Hospital, which had come under the orbit of the Crown of Aragon due to a large number of its members being from this kingdom,¹²⁰ some of whom held leading posts in the government, including two Grand Masters, Antoni Fluvià (1421–1437) and Pere Ramon Sacosta (1461–1467).¹²¹ In reality, this made the island vulnerable to the Turks.¹²² The Hospitallers on Rhodes fought off a Turkish siege in 1480, but could not survive the next siege in 1522,¹²³ after which Charles I of Spain and V of Germany offered them the island of Malta, until then linked to Sicily and consequently deeply involved in the trade and strategies of the Aragonese crown since the thirteenth century.¹²⁴

Alfonso's policy in the Eastern Mediterranean and his military actions and privateering made him "*dueño del mar*"¹²⁵ and gave him enough prestige to be able to arbitrate between the Turks and Cypriots, for example. However, the consequences of these actions, the requisitioning of vessels and even trading on his own account, often clashed with the interests of the Catalan commercial

119 Daniel Duran, *Kastellórizo, una isla griega bajo dominio de Alfonso el Magnánimo (1450–1458)*. Colección documental (Barcelona, 2003).

120 Anthony Luttrell, "The Island of Rhodes and the Hospitallers of Catalunya in the Fourteenth Century," in *Els catalans a la Mediterrània oriental a l'edat mitjana*, ed. Maria Teresa Ferrer (Barcelona, 2003), pp. 103–11; Pierre Bonneaud, "Un débouché fréquent pour les cadets des différentes aristocraties catalanes: étude sur 283 chevaliers catalans de l'Ordre de l'Hôpital au XV^e siècle (1396–1472)," *Société de l'Histoire et du Patrimoine de l'Ordre de Malte* 22 (2009), 4–35.

121 Pierre Bonneaud, "Hospitalliers catalans en Méditerranée au cours du XV^e siècle," in *Les Ordres militaires et la mer*, ed. Michel Balard (Paris, 2009), pp. 93–102; Pierre Bonneaud, "Les origines du maître de l'hôpital Antoni de Fluvia (1421–1437)," *Société de l'Histoire et du Patrimoine de l'ordre de Malte* 24 (2011), 26–30.

122 Pierre Bonneaud, *Le prieure de Catalogne, le couvent de Rhodes et la Couronne d'Aragon, 1415–1447* (Millau, 2004).

123 Jean-Bernard De Vaivre, "Autour du siège de 1480," *Société de l'Histoire et du Patrimoine de l'Ordre de Malte* 22 (2009), 36–117.

124 Charles Dalli, "The sea will be ours! Catalan-Aragonese Malta, 1282–1530," in *XVIII Congrès Internacional d'història de la Corona d'Aragó* (València, 2004). *La Mediterrània de la Corona d'Aragó. Segles XIII–XVI. VII centenari de la sentència arbitral de Torrellas. 1304–2004*, ed. Rafael Narbona, 2 vols. (Valencia, 2005), 1: 261–74.

125 "lord of the sea". Lorenzo Valla, *Historia de Fernando de Aragón*, ed. Santiago López Moreda (Tres Cantos, 2002), p. 130.

bourgeoisie, who continued to need the conditions that encouraged trade with the East.¹²⁶ In Naples, Alfonso heard the complaints and demands from a Catalonia divided by political and social tensions. Before the Parliament held in Barcelona in 1454, Bishop Margarit praised the “*nació catalana, qui per lo passat era temuda per les terres e les mars, aquella qui ab sa feel e valent espasa ha dilatat l'imperi e senyoria de la casa d'Aragó*”, while he addressed the king in the name of “*aquesta quasi vídua nació de Catalunya que per la sua innada fidelitat meresca de vostra majestat e de tot altre senyor ésser ben tractada*”, thus reproaching the monarch for his protracted absence in Italy.¹²⁷ It was Alfonso's brother and successor, John II, who had to face the civil war that broke out in 1462 and that showed up social tensions and, notably, the confrontation of political discourses, because the representatives of the “land” (*terra*), sure of their representativeness, did not hesitate to remove the disobedient monarch, while the latter countered with his authority directly linked to and depending on God, with the backing of Pope Pius II.¹²⁸

The monarch won the long civil war that ended in 1472.¹²⁹ However, there was then an outburst of legal and social conflicts in the countryside,¹³⁰ the estates maintaining their discourse of representativeness¹³¹ and a serious economic upset. Within the Crown, Valencia, which had become the largest city in the Iberian Peninsula, had greater weight than Barcelona,¹³² while Catalan

126 Damien Coulon, “El comercio de Barcelona con Oriente en la Baja Edad Media (siglos XIV y XV),” in *Els catalans a la Mediterrània oriental a l'edat mitjana*, ed. Maria Teresa Ferrer (Barcelona, 2003), pp. 243–55.

127 “Catalan nation, that in the past was feared on land and on the seas, that which with its loyal and brave sword has spread the empire and lordship of the house of Aragon”; “this almost widowed nation of Catalonia which for its innate loyalty merits that your majesty and any other lord treat it better”. Albert, Gassiot, *Parlements*, pp. 209 and 211–12.

128 Josep Maria Pou, “Relacions del Papa Pius II amb Joan II d'Aragó i els catalans,” in *Homenatge a Antoni Rubió i Lluch. Miscel·lània d'Estudis literaris històrics i lingüístics*, 3 vols. (Barcelona, 1936), 2: 179–180.

129 Santiago Sobrequès, Jaume Sobrequès, *La Guerra civil catalana del segle XV*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1987); Alan Ryder, *The Wreck of Catalonia. Civil War in the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford, 2007).

130 Jaume Vicens Vives, *Historia de los Remensas (en el siglo XV)* (Barcelona, 1978), pp. 119–328.

131 Flocel Sabaté, “El poder soberano en la Cataluña bajomedieval: definición y ruptura,” in *Coups d'État à la fin du Moyen Âge? Aux fondements du pouvoir politique en Europe occidentale*, eds. François Foronda, Jean-Philippe Genet, José Manuel Nieto Soria (Madrid, 2005), pp. 509–15.

132 David Igual “Entre Valencia y Nápoles. Banca y hombres de negocios desde el reinado de Alfonso el Magnánimo,” *En la España medieval* 24 (2001), 103–43; Enrique Cruselles, *Los mercaderes de Valencia en la edad media* (Lleida, 2001), pp. 364–66.

traders' control over the distribution of oriental spices fell into French and Italian hands.¹³³ At the same time, the activity of merchants-bankers, the adaptation to new markets and the power of the cities facilitated an economic globalisation—“*la repubblica internazionale del denaro*”¹³⁴—that enabled trade to continue in the Mediterranean in the early sixteenth century despite the adversities¹³⁵ and which was coherent with the simultaneous maintenance of agricultural and industrial production and demographic attraction.¹³⁶ However, as the century went by, the new oceanic routes grew in importance, while instability from various causes increased in the Mediterranean,¹³⁷ just when the eastern Catalan consulates were being closed.¹³⁸

From the end of the fifteenth century, the monarchy increasingly interfered in the consulates.¹³⁹ The king's aim was for them to play not only a commercial but also a diplomatic role and to seek equalisation between, and even a merger of, the Catalan and Castilian consulates, “*a ffin que todos los vasallos nuestros tengan y gozen de unos mismos privilegios*”,¹⁴⁰ leading for example, to the “*consol de nuestras naciones de Spanya en Venecia*”, as King Ferdinand V of Castile and II of Aragon stated in 1486. From 1479, he was the first monarch to wear both crowns, which is why he addressed the “*consulibus mercatoribus*

133 Mario Del Treppo, *Els mercaders catalans i l'expansió de la Corona catalano-aragonesa* (Barcelona, 1976), pp. 25–553.

134 “the international republic of money”. Aldo De Maddalena, “La repubblica internazionale del denaro: un'ipotesi infondata o una tesi sostenibile?,” in *La repubblica internazionale del denaro tra XV e XVII secolo*, eds. Aldo de Maddalena, Hermann Kellenbenz (Bologna, 1986), pp. 7–16.

135 Paulino Iradiel, “El comercio en el Mediterráneo entre 1490 y 1530,” in *Congreso Internacional de la Unión de coronas al Imperio de Carlos V* (Barcelona, 21–25 febrero 2000), ed. Ernest Belenguer, 3 vols. (Madrid, 2001), 2: 85–116.

136 Montserrat Durán, “¿Excelencias de Cataluña?,” in *Congreso Internacional de la Unión de coronas al Imperio de Carlos V* (Barcelona, 21–25 febrero 2000), ed. Ernest Belenguer, 3 vols. (Madrid, 2001), 3: 125–43.

137 Kristof Glamann, “El comercio europeo (1500–1750),” in *Historia económica de Europa* (2). *Siglos XVI y XVII*, ed. Carlo M. Cipolla (Barcelona, 1987), pp. 342–43.

138 Joan-F. Cabestany, “Els consolat Catalans d'Ultramar a l'Orient (1262–1549),” in *Els catalans a la Mediterrània oriental a l'edat mitjana*, ed. Maria Teresa Ferrer (Barcelona, 2003), pp. 314–23.

139 Manuel Vaquero, “Mercaderes catalanes y valencianos en el consulado de Roma,” *Revista d'Història Medieval* 9 (1998), 158–60.

140 “so that all our vassals have and enjoy the same privileges”. Pablo Desportes, “El consulado catalán de Brujas (1330–1488),” *Aragón en la Edad Media* 14–15 (1999), 389–90.

tam cathalanorum et castellanorum quam etiam quarumvis aliarum nacionum horum nostrorum Hispanie regnorum ac aliarum subditorum nostrorum".¹⁴¹

The unification of the Peninsula was completed with the addition of Navarre in 1512 and delayed by the premature death of the Portuguese prince Miguel in 1500, which put back the incorporation of Portugal into Spain until 1580.¹⁴² These were dynastic unions that respected the institutions and characteristics of each territory, which is why the sovereign referred to "*nuestros reynos de Espanya*". At the same time, starting in the same fifteenth century, the monarchs always referred to Spain ("*sepa su sanctidat en lo que en Espanya gastamos el tiempo y el dinero*"¹⁴³), spoke about the royal house of Spain¹⁴⁴ and both they and those who addressed them summarised their long list of titles as king of Spain.¹⁴⁵

The continuity with the ancient Visigoth kingdom of Spain would be perpetuated through the Castilian title, as authors like Sánchez de Arévalo argued: "*in regno quod hodie appellatur Castellae et Legionis residet titulus et nominatiu regnum Hispaniae*".¹⁴⁶ In any case, the political and fiscal structure of Castile granted the monarch great power over the noble fragmentation and tensions with the cities in the fifteenth century.¹⁴⁷ Thus, just when the humanist intellectuals in both the Crown of Aragon¹⁴⁸ and elsewhere¹⁴⁹ adopted the

141 "consul of our nations of Spain in Venice". Antonio de la Torre, *Documentos sobre las relaciones internacionales de los Reyes Católicos*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1950), 2: 319, 345, respectively.

142 Flocel Sabaté, "La nació d'Espanya en la Catalunya medieval," *Acta historica et archaeologica Mediaevalia* 19 (1998), 386.

143 "Our kingdoms of Spain"; "Your Holiness should know what we spend money and time on Spain". De la Torre, *Documentos sobre las relaciones internacionales*, 2: 160, 267, 308, respectively.

144 De la Torre, *Documentos sobre las relaciones internacionales*, 2: 319 and 145.

145 Antonio de la Torre, "El concepto de España durante el reinado de los Reyes Católicos," *Revista de la biblioteca, Archivo y Museo* 23/68 (1954), 13–14; Roser Salicrú, "La embajada de 1479 de Pietro Fieschi a Granada: nuevas sombras sobre la presencia genovesa en el sultanato nazarí en vísperas de la conquista castellana," *Atti dell'Accademia Ligure di Scienze e Lettere* 5/54 (1997), 361.

146 Robert B. Tate, *Ensayos sobre la historiografía peninsular del siglo XV* (Madrid, 1970), pp. 95–96.

147 José Manuel Nieto, "El 'poderío real absoluto' de Olmedo (1445) a Ocaña (1469): La monarquía como conflicto," *En la España Medieval* 21 (1998), 159–228.

148 Mariàngela Vilallonga, "La geografia a Catalunya a l'època del Renaixement," *Estudi General* 13 (1993), 54–55.

149 Platina, for example, defined Calixtus III as a *Spagnuolo valentiniano* a name that was also applied to his nephews. Bartolomeo Platina, *Delle vite de Pontefici* (Venice, 1666), pp. 494 and 499.

Peninsula as a reference point, Castile claimed its teleological pre-eminence over the same.¹⁵⁰ This pre-eminence was expressed in literary terms,¹⁵¹ and these displaced Catalan language and cultures,¹⁵² even in Naples after the accentuated changes in the court and its politics in the sixteenth century.¹⁵³

At the Council of Constance in 1417, the Spanish nation included the subjects of the kings of Portugal, Castile, Navarre and Aragon, to whom the Sards and Sicilians were added, and the protests of the representative of the first two were linked to the desire to leave the Aragonese king in a minority.¹⁵⁴ The medieval monarchy, as such, aimed to add domains and lordships with their institutions and cultural traits, not to homogenise these. The Hispanic Crown accentuated this image in the sixteenth century, not only through its expansion in America but especially through its interference in Europe, where it controlled a veritable territorial axis from Sicily to the Low Countries. However, this did not impede a “*definitiva hispanización y hasta castellanización de la Monarquía*” given the line that was being imposed in the government of the whole entity.¹⁵⁵

In this context, the Spanish monarchy encouraged the practical dissolution of the Crown of Aragon by accentuating the individualised treatment of each of the territories (Aragon, Valencia, Catalonia, Sardinia, Naples, Sicily, as well as the Balearic Islands).¹⁵⁶ In reality, this tendency was already occurring at the end of the Middle Ages through the social and institutional cohesion of the respective regional societies and the few common traits that could be provided by a monarchy limited in its access to the jurisdictions and fiscal power.¹⁵⁷

150 José Cepeda Adán, “El providencialismo en los cronistas de los Reyes Católicos,” *Arbor* 59 (1950), 185–94.

151 Luis Fernández Gallardo, “Lengua e identidad nacional en el pensamiento político de Alfonso de Cartagena,” *E-Spania* 13/2 (2012), <<http://e-spania.revues.org/21012>>.

152 Peter Cocozzella, “Pere Torroella, Francesc Moner: aspectes del bilingüisme literari (catalano-castellà) a la segona meitat del segle XV,” *Llengua i Literatura* 2 (1987), 106.

153 Miguel Batllori, *La familia de los Borja* (Madrid, 1999), pp. 150–51.

154 José Andrés-Gallego, “Los tres conceptos de ‘nación’ en el mundo hispano,” in *Acción y constitución. De la Ilustración al Liberalismo*, ed. Cinta Cantarella (Seville, 2006), p. 139.

155 “definitive Hispanisation and even Castilianisation of the Monarchy”. José Acalá-Zamora y Queipo de Llano, “Las rutas del mar y la crisis del orden imperial hispánico en el reinado de Felipe II,” in *Las sociedades ibéricas y el mar a finales del siglo XVI*, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1998), 2: 307.

156 Miguel Pérez Latre, “Pervivència i dissolució. La Corona d'Aragó en temps de Felip I (II),” in *Història de la Corona d'Aragó*, ed. Ernest Belenguier, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 2007), 2: 214–16.

157 Sabaté, “Corona de Aragón,” pp. 449–50.

The generalised tension in Europe between the “*gouvernement mixte*”¹⁵⁸—or “*mixed constitution*”¹⁵⁹—inherited from the Middle Ages and the movement towards absolutist formulae encountered a specific scenario in the disparity between the peninsular territories that made up the Hispanic monarchy. In the Crown of Aragon, the oligarchies, now with little power to influence the monarch, called for the participative medieval model. This led to serious tensions with the central royal power, like the clashes in Aragon at the end of the sixteenth century¹⁶⁰ or the rise in dialectic tensions¹⁶¹ that led to armed confrontation in Catalonia in 1641, where the representatives of the estates rejected the King of Spain as the sovereign over their territory,¹⁶² as Portugal also did.¹⁶³ This led to a long war, the secession of Portugal and the submission and partition of Catalonia, the northern area of which became part of France, as agreed in the Treaty of the Pyrenees in 1659.

The War of the Spanish Succession that broke out in 1700, culminating with the enthronement of the Bourbons in Spain, led an institutional homogenisation and a redesign of Europe that marked the end of the model created in the Middle Ages around the Crown of Aragon. Between 1707 and 1716, the so-called *Nova Planta* decrees abolished the representative institutions of the territories of the Crown of Aragon (Valencia, Aragon, Catalonia, Majorca) and imposed a new uniform model for Spain. At the same time, the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713–1715 split Naples, Sicily, Sardinia and the Balearic island of Minorca among others, from the Spanish crown.¹⁶⁴

158 Marie Gaille-Nikodimov, ed., *Le Gouvernement mixte. De l'idéal politique au monstre constitutionnel en Europe (XIII^e–XVII^e siècle)* (Saint-Etienne, 2005).

159 James M. Blythe, *Ideal government and the mixed Constitution in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1992).

160 Luis González Antón, “Sobre la monarquía absoluta y el Reino de Aragón en el siglo XVI,” in *La Corona de Aragón y el Mediterráneo. Siglos XV–XVI*, eds. Esteban Sarasa, Eliseo Serrano (Saragossa, 1997), pp. 369–409.

161 Antoni Simon, *Els orígens ideològics de la revolució catalana de 1640* (Barcelona, 1999).

162 Aquilino Iglesia, “Pau Claris y la soberanía catalana. Notas,” in *Actas del IV Symposium de historia de la Administración (Alcalá de Henares, 1982)* (Madrid, 1989), pp. 435–36; Núria Florensa, “La república catalana de 1641: un foc d'encenalls,” *Butlletí de la Societat Catalana d'Estudis Històrics* 15 (2004), 75–88.

163 Rafael Valladares, *La rebelión de Portugal. 1640–1680. Guerra, conflicto y poderes en la monarquía hispánica* (Valladolid, 1998); Pedro Cardim, “Los portugueses frente a la Monarquía hispánica,” in *La monarquía de las naciones: patria, nación y naturaleza en la monarquía de España*, eds. Bernardo José García, Antonio Álvarez-Ossorio (Madrid, 2004), pp. 355–84.

164 Josep Juan Vidal, “Los reinados de Felipe V y Fernando VI,” in *Historia de España. Historia Moderna. Política interior y exterior de los Borbones* (Tres Cantos, 2001), pp. 96–178.

The end of this stage showed that the Crown of Aragon created in the Middle Ages had left its imprint by bequeathing a political model and Mediterranean expansion to later centuries.

2 Empires: From the Contemporary Experience to the Conceptual Rediscovery of the Medieval Empire

In 1623, Francisco de Moncada published a book in Barcelona to revindicate the fourteenth-century campaign by the Aragonese and Catalans in the Eastern Mediterranean, which was the “*perdición y total ruina a muchas naciones y provincias, y admiración a todo el mundo*”.¹⁶⁵ The record of this memorable medieval past grew even stronger in the eighteenth century, precisely as a remembrance of the Catalan medieval past, where the spread over the Mediterranean had spurred economic revival, was expressed by Jaume Caresmar when he wrote, “*cuán floreciente fue la aplicación e industria, el comercio y la populosidad de Barcelona desde el siglo XIII hasta el XIV; como pudieron los reyes tomar las gloriosas empresas que hicieron en la España, Francia, Italia y Grecia*”.¹⁶⁶ The search for new models for the unity of Spain in the early decades of the nineteenth century also led to some sights being placed on the Crown of Aragon, idealised as a participative and plural model, and so considered ideal for the diversity of the Spanish state.¹⁶⁷ As a proposal, it did not prevent a model of cohesion of Spain being adopted, one based on the continued pre-eminence of Castile, especially after 1875.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁵ “perdition and total ruin of many nations and provinces, and admiration of all the world”. Francisco de Moncada, *Expedición de los catalanes y aragoneses contra turcos y griegos* (Madrid, 1987), p. 13.

¹⁶⁶ “how flourishing was the application and industry, the trade and populousness of Barcelona from the thirteenth century to the fourteenth; how could the kings take the glorious undertakings they did in Spain, France, Italy and Greece”. Jaume Caresmar, *Carta al barón de La Linde* (Igualada, 1979), p. 61; Junta de Comerç de Barcelona, *Discurso sobre la agricultura, comercio e industria del Principado de Catalunya (1780)* ed. Ernest Lluch (Barcelona, 1997), p. 163.

¹⁶⁷ Flocel Sabaté, “Constructing and deconstructing the medieval origin of Catalonia,” in *Regions in Clio's looking glass. How historiography shaped Europe's spatial identities*, eds. Dick E. H. de Boer, Luis Adão da Fonseca (Turnhout, forthcoming).

¹⁶⁸ Ramon Grau, “El pensament historic de la dinastia Bofarull,” *Barcelona. Quaderns d'història* 6 (2002), 121–38.

The European model based on independent states with a balance between them, symbolically established at Westphalia in 1648,¹⁶⁹ and Rousseau's recommendation in the eighteenth century for state structures to be based on nations rather than dynasties,¹⁷⁰ led to the liberal movement gaining ground in the early nineteenth century. The nation-states that took over in that century had two concerns: to infuse the values of national unity among the population¹⁷¹ and compete for pre-eminence on the international stage.¹⁷² The medieval paradigm between a pope and an emperor was finally broken with the formal dissolution of the Holy Roman-Germanic Empire in 1806. In the new context, the leading rulers did not hesitate to proclaim themselves the heads of empires: Russia in 1721, France in 1804 and 1852 and Germany in 1871. The British colonial empire must also be added, with a formal imperial title to India from 1876, and the multinational Austrian empire from 1804, redefined as Austro-Hungarian in 1867. Spain also had its own empire built in the modern epoch mainly in America, as Salvador de Madariaga claimed much later, in the mid-twentieth century. From his conservative outlook,¹⁷³ he defended the Spanish imperial work in America as full of human values and a brilliance that was the envy of the other nations, who would mount a veritable anti-Spanish conspiracy until it was destroyed.¹⁷⁴

Empire thus seemed to be the destiny of all upcoming nations. Even Catalonia, that, as a region of Spain, worked to recover its cultural identity, adopted a similar aspiration, as the politician and theorist Enric Prat de la Riba wrote in 1906: "*Ja el nacionalisme català ha començat la segona funció de tots els nacionalismes, la funció d'influència exterior, la funció imperialista*".¹⁷⁵ This

169 John H. Elliot, "Europa después de la paz de Westfalia," *Pedralbes. Revista d'història moderna* 19 (1999), 131–46.

170 Anne Cohler, *Rousseau and Nationalism* (New York, 1970), p. 33.

171 Anne-Marie Thiesse, *La création des identités nationales. Europe XVIII^e–XIX^e siècle* (Paris, 2001), pp. 237–84.

172 Jörn Leonhard, "Nation-States and Wars," in *What is a nation? Europe 1789–1914*, eds. Timothy Baycroft, Mark Hewitson (Oxford, 2009), pp. 231–54.

173 Pedro Carlos González Cuevas, "Salvador de Madariaga, pensador político," *Revista de Estudios Políticos* 66 (1989), 150–81.

174 Manuel Suñes, "El pensamiento de Salvador de Madariaga sobre Hispanoamérica: 'Hacia una federación Iberoamericana,'" in *El pensamiento español contemporáneo y la idea de América*, eds. José Luis Abellán, Antonio Monclús, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1982), 2: 647–58.

175 "Catalan nationalism has already begun the second function of all nationalisms, the function of external influence, the imperialist function". Enric Prat de la Riba, *La nacionalitat catalana* (Barcelona, 1978), p. 117.

pretended Catalan empire sought moral leadership of a longed-for economic and social modernisation of Spain.¹⁷⁶ At the same time, the state empires in Europe grew in strength, a tendency that could only imply danger, as it led to confrontations with existing discourses of pre-eminence.¹⁷⁷

Imperialism was thus the bearer of an aggressiveness that responded, from Lenin's reading of Marxism, to an economic and social strategy of concentrating production and monopolies. That was the culmination of the highest phase of capitalism, which explains imperialism's great responsibility for the outbreak of the Great War.¹⁷⁸ This identification between capitalism and imperialism, with the serious consequences of destabilisation and social oppression, was part of the Marxist outlook throughout the twentieth century. Che Guevara warned about this in the 1960s, "*el imperialismo ha sido derrotado en muchas batallas parciales, pero es una fuerza considerable en el mundo y no se puede aspirar a su derrota definitiva sino con el esfuerzo y el sacrificio de todos*".¹⁷⁹

This same conceptualisation has enabled the generalisation of the term empire, with uses that are more informal than institutional. This is shown by the bibliography from the second half of the twentieth century with titles like *¿Fin del imperio USA?*¹⁸⁰ In fact, after experiencing the Cold War as a conflict between two ideologically opposed empires, in the twenty-first century, Noam Chomsky could still reflect on "the post-9/11 world" seeing in it, "imperial ambitions" on the American side.¹⁸¹ A similar use could be projected historiographically over the past, referring to "feudal imperialism", as a descriptor for the practices of accumulative territorial expansion during the Late Middle Ages.¹⁸²

In reality, since the last decade of the twentieth century, the nation-state model had not only been discredited by the demonstrable difficulty of building tolerant and prosperous governments¹⁸³ but also especially because it had

176 Enric Ucelay-Da Cal, *El imperialismo catalán. Prat de la Riba, Cambó, D'Ors y la conquista moral de España* (Barcelona, 2003).

177 Alan Kramer, *Dynamic of Destruction. Culture and mass killing in the First World War* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 159–210.

178 Vladimir I. Lenin, *El imperialismo, fase superior del capitalismo* (Beijing, 1966), pp. 12–166.

179 "imperialism has been defeated in many partial battles, but is a considerable force all over the world and its final defeat cannot be aspired to except with the effort and sacrifice of everyone". Ernesto Che Guevara, *El socialismo y el hombre nuevo* (City of Mexico, 1979), p. 234.

180 "The end of the US empire". Carlos Berzosa, *¿Fin del imperio USA?* (Barcelona, 1975).

181 Noam Chomsky, *Imperial ambitions. Conversations on the post-9/11 world* (New York, 2005).

182 Miquel Barceló, "Què va ser l'expansió catalana?," *L'Avenç* 16 (1979), 18; Jaume Portella, "L'expansió catalana per la Mediterrània: historia i ideologia," *L'Avenç* 16 (1979), 24.

183 Philip Bobbit, *The shield of Achilles. War, peace, and the course of history* (New York, 2003), pp. 468–77.

been overtaken by the accelerated evolution of societies. Globalisation meant intensifying exchanges, mobility, information and communication¹⁸⁴ with the corresponding search for new social structures around citizenship,¹⁸⁵ with a revision of traditional national, ethnic and religious identities.¹⁸⁶ In this context, through the implementation of the Schengen Agreement in the 1990s, Europe broke with the model rooted in Westphalia and fed by the nineteenth-century nation-state discourses, and moved towards a world of shared sovereignty, with permeable frontiers and social mobility. The consolidation of globalisation has normalised interferences on all levels—economic, financial, political, humanitarian, solidarity—, a reflection of a world in which identities, cultural references, economic pressures and also decision-making in any field has little to do with national maps or even geographic locations. In attempting to propose adequate models to run this world of forcibly shared realities, many authors have turned their gaze back to the Middle Ages, where authority could not be exercised in any other way than by trying to fit together various levels of power defended by bearers of different degrees of representativeness, within an ideological, human, economic and cultural permeability that mixed general references with local concretions. So there has been talk of a new Middle Ages, not in any pejorative sense¹⁸⁷ nor as a synonym of a society without control (as had been predicted in the 1970s),¹⁸⁸ but rather by perceiving the relation between the current cyber-spatial society and medieval social homogeneity.¹⁸⁹ The Middle Ages can supply references for running a polycentric society, characterised by the porosity of the frontiers, the fragility of geography, the communicability of space, the ambiguity of authority, the influence of supranational pressures, the trans-nationality of the elites, the versatility of legislations, the transfers between public and private property and the interference of beliefs with global pretensions.¹⁹⁰ Thus, on entering

184 Manuel Castells, *The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1996).

185 Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural citizenship. A liberal theory of minority rights* (Oxford, 1995).

186 Gerd Baumann, *The Multicultural Riddle* (New York, 1999).

187 Flocel Sabaté, "Medievalismes actuals," in *L'Edat Mitjana. Món real i espai imaginat*, ed. Flocel Sabaté (Catarroja, 2012), pp. 283–99.

188 Roberto Vacca, *Il medioevo prossimo venture* (Milan, 1971).

189 Francesco Guardini, "The New Middle Ages: Medievalism in McLuhan and Vacca," in: <<http://hdl.handle.net/1807/24986>>.

190 Ronnie D. Lipschutz, "Reconstructing World Politics: The Emergence of Global Civil Society," *Millennium* 21 (1992), 389–420; Giden Gottlieb, *Nation against State* (New York, 1993); John Agnew, "The Territory Trap: The Geographical Assumptions of International Relations Theory," *Review of International Political Economy* 1 (1994), 65; Charles S. Maier, "Democracy and its discontents," *Foreign Affaire* 73/4 (1994), 48–64, Anthony P. Jarvis,

the twenty-first century, the term 'neo-medievalism' has taken on a new meaning as a proposal for a political model.¹⁹¹ This is what authors like Guehenno or Waever had attempted to define before the end of the twentieth century as the concept of empire, combining unity and decentralisation, like the Roman, Persian, Carolingian, Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian empires had done.¹⁹² As Kobrin wrote in 1998, "pre-modern refers to prior non-territorial modes of political organization: empire and medieval".¹⁹³ In other words, in this search for a model for the present, empire and neo-medievalism become synonyms, as Zielonka mentioned.¹⁹⁴ Specifically, the challenges of defining a new model of government for Europe that adequately combines the different degrees of permeability and sovereignty means conceiving, in Irina Angelescu's words, "the EU as a neo-medieval empire" to ensure its future, given that "one of the most pre-eminent features of a neo-medieval empire is flexibility and, in the long term, adaptation and survival".¹⁹⁵

Albert J. Paloni, "Locating the State," in *The State of Transition: Reimagining Political Space*, eds. Joseph A. Camilleri, Anthony P. Jarvis, Albert J. Paloni (Boulder, 1995); Hendrick Spruyt, *The Sovereign State and Its Competitors* (Princeton, 1994); Richard Matthews, *Back to the Dark Age: World Politics in the Late Twentieth Century* (Washington, 1995); Paul Hirst, Grahame Thompson, "Globalization and the Future of the Nation-State," *Economy and Society* 24/3 (1995), 408–42; Kees Terlow, "Rescaling identity: communicating regional identity between national identity and global competition," in: <<http://www.lse.ac.uk/collections/ASEN/Conference-Papers/Terlow%20%Rescaling%20identity.pdf>>.

- 191 Jörg Friedrichs, "The Meaning of New Medievalism," *European Journal of International Relations* 7/4 (2001), 475–501; Neil Winn, ed., *Neo-Medievalism and Civil Wars* (London, 2004); Philip G. Cerny, "The New Security Dilemma Revisited: Neomedievalism and the Limits of Hegemony," *International Studies Association Le Centre Sheraton Hotel, Montreal, Quebec, March 7 2004* <www.allacademic.com/one7prol/prlolo1/index.php?cmd=Download+document>; Legin Idil Oztig, "Globalization and New Medievalism: A Reconsideration of the Concept of Sovereignty," *Usak Gurdem*, <<http://www.usak.org.tr/EN/myardir.asp?id=1751>>.
- 192 Jean Marie Guehenno, *The End of the Nation State* (Minneapolis, 1995), p. 4; Ole Waever, "Imperial metaphors: Emerging European analogies to pre-nation-state imperial systems," in *Geopolitics in Post-wall Europe: Security, Territory and Identity*, eds. Ola Tunander, Pavel Baev, Victoria Ingrid Einagel (London, 1997), pp. 59–93.
- 193 Stephan J. Kobrin, "Back to the future: neomedievalism and the postmodern digital World economy," *Journal of International Affairs* 51/2 (1998), 362–86.
- 194 Jan Zielonka, *Europe as Empire. The nature of enlarged European Union* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 1–22 and 164–89.
- 195 Irina Angelescu, "On neo-Medievalism, migration and the Fuzzy Borders of Europe: A Critical View of the Schengen Convention," *Europolis. Journal of Political Science and Theory* 3 (2008), 61.

Thus, although leaning towards the generic formulations of political theorisation, empire and especially the medieval are again in a central and model position. This can only spur on knowledge of what the medieval empires really were.

3 Medieval Empires and the Crown of Aragon

Historiographically, since 1940 when Parry mentioned the Spanish empire in the sixteenth century,¹⁹⁶ various authors, especially since the 1960s, have qualified the expansion of Spain and, to a greater extent, Portugal, in the modern centuries as imperial. As Hausser and Pietschmann recently remarked,¹⁹⁷ the imperial vision in these modern political-territorial entities is rooted directly in the medieval theories of power, either to transfer ideas from the Holy Roman Empire to the other side of the Atlantic or, perhaps even more so, by the sovereign aggregating different degrees of domain over various spaces.¹⁹⁸

The Middle Ages are properly identified with a single empire,¹⁹⁹ which, precisely to legitimate itself, sought the continuity from the Roman Empire with the blessing of the Church. It was the latter, after all, that had restored the empire in Western Europe,²⁰⁰ as well as the remaining Eastern Roman Empire around Constantinople.²⁰¹ Despite this, the concept of “empire” that developed in Roman law in the Late Middle Ages was centred around the claims for the *potestas regalis*, the *iurisdictio* paired with the *merum imperium*.²⁰² This use of the term *imperium* by the sovereign generated praise, like that from the

196 John Horace Parry, *The Spanish Theory of Empire in the sixteenth century* (Cambridge, Eng., 1940).

197 Christian Hausser, Horst Pietschmann, “Empire. The concept and its problems in the historiography on the Iberian empires in the Early Modern Age,” *Culture History Digital Journal* 3/1 (2014), <<http://dx.doi.org/10.3989/chdj.2014.002>>.

198 Flocel Sabaté, *Fin del mundo y Nuevo mundo. El encaje ideológico entre la Europa medieval y la América moderna en Nueva España (siglo XVI)* (City of Mexico, 2011), pp. 12–16.

199 Máximo Diago, *El Imperio en la Europa Medieval* (Madrid, 1996).

200 Angel Fábrega, *La idoneidad del candidato al imperio según la doctrina y la actuación del papa Inocencio III* (Barcelona, 1963), pp. 1–30.

201 Hélène Ahrweiler, *L'idéologie politique de l'Empire byzantin* (Paris, 1975).

202 Francisco Luis Pacheco, “Potestad regia, justicia y jurisdicción en el reino de Aragón (Edades Media y Moderna),” in *El Dret comú i Catalunya. Actes del VI Simposi Internacional (Barcelona 31 de maig-1 de juny de 1996)*, ed. Aquilino Iglesia (Barcelona, 1997), pp. 204–16.

above-mentioned Bishop Margarit who exalted “*l'imperi e senyoria de la casa d'Aragó*”²⁰³ before the Catalan Parliament or Courts in 1454.

This term refers to empires made up of a sum of very different territories under a single crown. In the Middle Ages, these sums of territories under a single ruler responded to processes of armed expansion or dynastic accumulation, and in the both cases, the historiography has sometimes opted to qualify them as empires. The first case can be applied even to a common lordship, as in the case of Pisa between the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when it experienced “the Dream and the Reality of an Empire” while desiring “the creation of the ‘Mediterranean Empire’”,²⁰⁴ and it also is the more famous case of Venice after the thirteenth century,²⁰⁵ usually referred to as an empire by historians.²⁰⁶ The best-known example of the second case, based on dynastic accumulation, would be *L'Empire des Plantagenêt* (1154–1224).²⁰⁷ Martin Aurell, who awarded the imperial qualification to that case, in contrast, rejected it in more amorphous and less united sums, like the one that arose around the same time behind the projection of the royal house of Aragon and the county of Barcelona into the actual French Midi, which responded to a “*conception patrimoniale plutôt que de programme impérial ou de construction d'un État*”.²⁰⁸ Thus, he corrected Santiago Sobrequès who identified this sum as “*l'imperi ultrapirinenc dels sobirans de Barcelona*”.²⁰⁹

In fact, in these medieval processes of accumulation, there was very rarely a programme that went beyond considering it honourable for the sovereign to accumulate titles and rights of different order. Thus, one can calibrate levels

203 “the empire and lordship of the house of Aragon”. Albert, Gassiot, *Parlements*, p. 209.

204 Enrica Salvatori, “Pisa in the Middle Ages: the Dream and Reality of Empire,” in *Empires and States in European Perspective* (Pisa, 2002), pp. 13–17.

205 Giorgio Ravegnani, *Bisanzio e Venezia* (Bologna, 2006), pp. 103–80.

206 *Il gruppo dirigente veneziano si trovava ad avere sulle braccia la responsabilità di un Impero* (“the rulers of Venice charged with the responsibility to have an Empire”). Ernesto Sestran, *Italia comunale e signorile* (Florence, 1989), p. 156. Among others examples, David S. Chambers, *The Imperial Age of Venice 1380–1580* (London, 1970).

207 Martin Aurell, *L'empire des Plantagenêt 1154–1224* (Paris, 2003).

208 “patrimonial conception rather than an imperial programme or the construction of a state”. Martin Aurell, “Autour d'un débat historiographique: l'expansion catalane dans les pays de langue d'oc au moyen Âge,” in *Montpellier, la couronne d'Aragon et les pays de langue d'oc (1204–1349). Actes du XIIe Congrès d'Histoire de la Couronne d'Aragon. Historiographie de la Couronne d'Aragon*, ed. Charles-Olivier Carbonell (Montpellier, 1987), p. 31.

209 “the empire beyond the Pyrenees of the Barcelonan sovereigns”. Santiago Sobrequès, *Els Grans Comtes de Barcelona* (Barcelona, 1980), p. 72.

of domain before granting the historiographic qualifier of imperial. The various senses that this term can be defined by are contained in the many papers presented to the International Medieval Congress held in Leeds in 2014 that took the medieval empire as a special strand.²¹⁰ Empire as a synonym of programmatic expansion could arrive from the consolidation of different monarchies at the end of Middle Ages, the reason why Horts Pietschmann could use the terms *imperialismos* or *expansiones* for the actions of France in Italy throughout the Anjou dynasty, Aragon in the Mediterranean under Alfonso the Magnanimous, Portugal in Africa and across the Atlantic under the Avis dynasty and Castile in its expansion under the Catholic Monarchs.²¹¹

Among the recreational activities in the above-mentioned congress, one, on 8th July 2014, was devoted to “Recipes from a forgotten empire: a medieval feast from the Crown of Aragon.”²¹² In fact, there is a long tradition of referring to the Crown of Aragon as an empire, as Esteban Sarasa did when referring to the expansion by James I to Majorca and Valencia in the thirteenth century: “*el llamado ‘imperio’ de Jaime I el Conquistador*.”²¹³ However, Ferran Soldevila specified that it was after these two conquests when the veritable “*expansió imperialista*” took place.²¹⁴ The empire was thus identified with expansion in the Mediterranean, as Rovira i Virgili accepted.²¹⁵ Mediterranean imperialism added to the political expansion and economic interests of the merchants, as Jaume Vicens Vives defined when identifying “*la ruta de las especias como estructura fundamental del gran comercio barcelonés y base del imperialismo mediterráneo de sus reyes*”. In this sense, Vicens Vives valued the thirteenth-century expansion and understood that in the following century, Peter the Ceremonious led “*el proceso de reconstitución imperial catalanoaragonés*.”²¹⁶

210 Leeds International Medieval Congress 7–10 July 2014. *Programme* (Leeds, 2014), pp. 2–252.

211 Hörst Pietschmann, “Política imperial entre resistencia popular, fermentación religiosa y amenaza turca. Un intento de caracterizar a Carlos V frente a las comunidades,” in *Imperio y tiranía. La dimensión europea de las Comunidades de Castilla*, eds. István Szászdi León-Borja, María Jesús Galende Ruíz (Valladolid, 2013), p. 364.

212 Leeds International Medieval Congress 7–10 July 2014, p. 263.

213 “the so-called ‘empire’ of James I the Conquerer”. Esteban Sarasa, “La corona de Aragón en la primera mitad del siglo XIII (Feudalización, institucionalización y proyección mediterránea),” in *Fernando III y su época. IV Jornadas Nacionales de Historia Militar (Sevilla, 9–13 de mayo de 1994)* (Seville, 1995), p. 393.

214 Ferran Soldevila, *Història de Catalunya*, 3 vols. (Barcelona, 1962), 2: 336.

215 Antoni Rovira i Virgili, *Història Nacional de Catalunya*, 7 vols. (Barcelona, 1928), 5: 452.

216 “the spice route as the fundamental structure of the great Barcelonan trade and the basis for the Mediterranean imperialism of its kings”; “the process of Catalan-Aragonese imperial reconstitution”. Jaume Vicens Vives, “La economía de los países de la Corona de

It was “*l'imperi marítim català*”, according to Durliat and Pons.²¹⁷ Similarly, Mario Del Treppo, even more explicitly depicting the vital importance of Mediterranean trade for the economy of the Crown of Aragon, could refer to it as “*l'imperi dels mercaders catalans*”.²¹⁸ David Abulafia's view was of an empire both economic and political under the orbit of the Crown of Aragon when he concluded that, given the failure of the Kingdom of Majorca, “no longer a buffer between France and Catalonia, the Balearics and Roussillon became advanced posts of assertive Mediterranean emperors seeking to extend their influence beyond Sardinia and Corsica to Sicily, Africa and the Levant”.²¹⁹

Given the interests at stake, Pierre Vilar did not hesitate to interpret a very conscious imperial movement in thirteenth-century Catalonia: “*Catalunya, Estat-nació excepcionalment precoç, dotada des del segle XIII d'una solidaritat interna i d'una consciència d'imperi, única sens dubte en aquella data*”.²²⁰ In fact, Charles Emmanuel Dufourcq not only accepted that the Crown of Aragon created a commercial empire through different ways, which included political and economic pressure,²²¹ but that it also initiated the imperialist methods of the later epochs.²²² In contrast, it was the supposed programmatic aspect and posterior systematic actuation that raised greater distrust in Francesco Giunta regarding the imperial definition, because he saw an inability of the economic and military powers in the Crown of Aragon to really accept and force the creation of an empire.²²³ However, Henri Bresc did not discount that there was

Aragón en la baja Edad Media,” in *VI Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón* (Madrid, 1959), pp. 106–07.

217 “the Catalan maritime empire”. Marcel Durliat, Joan Pons, “Recerques sobre el moviment del port de Mallorca en la primera meitat del segle XIV,” in *VI Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón. Relaciones económicas y comerciales en el Mediterráneo del siglo XII al XVII* (Madrid, 1961), p. 363.

218 “the empire of the Catalan merchants”. Mario Del Treppo, *Els mercaders catalans i l'expansió de la Corona Catalano-aragonesa* (Barcelona, 1976), pp. 535–53.

219 David Abulafia, *A Mediterranean emporium. The Catalan kingdom of Majorca* (Cambridge, Eng., 1994), p. 234.

220 “Catalonia, an exceptionally precocious nation-state, with internal cohesion and imperial awareness from the thirteenth century, undoubtedly unique at that time”. Pierre Vilar, *Catalunya dins l'Espanya moderna*, 4 vols. (Barcelona, 1986), 1: 218.

221 Charles Emmanuel Dufourcq, “Un impérialisme médiéval au Maghrib: la naissance et l'essor de l'empire catalan d'après des travaux récents,” *Cahiers de Tunisie* 20/79–80 (1972), 101–24.

222 Charles Emmanuel Dufourcq, *L'expansió catalana a la Mediterrània occidental*, ss. XIII–XIV (Barcelona, 1969), p. 528.

223 Francesco Giunta, *Aragoneses y catalanes en el Mediterráneo*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1989), 1: 14.

a political will in the House of Barcelona towards the universal empire, related to the sense of the medieval monarchy.²²⁴ Thus, he and Geneviève Bresc-Bautier had not doubts about placing Sicily “*au coeur de l'empire d'Aragon*”.²²⁵ Alfonso the Magnanimous' acts in the fifteenth century could be considered as going further in this direction. When Amadeo Serra analysed the great hall Alfonso the Magnanimous had built in Castel Nuovo in Naples from the artistic point of view, he saw “*una sala para el imperio mediterráneo de Alfonso el Magnánimo*”.²²⁶ Momčilo Spremic' had no doubt that in Alfonso the Magnanimous “*tutta la sua politica orientale fu un misto di idee dei crociati e di mire alla creazione di un impero mediterraneo*”.²²⁷

Jerome Lee Shneidman consecrated the application of the imperial qualifier to the Crown of Aragon in 1970 with the publication of his vast study titled *The rise of the Aragonese-Catalan Empire, 1200–1350*.²²⁸ He was followed by Hillgarth, who emphasised the Catalan part in the title—*The Problem of a Catalan Mediterranean Empire 1229–1327*—but concluding that the expression was not valid. He wrote that “it seems unwise to use the nineteenth-century term ‘imperialism’ to describe a very different age; to suppose an attempt to make the Mediterranean a ‘Catalan lake’ reminds one more of Benito Mussolini than of the cautious James II”. In fact, what Hillgarth defined was the nineteenth-century use of the term empire, but not in the sense that Bishop Margarit used it, as mentioned above, in the fifteenth century. Hillgarth himself concluded his reflection by emphasising the commercial, political and cultural links inherent in the expansion: “the success of Catalan as a Language mirrors the

224 Henri Bresc, *Un monde méditerranéen. Economie et société en Sicile, 1300–1400*, 2 vols. (Palermo, 1986), 2: 777.

225 “at the heart of the empire of Aragon”. Henri Bresc, Geneviève Bresc-Bautier, eds., *Palermo 1070–1492* (Paris, 1993), pp. 161–91.

226 “a hall for the Mediterranean empire of Alfonso the Magnanimous”. Amadeo Serra “*È cosa catalana*”, 1: 1795.

227 “The whole of his Eastern actions mixed the ideas of Crusaders and the scope of creating an Mediterranean Empire”. Momčilo Spremic, “Alfonso il Maganimo e la sua politica nei balcani,” in *XVI Congresso Internazionale di Storia della Corona d'Aragona. La Corona d'Aragona ai tempi di Alfonso il Magnanimo*, eds. Guido d'Agostino, Giulia Buffardi, 2 vols. (Naples, 2000), 1: 750.

228 Jerome Lee Schneidman, *The rise of the Aragonese-Catalan Empire, 1200–1350* (New York, 1970).

political and economic achievements (...) of the Crown of Aragon".²²⁹ From these elements, Anthony Luttrell rebutted Hillgarth's approaches to claim the Catalan empire as an example of a "late medieval Mediterranean empire".²³⁰

In 1995, Clay Stalls added another objection, not so much to the name as to the conceptualisation implicit in the historiographic treatment, given that he perceived a veritable Manifest Destiny in the way some Castilians and Aragonese approached the peninsular expansion over Islam: "For many Aragonese scholars—and for Castilians as well—the expansion of the Christian realms in Islamic Spain is a form of Manifest Destiny". Against this, Catalan historians sought the same explanation in the expansion across the Mediterranean: "For Catalans the Reconquista, as the bedrock of Castilian hegemony over the Peninsula, is a non-question. Their form of manifest identity concerns Catalan expansion in the Mediterranean".²³¹ In truth, despite not using imperial denominations, from the nineteenth century, the traditional Catalan historiography interpreted that its splendour was in its actions in the Mediterranean, but excluding the exploits of Alfonso the Magnanimous. This what Norbert Font argued in 1899 in a popular work republished various times in the first third of the twentieth century:

després del regnat de Jaume I semblava que la Confederació catalano-aragonesa havia arribat ja al pinacle de la glòria, però no fou així; la seva missió en la reconquesta ja havia acabat, però començà un nou desenrotllament que estengué la seva glòria per fora de la Península i féu que els nostres reis figuessin en la política d'Europa conquistant el tron de Sicília, humiliant l'orgull de França, imposant el poder marítim de la confederació per tota la Mediterrània.²³²

229 J. N. Hillgarth, *The Problem of a Catalan Mediterranean Empire 1229–1327* (London, 1975), pp. 52, 54.

230 Anthony Luttrell, "Late medieval Mediterranean empires: The Catalan example," *Journal of the Faculty of Arts: University of Malta* 6/4 (1977), 109–16.

231 Clay Stalls, *Possessing the land. Aragon's Expansion into Islamic Ebro frontier under Alfonso the Battler, 1104–1134* (Leiden, 1995), p. 317.

232 "after the reign of James I, it seemed that the Confederation of Catalonia and Aragon had already reached the pinnacle of glory, but it was not so; its mission in the reconquest was over, but a new development that began to bring glory from beyond the Peninsula and made our kings figures in the politics of Europe by conquering the throne of Sicily, humbling France, imposing the maritime power of the Confederation over the Mediterranean". Norbert Font, *Història de Catalunya* (Barcelona, 1933), pp. 82–83.

School texts under the Spanish Republic in the 1930s taught that this prowess raised the country above the other European powers: “*Catalunya estava cridada a ésser i, efectivament, ho fou, la primera potència marítima de la Mediterrània d’aquell temps*”.²³³ Significantly, one of the schoolbooks from that epoch divided the history of Catalonia into five parts, titling the third *L’Imperialisme català*, dedicating it to “*de Pere el Gran fins a l’extinció de la dinastia catalana*”.²³⁴ These explanations even led Josep Trueta to claim Catalan expansion as a precedent for the British Commonwealth in *The Spirit of Catalonia* published in 1946:

During the fourteenth century, the power of the Catalans grew until they were the leading country in the Mediterranean. The flag with the four red stripes was the national emblem of a confederation of peoples which, allowing for the difference of time and experience, may be considered the only precedent of the modern British Commonwealth.²³⁵

Curiously, this view has persisted, partly at a popular level. Until fairly recently, one could find popular works that defined the Crown of Aragon as a Catalan Mediterranean empire, imagining it as big as possible, as in a popular book published by Helena Drysdale in 2001: “Catalonia was the Mediterranean’s greatest medieval maritime power, with Barcelona ruling an empire that included not only Valencia but Southern France, Sicily, Malta, and much of modern Greece”.²³⁶

Nevertheless, the collection of the territories under the same kings took the name of the royal dynasty, which is why the expression “Crown of Aragon” has been used since the Late Middle Ages.²³⁷ This facilitated confusion with the region that was the origin of the royal lineage, by summarising everything as Aragon. In his line-up of vanished kingdoms, Norman Davies devoted a chapter to Aragon, defined as “a Mediterranean Empire (1137–1714)”, but accepting that the basis for the expansion was “Catalonia’s commercial potential”.²³⁸

233 “Catalonia was called to be and, effectively was, the leading maritime power in the Mediterranean in those times”. Ramon Torroja, *Història de Catalunya per a nois i noies* (Barcelona, 1933), p. 64.

234 “the Catalan imperialism”; “from Peter the Great to the extinction of the Catalan dynasty”. Damià Ricart, *Història de Catalunya per a les Escoles primàries* (Barcelona, 1935), p. 59.

235 Josep Trueta, *The Spirit of Catalonia* (Oxford, 1946), p. 66.

236 Helena Drysdale, *Mother Tongues. Travels through tribal Europe* (London, 2001), p. 224.

237 Flocel Sabaté, “Maison et Couronne d’Aragon,” in *Histoires, femmes et pouvoirs (peninsula Ibérique, IX^e–XV^e siècle)* (Paris, forthcoming).

238 Norman Davies, *Vanished kingdoms. The history of Half-Forgotten Europe* (London, 2012), p. 165.

However, the same expression for all the territories grouped together—Crown of Aragon—, could even be used to distort its historical sense in order to praise Aragon over the Catalan identity. That is what José Luis Corral did when he stated that only a crude manipulation by nineteenth-century Catalan indoctrinators had led to the belief that “*la conquista del Mediterráneo por la Corona de Aragón*” was an “*empresa catalana*”.²³⁹ This interpretation was far from scientific rigor but nevertheless, in the same visceral way it is expressed, it belongs to an ideological context that still, in the twenty-first century, continues to purport to base the cohesion of Spain on the arguments that gained strength in the last quarter of the nineteenth century around the Castilian identity,²⁴⁰ interpreting everything and anything that does not fit into the official discourse, even including the veracity of the historical narrative, as a danger to be fought.²⁴¹ On this base, over the last decades of the twentieth century, some politicians and thinkers tried to strengthen the identity of such regions of the old Crown as Valencia and Aragon by encouraging popular distrust of Catalonia, which has muddled understanding of what the Crown of Aragon was and the name itself. Norman Davies has grasped the perception that the memory of the Crown of Aragon and its expansion has become enmeshed in this debate about Spanish identity on the popular level: “Memories of the former Crown of Aragon have in effect been carefully compartmentalized. People remember only what they want to remember. They suffer from a lack of benevolent but impartial concerns; and quarrels can be easily provoked”.²⁴²

However, the intense research into different fields and scenarios during the twentieth century has generated objective conclusions, as befits the scientific approach, that are not only fully agreed but widely disseminated. Thus, we can now see the Mediterranean and all the actors involved in it with their correct importance.²⁴³ So, one can nowadays refer to the expansion from the northeast

239 “The Mediterranean conquest by the Crown of Aragon”; “a Catalan endeavour”. José Luis Corral, *La Corona de Aragón. Manipulación, mito e historia* (Saragossa, 2014), pp. 12–13.

240 José Álvarez Junco, *Mater Dolorosa. La idea de España en el siglo XIX* (Madrid, 2001), pp. 187–627; Juan Sisinio Pérez Garzón, “La creación de la historia de España,” in *La gestión de la memoria. La historia de España al servicio del poder*, ed. Juan Sisinio Pérez Garzón (Barcelona, 2000), pp. 95–105; Inman Fox, *La invención de España* (Madrid, 1997), pp. 97–156.

241 Flocel Sabaté, “Une histoire médiévale pour l’identité catalane,” in *Intégration et désintégration en Europe Centrale et Orientale*, eds. Sergiu Mişcoiu, Nicolae Păun (Paris, 2016), pp. 43–59.

242 Davies, *Vanished kingdoms*, p. 224.

243 David Abulafia, *The Great Sea. A Human History of the Mediterranean* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 318–411.

of the Iberian Peninsula across the Mediterranean as an empire, with a historiographic significance as an unequal sum (in the legal and jurisdictional sense) of territories under the same sovereign. In fact, this is seen in the Late Middle Ages with the use of the Romanist terminology that interpreted the expression of the "*l'imperi e senyoria de la casa d'Aragó*",²⁴⁴ not by chance repeated various times in this text. However, the beneficiaries of the expansion were not only the sovereigns, but also all the estates in the Crown, so portraying the real state of power in the Crown.

In any case, this was an unequal and disjointed sum. The starting point was a weak sovereign in the twelfth century presiding over the Kingdom of Aragon and the County of Barcelona, but unable to unify them. The expansion in the thirteenth century added Valencia and Majorca, but both territories maintained and reinforced their internal unity. After identifying the County of Barcelona with the whole Catalonia, this set of Iberian lands was defined in 1319 as the indivisible Crown of Aragon, but each of the regions became a unit in itself, constantly reducing the shared cohesion. The addition of Athens and Neopatras brought a distant domain, both feudal and commercial, that did not survive the fourteenth century. Sardinia meant a century of exhausting war that transformed the appearance of the island, and Corsica was a papal donation in the thirteenth century that led to a regional confrontation in the fifteenth and, finally, a failed possession. Sicily was added in 1282, but with its own king until 1409. A domain in the Aegean like Kastellorizo between 1450 and 1522 was little more than anecdotic. The unity of the territories was as minimal as Valla saw it in the mid-fifteenth century: "*el reino de Cerdeña ha sido mal apaciguado y casi enemiga del nombre de Cataluña (...) ¿y qué decir de Sicilia, que apenas ha aprendido a estar sometida a un reino extraño?*"²⁴⁵ Within the Sicilian orbit, Malta played an important commercial role, although it was ceded to the jurisdiction of the Hospitallers in 1522. Rhodes, precisely one of the main economic bases, did not even become part of the Crown of Aragon. A large part of the growth in Mediterranean trade was based on vessels in ports like Alexandria, Beirut and Ragusa, with no greater institutional presence than the Catalan consulates. Naples was not included until 1442, and from there, the outlook was especially towards Italy and the East. The rights over the kingdoms of Jerusalem and Hungary were seen to be sterile. The mid-fifteenth century appointment of a viceroy of Albania and the Balkan pretensions had

²⁴⁴ "the empire and lordship of the house of Aragon". Albert, Gassiot, *Parlaments*, p. 209.

²⁴⁵ "the kingdom of Sardinia has been badly appeased and almost enemy of the name of Catalonia (...) and what can be said about Sicily, that has hardly learned to be subjected to foreign reign?". Valla, *Historia de Fernando*, p. 130.

little practical effect, not even during the brief period when the domain of the Tocco family over the Epirus region included an explicit recognition of the sovereignty of the Neapolitan King of Aragon. Catalan cultural and linguistic presence was the basis for part of the expansive prestige, although between the end of the fifteenth and especially in the sixteenth century, Castilian was gradually replacing Catalan as a language of prestige. The domain over the islands and the south of Italy lasted until the eighteenth century but as part of the Hispanic Monarchy, in which the Crown of Aragon as such was diluted from the sixteenth century onwards. Thus, the whole was not only scattered and diverse, but also barely synchronised and coordinated. However, in the Middle Ages, a large part of the discourse of the pre-eminence of the king was built on this basis, including references to both his military success and the prophecies about him as the saviour of Christendom; different strata of the nobility benefited from it; and, notably, the ruling elites were based on the Mediterranean trade. Thus, it was a complex and vital amalgam and, in a historiographic and almost literary sense, we can call it an empire, although it was, in any case, a singular Mediterranean empire.

The Northeast Iberian Peninsula and its Muslim Rulers (Eighth–Twelfth Century)

Jesús Brufal

1 The Islamic Conquest and its Consolidation in the Iberian Peninsula

In 622 Arabia witnessed the birth of the Islamic faith and the beginning of a mighty empire that would quickly spread across the defeated Byzantine Empire until reaching North Africa in the late seventh century. The first contact between Islamic troops —comprised of Arabs, the ruling elite, and Berbers from North Africa used as shock troops— and the Iberian Peninsula was in 675 during naval attacks against Hispania Carthaginensis. In 707, these same troops—occupied the Balearic Islands, until then under Byzantine rule, after a surrender agreement was reached;¹ and in 710, some Arab chroniclers recorded the first exploratory raids on Punta de Tarifa.² The most important Islamic military raid occurred in 711 and was led by the Berber Tāriq ibn Ziyād. The following year, the Arab governor Mūsa ibn Nuṣayr, directly appointed by the Umayyad Caliph of Damascus, headed further expeditions of conquest. The initial raid of 711 was followed by the Battle of Guadalete, or *Wadilakka*, where the Visigoth King Roderick was defeated.

After their victory at Guadalete, the Muslims found a kingdom in decline, a territory fragmented by noblemen, deteriorated cities,³ a changing rural

1 Mikel de Epalza, “Els berbers i l’arabització del País Valencià,” in *Miscel·lània Sanchis Guarnier*, 3 vols. (Barcelona, 1992), 2: 476–92.

2 Thomas F. Glick, *From Muslim fortress to Christian castle. Social and cultural change in medieval Spain* (Manchester, 1995), p. 49.

3 In cities like Cordoba, Saragossa and Valencia the use of a classic planning framework decreased due to loss of population and the weakening of the economic system. In the case of Cordoba see: Manuel Acien, Antonio Vallejo, “Urbanismo y Estado islámico: de ‘Corduba a Qurṭuba-Madinat al-Zahrā’,” in *Genèse de la Ville islamiques en al-Andalus et au Maghreb occidental*, eds. Patrice Cressier, Mercedes García-Arenal (Madrid, 1998), pp. 107–36. In the case of Saragossa see: José Luis Corral, *Historia de Zaragoza. Zaragoza musulmana (714–118)* (Saragossa, 1998). In the case of Valencia see: Pierre Guichard, “Villes et campagnes aux premiers siècles de l’Islam dans le Sharq al-Andalus,” in *Villes et campagnes de Tarraconaise et*

world due to the new political situation⁴ and a society under tensions caused by the transition to a new order, that of Islam. Several rural settlements were abandoned around 711 as a result of a series of socio-economic processes that started at the end of the seventh century. The rural collapse could have derived from the Muslim conquest or, indeed, have been a consequence *del desarrollo interno de las fuerzas sociales y económicas altomedievales, suficientemente maduras para esos mismos procesos en muchos territorios peninsulares y europeos a lo largo del siglo VIII*.⁵

To date, the general consensus has been that the Visigoth site of Bovalar in Seros, in the west of current Catalonia, was abandoned due to the Islamic conquest, after having been razed to the ground, as shown by the archaeological strata in the first quarter of the eighth century.⁶ However, the site of Hernan Paez (Toledo) was abandoned at a similar time due to difficulties to cultivate the land and obtain enough food to guarantee the survival of its population.⁷

This disruption aided the quick conquest of the various territories within the defeated Visigoth Kingdom located along the network of Roman roads connecting the Iberian Peninsula. Therefore, the conquest continued towards Cordoba, Toledo, Saragossa, Huesca, Valencia, Lleida and Tarragona, from where, following the Via Augusta, it reached Septimania. According to the information from the *Mozarabic Chronicle of 754*, Tarrakonensis was conquered between 713 and 714:

d'Al-Andalus (VI^e-XI^e siècles): la transition, ed. Philippe Sénac (Toulouse, 2007), pp. 263–73. However, Mérida had the peculiarity of still being an active city in the eighth century, see: Santiago Feijoo, Miguel Alba, “Nueva lectura arqueológica del aljibe de la alcazaba de Mérida,” in *Al-Ándalus, espaço de mudança. Balanço de 25 anos de história e arqueologia medievais. Homenagem a Juan Zozaya Stabel-Hansen*, ed. Susana Gómez (Mértola, 2006), pp. 161–70; Miguel Alba, Santiago Feijoo, “Defensas urbanas de la Mérida islámica,” in *Al-Ándalus, espaço de mudança. Balanço de 25 anos de história e arqueologia medievais. Homenagem a Juan Zozaya Stabel-Hansen*, ed. Susana Gómez (Mertola, 2006), pp. 101–10.

- 4 Carlos Laliena, “Acerca de la articulación social de los espacios rurales en el Ebro Medio (siglos V–IX),” *Mainake* 31 (2009), 149–63.
- 5 “of the internal development of early medieval social and economic forces, mature enough to cause those same processes in many peninsular and European territories throughout the eighth century”. Alfonso Vigil-Escalera, “Formas de poblamiento rural en torno al 711: documentación arqueológica del centro peninsular,” *Zona arqueológica* 15 (2011), 198.
- 6 Pere de Palol, *El Bovalar (Seròs, Segrià). Conjunt d'època paleocristiana i visigòtica* (Lleida, 1989).
- 7 Vigil-Escalera, “Formas de poblamiento rural en torno al 711,” pp. 194–96.

Huius temporibus in era DCCXLVIII, anno imperii eius quarto, Arabum LXLII, Ulit quinto (...) Muze (...) non solum ulteriorem Spaniam, sed etiam et citeriorem usque ultra Cesaragustam (...) gladio, fame et captiuitate depopulat, ciuitates decoras igne concremando precipitat, seniores et potentes seculi cruci adiudicat, iubenes atque lactantes pugionibus trucidat. Sicque dum tali terrore cunctos stimulat, pacem nonnullae ciuitates que residuo erant iam coacte proclamitant adque suadendo et inrindendo astu quoddam nec mora petita condonant.⁸

The collapse of the Kingdom's institutions shifted the onus to agreeing submission with the Muslim conquerors onto local or regional rulers. These agreements ensured that property and social order were respected in exchange for tax dependency for those who did not convert to Islam. Christians (*rum*) and the Jewish minority (*iahud*) could keep their places of worship and were never forced to convert to Islam. The Tudmir agreement mentioned in documentary sources clearly outlines the formula of for the submission of the Hispano-Visigoth population to the conquerors.⁹ In Huesca, the population was also subjected through a pact with the Muslims.¹⁰ In the same vein, in the *Crónica del moro Rasis* it is said that "*las gentes que morrauan en estos castillos fizieron pleytesía con los moros e fincaron en sus castillos e los moros sin contienda.*"¹¹

8 "At that time, in the era of 749, fourth year of Justinian's Empire, ninety-second of the Arabs, fifth of al-Ualid (...) Mūsa (...) with his sword, famine and captivity not only devastated Hispania Ulterior but also Hispania Citerior to beyond Saragossa (...) with fire he flattened beautiful cities, reducing them to ashes; he ordered lords and noblemen be crucified and youths and nursing infants be stabbed to death. Thus, sowing fear among everyone, the few remaining cities were forced to request peace and, immediately, obliging and smiling, with relative astuteness (the Muslims) granted the requested conditions". *Crónica mozárabe de 754*, ed. J. Eduardo López Pereira (Leon, 2009), p. 226–228.

9 Sonia Gutiérrez, *La Cora de Tudmīr. De la antigüedad tardía al mundo islámico. Poblamiento y cultura material* (Madrid, 1996); Sonia Gutiérrez, "Ciudades y conquista. El fin de las 'ciuitates' visigodas y la génesis de las 'mudun' islámicas del sureste de al-Andalus," in *Genèse de la ville islámiques en al-Andalus et au Maghreb occidental*, eds. Patrice Cressier, Mercedes García-Arenal (Madrid-1998), pp. 137–58.

10 Philippe Sénac, *La frontière et les hommes (VIII^e–XII^e siècles). Le peuplement musulman au nord de l'Ebre et les débuts de la reconquête aragonaise* (Paris, 2000), p. 87.

11 "the people living in these castles paid obeisance to the Muslims who settled into their castles and fortunes without resistance". Pascual de Gayangos, "Memoria sobre la autenticidad de la Crónica denominada del Moro Rasis," *Memorias de la Real Academia de la Historia* 8 (1852), <<http://simurg.bibliotecas.csic.es/viewer/image/CSIC000516788/2/>>;

Nonetheless, cities like Tarragona, Egara and Empuries resisted the conquerors and were virtually destroyed.¹² However, the violent conquest of Tarragona is questioned given the lack of veracity of the Arab source used.¹³

Meanwhile the Islamic conquest continued beyond the Pyrenees¹⁴ with the clear intention of engulfing Visigoth Septimania to assimilate it into the Caliphate of Damascus.¹⁵ Hence, Arabic documentation includes the conquest of Narbonne in 721,¹⁶ the main city of Septimania which became the capital of the *wilayah*. Attacks followed all over Frankish territory with vigour until the defeat at the Battles near Poitiers in 732 and in the River Berre in 737 by the army of Charles Martel, who glorified the victories to ensure his power over the Merovingian society.¹⁷ Meanwhile, Arabs chroniclers merely reported the defeat.¹⁸ In Late Middle Age, ibn Ḥaldūn remembered: “[*ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Al-lāh al-Ġāfiqī*] *algarejà Ifranġa i tingué topades amb ells. El seu exèrcit fou vençut el ramadān de l’any [1] 14 [25 octubre–23 novembre 732]. Governà dos anys, però al-Wāqidi diu que foren quatre*”.¹⁹

These defeats stimulated the consolidation of the *wilayah* of Narbonne, which most probably managed the territories of the old Visigoth Septimania and a part of the old Roman Tarraconensis province. The Muslims followed a

Crónica del Moro Rasís, versión del A bār mulūk al-Andalus de A mad ibn Mu ammad ibn Mūsa al-Rāzī (889–955) (Madrid, 1975), ed. Diego Catalán, María Soledad de Andrés (Madrid, 1975), p. 45.

- 12 Flocel Sabaté, “Catalunya Medieval,” in *Història de Catalunya*, ed. Albert Balcells (Barcelona, 2004), pp. 102–03.
- 13 Dolors Bramon, *De quan érem o no musulmans. Textos del 713 al 1010* (Barcelona, 2000), pp. 152–53, n. 21.
- 14 Alejandro García, *La conquista islámica de la península Ibérica y la tergiversación del pasado* (Madrid, 2013), pp. 408–09.
- 15 The first archaeological remains of three individuals of North African origin buried according to the Islamic ritual have recently been found in Nîmes (France). They date from the eighth century. <<http://www.lefigaro.fr/culture/2016/02/25/03004-20160225ARTFIG00092-nimes-decouverte-de-trois-tombes-musulmanes-datant-du-moyen-ge.php>>.
- 16 Bramon, *De quan érem o no musulmans*, pp. 157–58.
- 17 Philippe Sénac, *Les Carolingiens et al-Andalus (VIII^e–IX^e siècles)* (Paris, 2002), pp. 13–36.
- 18 Flocel Sabaté, “La victoire de Charles Martel à Poitiers,” in *L’histoire de France vue d’ailleurs*, eds. Jean-Noël Jeanneney, Jeanne Guérout (Paris, 2016), pp. 45–54.
- 19 “[*ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Al-lāh al-Ġāfiqī*] raided *Ifranġa* and had clashes with them. His army was defeated the *ramadān* of year [1] 14 [25th October–23rd November 732]. He ruled for two years, although al-Wāqidi said it was four”. Bramon, *De quan érem o no musulmans*, p. 162.

strategy of maintaining both preceding civil and ecclesiastic boundaries to ensure a better management of their territory.²⁰ Consolidating the conquered territory meant not only stationing military contingents at strategic points but also occupying the area with population from Islamic regions. Therefore, as the conquest was consolidated, people, mainly of Arab and Berber origin,²¹ started to trickle through and settle in the vicinity of cities or rural centres. They kept their tribal origins and social affiliations, thus assimilating their tribal names into that of their settlements: *Miknasa* (Mequinensa), *Manzil Quraix* (Massalcoreig), *Hisn Zanāta* (Lizana), *Ṣinhāya* (Cinegia), *Manzil al-Barbar* (Monzalbarba) and *ʿAwsaṣya* (Oseja).²²

This immigrant population coexisted with the native Hispano-Visigoth people who, in this context, were a majority and quite visible throughout the territory of the Iberian Peninsula, from Merida and Cordoba, to rural settlements, such as Ager, far from the main centres of power. Adapting to the new faith and new Islamic power led the autochthonous population to convert to Islam. Latin names were changed to Arab: “Amorosus” became *ʿAmrūs*, “Saporitus” became *Ṣabrīt* and “Casius” was translated as *Qasī*.²³ These Hispano-Visigoth families would be the protagonists of the political scene in the Ebro Valley from the ninth century until the first half of the tenth. The Muslim converts were known by the generic name *Muladi* and, as will be seen, in the course of the Cordoban emirate they would have considerable relevance throughout al-Andalus due to their revolts against the influential power of the Emir. There were many mixed marriages between Muslims from the social hierarchy and indigenous women: Emir ʿAbd al-Azīz ibn Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr married the widow of King Roderick, and the *wālī* of Narbonne, Munūsa, married the daughter of the Duke of Aquitaine.

Despite cohesion around the Islamic faith, differences between clans and tribes can already be seen in the territories of al-Andalus. In the *wilayah* of Narbonne, in 729 the Berber Munūsa with the help of his father-in-law, the

20 María Jesús Viguera, *Aragón musulmán* (Saragossa, 1981), p. 18.

21 María Paz de Miguel, *La maqbara de Pamplona* (s. VIII). *Aportes de la osteoarqueología al conocimiento de la islamización en la Marca Superior*, PhD Dissertation (Alicante, 2015).

22 Bilal Sarr, “Introducción al estudio del poblamiento beréber en la marca superior de al-Andalus (siglos VIII–XII),” *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 43/1 (2013), 219–21.

23 Jesús Lorenzo, “El Valle del Ebro a través de los Banū Qasī,” in *Histoire et sociétés de la vallée de l’Èbre (VII^e–XI^e siècles. Historia y arqueología de las sociedades del valle del Ebro* (ss. VII–XI), ed. Philippe Sénac (Toulouse, 2010), pp. 217–40; Balañà, *L’Islam a Catalunya*, p. 31.

Duke of Aquitaine, engaged the Yemenis in battle. As a result, in 731, Emir 'Abd Al-lāh al-Ġāfiqī raided the Narbonne region and defeated the Berber Munūsa.²⁴ These confrontations between Muslims to gain control of areas for their own tribes significantly weakened them. The Berber uprising from 739 to 741 in the Maghreb was reciprocated in the Peninsula by the arrival of the Syrians led by Balğ ibn Bišr al-Qušaiyri who joined 'Abd al-Malik ibn Qaṭan al-Fihri to defeat the Berbers at the Battle of Guadalacete near Toledo.²⁵ However, the Yemenis settled on the "Border of Saragossa" did not participate in the battle to put down the Berber uprising. Their differences with the Syrians became patent in 742 when the Syrians of Balğ ibn Bišr al-Qušaiyri entered into battle with the Yemeni forces of the Upper March or Saragossa Border led by 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn 'Uqba, who was the governor of 'Abd al-Malik ibn Qaṭan al-Fihri. It should be noted that ibn 'Uqba's troops were joined by the Berbers from the Upper March who had not taken part in the uprising of 739.²⁶ The Syrian leader died in the clash, but the conflict was far from solved with this battle and rumbled on. Both sides, the Syrians and the Yemeni with the Berbers from the Upper March continued a war of attrition.²⁷

'Abd al-Rahmān I ibn al-Mu'āwiya, known as the Emigrant, grandson of the Umayyad Caliph of Damascus Hišām ibn 'Abd al-Malik, fled to the Maghreb after his family was overthrown by the Abbasids. From there, he prepared his return to al-Andalus with the support of Yemeni and Berbers. After defeating *wālī* Yūsuf al-Fihri, he entered Cordoba in 756 to proclaim himself Emir. The proclamation of the Cordoban Emirate represented a significant advance in the configuration of al-Andalus because it ceased to be a province of the Abbasid Caliphate of Baghdad to become an independent entity. Despite this significant step, social and political cohesion within Andalusian territory was anything but optimal. Prompted by the Abbasids, al-Fihri tried to fight against 'Abd al-Rahmān I from Tudmīr by seeking support from the Yemeni and Berbers from the Upper March, although he was unsuccessful.²⁸ Al-Fihri was assassinated by a Berber in 778. Before that, however, in 759 Narbonne was incorporated into the Frankish Kingdom, which was expanding across Septimania. This heavy blow to the Cordoban Emirate meant greater efforts

24 Bramon, *De quan érem o no musulmans*, p. 161.

25 Pedro Chalmeta, *Invasión e islamización. La sumisión de Hispania y la formación de al-Andalus* (Jaen, 2003), pp. 298–306.

26 Chalmeta, *Invasión e islamización*, pp. 317–23.

27 Eduardo Manzano, "La rebelión del año 754 en la Marca Superior y su tratamiento en las crónicas árabes," *Studia Historica. Historia Medieval* 4/2 (1985), 185–205.

28 Bramon, *De quan érem o no musulmans*, pp. 171–73.

were needed to unite Andalusian territory, especially the area surrounding the Pyrenees and the Ebro Valley. For this reason, Saragossa, Huesca, Barcelona, Girona and Tortosa came to be the cities of reference within the northern area of al-Andalus.

Despite the Emirate's wish to structure the Andalusian area, the Upper March did not acknowledge the Emir's power.²⁹ Near Saragossa, al-'Arābī sought to negotiate with Charlemagne in 777 to obtain his protection and keep his distance from the Emir. In 778, al-Ḥusayn al-Anṣārī, resisted the attack by Charlemagne and al-'Arābī³⁰ with which the Frankish king's campaign ended in failure and he fled via Roncesvalles.³¹ Also, in the Yemeni uprisings in the 780s led by Sulaymān ibn Yaḡzān al-Kalbī al-'Arābī who, as governor of Barcelona, seized the territories of the Upper March as far as Saragossa, under the control of the *mawla* of Emir Badr. The umpteenth uprising in al-Andalus in half a century indicates the difficulties of reconciling the interests of the tribes emigrated from North Africa and Arabia with the consolidation of an administrative system led by an Emir.

Indeed, the quelling of the Yemeni uprising entailed repression by the Emir that forced *hispani* who had supported the Franks to flee towards more northerly territories. However, the Upper March and its city of reference, Saragossa, continued to refuse to acknowledge the Emir's authority. This is again visible in the uprisings by Yemeni governors appointed by the Emir himself, like for instance al-Anṣārī between 781 and 784. This political instability encouraged the Franks to press forward. In 785 they conquered Girona and in 789 they surrounded Cerdanya and Urgell thus consolidating a border area with Islam. In Pamplona, in 799, the Vascons assassinated the Muslim governor, Muṭarrif ibn Mūsa, an event that caused the progressive entry of this territory into the Carolingian sphere.³²

Gradually, and especially after the 780s, Muladi lineages gained a special role in al-Andalus. These Hispano-Visigoth families, Muslim converts, became involved in checks and balances, especially in the region of the Upper March. In the Arabic sources of 785 'Amrūs and Šabriṭ are conspicuous as servants,

29 Josep Maria Millàs, *Textos dels historiadors àrabs referents a la Catalunya carolíngia* (Barcelona, 1987), p. XXVIII.

30 Carlos Laliena, Philippe Sénac, *Musulmans et chrétiens dans le haut Moyen Age: aux origines de la reconquête aragonaise* (Paris, 1992), pp. 78–79.

31 The emirate army followed the same route the Carolingian troops took during their retreat with the clear purpose of re-establishing Cordoban hegemony in the area. Pedro Chalmeta, *Invasión e islamización. La sumisión de Hispania y la formación de al-Andalus* (Jaén, 2003), p. 379.

32 María Jesús Viguera, *Aragón musulmán* (Saragossa, 1988), p. 75.

first of Ayšūn³³ and later of his brother Maṭrūḥ,³⁴ and between 788 and 789, Mūsa ibn Fortūn ibn Qasī fought under the orders of Emir Hišām I.³⁵ These prominent families were mainly supported in rural regions by areas of personal influence, whose submission and conversion enabled them to preserve a connection with the territory and, simultaneously, progress within the new Islamic status. In fact, in the last quarter of the eighth century, these families started to take over in the Muslim districts of the Upper March of al-Andalus, and especially in its capital, Saragossa, to the detriment of the Berber and Arab families who had been in charge of the region from the conquest to the last years of the eighth century.

Aspirations to consolidate areas of influence for one's own family lineage were still widespread. For instance, Ayšūn and his brother Maṭrūḥ attempted to consolidate Barcelona, Huesca and Saragossa, although 'Abd al-Raḥmān I's son, Hišām I, fought and defeated them in 792 with the clear aim of imposing emirate control on the border.

A new scene was emerging: on the one hand, the Muladi lineages established their influence in the districts of the Upper March while the Emir attempted to integrate it into the framework of al-Andalus. On the other, in 801, Louis the Pious conquered the city of Barcelona and set the limits of a border that would last well into the eleventh century.

2 The Cohesion of the Upper March (*al-Tagr al-A'la*) of al-Andalus (802–1017)

Andalusian society saw the conquest of Barcelona in 801 as a warning. Infighting was their Achilles' heel and the reason why they had lost territory in Septimania and on the southern side of the Pyrenees up to prominent cities as Barcelona. Although the ninth century began with uncertainty regarding the power game, and ambitious projects to fortify and unite the March by reinforcing declining urban centres like Lleida, and enhancing the capital status of two powerful cities, Saragossa and Tortosa, the latter related to Sharq Al-Andalus on the eastern coast of the Peninsula. Meanwhile the rural world structured its territory around Islamic villas that spread stretched across prime areas for agriculture and livestock farming. Thus, the valleys of the Ebro, Segre, Cinca,

33 Bramon, *De quan érem o no musulmans*, p. 177.

34 Indeed, Maḥrū was assassinated by 'Amrūs and Šabrīt at Monzalbarba, current Aragon. Once beheaded, they took his head to Tarassona to give it to 'Ubayd Al-lāh ibn 'Uṭmān, their governor. Bramon, *De quan érem o no musulmans*, p. 182.

35 Bramon, *De quan érem o no musulmans*, p. 180.

Arba and Aragon rivers were densely settled, without forgetting the dry-land areas, which were also occupied and utilised by Islamic society.

The Upper March of al-Andalus is the area where Muslim chroniclers have afforded a greater role to Muladi lineages, to the point of overshadowing the Emir. Perhaps the areas' distance from Cordoba or its territorial particularities made it an exceptional region where Islam took over without overshadowing prior social idiosyncrasies.

2.1 *Rise to Power and Consolidation of Muladi Families in the Upper March (802–929)*

At the end of the eighth century, Arabic documentation mentions the intervention of Muladi families from the Upper March in regional issues and those related to the Emirate. In the ninth century, they irrupted onto the regional setting with greater strength becoming a true counterforce to the Emir, who in turn had to send the Cordoban army to pacify the March and reassert his pre-eminence. The Banū Qasī³⁶ Furtūn ibn Mūsa took on a leading role in 802 in Saragossa when he rebelled against Emir al-Ḥakam I. Soon afterwards, in 822, Mūsa ibn Mūsa ibn Qasī led the vanguard of the raid against Narbonne. He took part as the governor of Tudela, a key fortress in the west of the Upper March given its strategic position at the junction of natural routes to Christian Pamplona, the headwaters of the River Ebro and the interior of the Meseta. According to Arabic sources, this raid worsened his relationship with Ḥazar ibn Mu'min as well as "*corromp la pau d'aquell territori*".³⁷ This led the Emir to react by sending the Cordoban army headed by Ḥārīṭ ibn Bazī' who fought Mūsa on several occasions. During these harrying campaigns, Mūsa took refuge in Arnedo (*Arnī*) where he was aided by the "Basque" Garcia Iñíguez, known to the Muslims as *Ġarsīyya ibn Wannaquh al-Baškunisī*. This demonstrates the family ties between the Pamplonese nobility and Muladi families, especially the Banū Qasī, in a region divided by the Islamic conquest. One can clearly see the bond with the region and the blood ties that ensured solidarities were upheld, despite the difference in faith, at least during the first decades of the ninth century.³⁸ This passage also indicates the rise of the Banū Qasī in the

36 I recommend the book by Jesús Lorenzo: Jesús Lorenzo, *La Dawla de los Banu Qasi: Origen, auge y caída de una dinastía muladí en la Frontera Superior de al-Andalus* (Madrid, 2016).

37 "corrupting the peace in that region". Bramon, *De quan érem o no musulmans*, p. 199.

38 Al-'Udhri related the blood ties between the Navarrese nobility and the Banū Qasī: 'Abd Al-lāh ibn Kulayb *algarejà les propietats d'Iñigo Arista (Yanaqub ib Wann.quh) germà de Mūsa ibn Mūsa per part de mare* ("Abd Al-lāh ibn Kulayb raided the estates of Iñigo Arista (Yanaqub ib Wann.quh), brother of Mūsa ibn Mūsa on his mother's side"). Bramon, *De quan érem o no musulmans*, p. 203.

context of the new Emir who had just taken power in 822. This is where the family skilfully played with its genealogy to legitimise its rise, therefore reviving the question of a *walā'* contracted between Count Casius and the Umayyad family.³⁹ This skilful gamble would explain the rapid rise of the Banū Qasī in the western region of the Upper March through the important fortress at Tudela. From there, as the ninth century progressed, they reached the centre of the March to govern the capital, the city of Saragossa, and the eastern region headed by the city of Lleida.

The society in the first half of the ninth century contained an important mixture of social and tribal groups within the Andalusian territory. Of these, the Christians, also known as Mozarabs, were the largest group, especially on the Upper March. This is shown through the burial rituals in the necropolises located in the rural areas.⁴⁰ This led to characters as important as Eulogius of Cordoba, around 848, moved towards the Upper March, more specifically to the sector bounding on Pamplona and the monastery of Leyre, to collect books and testimonies that were useful for the spiritual and cultural life of the Cordoban Mozarabs.⁴¹

From 822 to 852, the Banū Qasī uprisings played out against the governors appointed by the Emir and settled in the capital of the Upper March of al-Andalus. There is a notable passage from 846–847 in which Mūsa ibn Mūsa ibn Furtūn al-Qasawī abandoned his allegiance to the Emir due to the problems 'Abd Al-lāh ibn Kulayb, the governor of the March, was causing him, besides appropriating some of his assets.⁴² Emir 'Abd al-Rahmān II often appointed governors in the main cities of al-Andalus, and especially in the medinas of the Upper March, with the clear purpose of avoiding the patrimonial appropriation of the post by the region's families.⁴³ With his successor, Emir Muḥammad I, this strategy would change, it being accepted that positions could pass from fathers to sons.

In 852, Emir Muḥammad I appointed Mūsa ibn Mūsa ibn Furtūn ibn Qasī *wālī* of Saragossa; he was also the governor of the Upper March of al-Andalus. The *Muladi* lineage had reached the highest ranks of power in the region of the Ebro Valley by relegating Arab and Berber families. The legitimacy gained by

39 Lorenzo, "El Valle del Ebro a través de los Banū Qasī," p. 224.

40 Prim Bertran, Francesc Fité, "Excavació del jaciment de Santa Coloma d'Àger (Lleida)," *Acta Historica et Archaeologica Mediaevalia* 5 (1983), 454–546.

41 Viguera, *Aragón musulmán*, pp. 87–88.

42 Bramon, *De quan érem o no musulmans*, p. 202.

43 See the table containing the name of the governors of Saragossa and Huesca and the time they held the position. Lorenzo, "El Valle del Ebro a través de los Banū Qasī," p. 224.

this appointment offered the Banū Qasī sufficient protection to ensure their safety and that of the regions that now belonged to their family.

Nevertheless, this stability only lasted 18 years because in 872, the *fitna* erupted in the Upper March. In a few days, the Banū Qasī had conquered the cities of Tudela, Huesca and Monzon, and especially the strategic Saragossa, capital of the territory, which represented almost the entirety of the Upper March. Indeed, these cities could not have been so quickly conquered without the cooperation of what Arabic sources call *ahl al-madīna*, that is, “the people of the city”: in 873,

els habitants d’Osca cridaren Mu arrif ibn Mūsā. [Aquest entrà a la ciutat, es casà amb Velasquita (Fališkī a), filla de Sanç (Šanġuh), senyor de Pamplona, la féu portar a Osca i convisqué amb ella. Ella, en veure que la gent d’Osca el menystenien i li mostraven escassa obediència, li digué que cuités a matar les feres: “tingues el ramat en pau i sigues com un pastor i matancer”. Muṭarrif reaccionà contra les seves intrigues i els matà. [La resta dels habitants] se n’adonaren i es guardaren d’ell.⁴⁴

The passage continues:

‘Amrūs ibn ‘Umar ibn ‘Amrūs havia escrit a la gent de la ciutat d’Osca bo i incitant-los contra Muṭarrif ibn Mūsā i fent-los témer la seva perfídia. Li respongueren favorablement i arribaren a un acord amb ell.⁴⁵

This document continues with the explanation of how Muṭarrif re-conquered Huesca and offered it to Emir Muḥammad I to gain his protection and legitimacy.

Urban development is evident in Saragossa, Huesca, Tudela and in the surroundings of Lleida. This strengthened the social elite that shared in the

44 “The inhabitants of Huesca summoned Muṭarrif ibn Mūsā. [He entered the city, married Velasquita (*Fališkīta*), daughter of Sanç (*Šanġuh*), Lord of Pamplona; he had her brought to Huesca where he lived with her. When she saw that the people of Huesca underestimated him and showed him little obedience, she told him to hastily kill the fiends: “keep your flock in peace and be like a shepherd and slaughterer”; Muṭarrif reacted against his plotters and killed them. [The remaining inhabitants] realised this and kept their distance”. Bramon, *De quan érem o no musulmans*, p. 214.

45 “‘Amrūs ibn ‘Umar ibn ‘Amrūs had written to the people of the city of Huesca to turn them against Muṭarrif ibn Mūsā and make them fearful of his treachery. They replied favourably and reached an agreement with him”. Bramon, *De quan érem o no musulmans*, p. 215.

accumulation of wealth and investments in rural properties in the area of influence and ended up generating a social group awareness that defined them as “the people of the city”. The events in Huesca in 873 marked a turning point in the relationship between the district’s governors and the Emir. The subjugation of Huesca to the Emir’s discipline was not a consequence of the punitive expedition he sent, but of the intervention of the Muladi Muṭarrif in cooperation with the “people” of Huesca. Therefore, the Emir was forced to change strategy, either due to the difficulty of maintaining al-Andalus united, or to adapt to the new way of agreeing loyalties. Either way, both Muṭarrif and the inhabitants of Huesca achieved something unheard of until then: the guarantee that positions would be inherited within the family lineage, thus cementing the foundations of their patrimonial appropriation.⁴⁶

Despite the loss of Monzon, the Banū Qasī continued their aim to strengthen their presence and influence throughout the Upper March. Therefore, in the last quarter of the ninth century, they continued their attempts to obtain the government of the cities of Lleida and also Monzon, halfway to Huesca, the rival city and territory. Ismāʿil ibn Mūsā ibn Qasī became governor of Lleida in 882. It should be noted that this strategy gave a certain breathing space to the Muladi family after the Emir had heavily attacked the possessions where they were based: Tudela and Saragossa. Indeed, the Emir aimed to quash the uprising of the Banū Qasī and pacify the territories of the Ebro Valley.

In Lleida, Ismāʿil ibn Mūsā ibn Qasī orchestrated the re-construction of buildings because of the city’s destruction and depopulation.⁴⁷ This municipal action included preserving good rapport with the inhabitants of Lleida since, as in Huesca and Saragossa, its urban elite was powerful enough to overthrow a governor and appoint another one from a rival family. Furthermore, this willingness to regenerate the city is understood from the viewpoint of separating Lleida from Huesca, since the former had managed to consolidate itself as a territorial reference in the eastern tip of the Upper March and therefore its people would seek to disassociate themselves from Huesca. In short, together with the urban elites of the leading cities on the Upper March, the Banū Qasī sought a form of expression for their identity at the head of the Andalusian society through architecture. The use of “headers and stretchers” building technique not only represented the defence of the cities, but was also interpreted as a discourse of power aimed at both the Andalusian society itself as their Christian enemies. Cutting the stone ashlar, transporting them and placing them in rows in the walls, fortresses and mosques *aljama* was a task

46 Lorenzo, “El Valle del Ebro a través de los Banū Qasī,” p. 227.

47 Bramon, *De quan érem o no musulmans*, p. 226.

done by specialists in this type of works.⁴⁸ Specialised technical knowledge was undoubtedly required to build structures with stone ashlars (it is worth mentioning that it often was alternated with adobe, which had typological particularities depending on the context), but is notably shows how the tax-mercantile system of Al-Andalus provided the money to build new constructions or redo the existing ones.

The Emirs of al-Andalus wished to reduce the hegemony of Muladi families in the various Islamic districts. Until then, the policy of changing governors and of attacks on and agreements with rival families had not worked, therefore Emir 'Abd Al-lāh (888–912) changed strategy. In 890, he encouraged the settlement of the Banū Tuġīb Arab family in Saragossa, the capital of the Upper March.⁴⁹ With this gesture, he managed to break Muladi hegemony in urban government and simultaneously guarantee the control of the main metropolis in the Ebro Valley. From here, he would seek to wear down the Muladi lineages, especially the Banū Qasī.

Meanwhile, following the steps of his predecessor Ismā'īl ibn Mūsa ibn Qasī, Lubb ibn Muḥammad ibn Lubb ibn Mūsa ibn Mūsa ibn Qasī strengthened his presence in the area by re-building⁵⁰ fortresses like that of Monzon between 896–897 and Balaguer in 897.⁵¹ This intense building activity led by the Banū Qasī responded to the need to structure the eastern side of the Upper March due to military manoeuvres by the Pyrenean counties. A notable event was the attack in Aura castle, in the Ora Valley, in the border of the Urgell county, where Count Wilfred lost his life in 897.⁵²

In al-Andalus, the last quarter of the ninth century was rife with great tension due to the generalised uprising of the Muladis (880–928) led by Umar ibn Ḥaḥṣūn in the South and Marwān al-Jilliḳī in the West. In this intense movement against the Cordoban emirate the Banū Qasī played a leading role, although limited by problems of cohesion in the Upper March caused by enemy lineages: on the one hand, the Arabs supporting

48 Jesús Brufal, "La 'Auctoritas' en la Frontera Superior de al-Ándalus a través del estudio de la arquitectura," *Rivista dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Europa Mediterranea* 16/1 (2016), 16–26.

49 Earlier, Muḥammad ibn Lubb ibn Mūsa ibn Mūsa ibn Qasī sold Saragossa to Ḥāšim ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Ḥālīdī, which implied the return of the government to the Emirate. This is why the accession of the Banū Tuġīb to the government of Saragossa was clearly backed by Emir 'Abd Al-lāh. Viguera, *Aragón musulmán*, pp. 106–07.

50 The re-building of a fortress is seen as an act of revitalising a space that had been abandoned because of acts of war between Muladi lineages, in order to resume control of the region. Lorenzo, "El Valle del Ebro a través de los Banū Qasī," p. 231.

51 Bramon, *De quan érem o no musulmans*, pp. 238 and 240.

52 Bramon, *De quan érem o no musulmans*, pp. 238–40.

the Emir, the Banū Tuġīb of Saragossa and, on the other, the Muladi lineage of al-Ṭawīl in Huesca. The Muladi uprising was the last great dramatic stroke of these families converted to Islam who were deeply rooted in their respective region. Their uprising is explained by their fear of losing influence to the Cordoban emirate in the area that best defined them, the rural area they had possessed since the Visigoth Kingdom. The construction of an Andalusian state headed by the Umayyads had to survive this *fitna* which lasted until the proclamation of the Umayyad Caliphate of Cordoba and its first caliph ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Al-lāh.⁵³ Furthermore, in the Upper March, the virtual absence of emirate power during 35 years, as well as the *fitna*, was exploited by the Muladi lineages to take over as much territory and as many cities as possible.⁵⁴

The Muladi uprising tested the real strength of these lineages. In the Upper March, the Banū Qasī did not manage to prevail over the entire region and witnessed in turn how the increase in the number of fronts opened weakened their family structure and social support. Well into the tenth century, Lleida and its region were still being disputed by the three main lineages in the Ebro Valley: the Banū Qasī, the Banū al-Ṭawīl and the Banū Tuġīb. This conflict became obvious in 914 in Monzon, an important city halfway between Huesca and Lleida, in which “the people of Monzon”⁵⁵ also participated. They summoned ibn Ġarsiyya from the Banū Qasī family to Lleida to expel ‘Amrūs from the rival Banū al-Ṭawīl family. Once again, the urban elite participated in the city’s decision making, proving that in the early tenth century, in small cities in the Upper March of al-Andalus, an influential ruling group had assembled which acted on behalf of the city. In the case of Monzon, two years later, in 916, immersed in infighting that permanently weakened them, the Banū Qasī lost the city to the Banū Tuġīb Arabs, who gradually extended their area of influence from Saragossa towards the Ebro Valley. However, in 919, Monzon was the scene of a new confrontation in the context of the conflicts between the three main family lineages in the Upper March. On this occasion, it was the Banū al-Ṭawīl⁵⁶ who besieged and subjected the city before expelling the Banū Tuġīb.

Despite their decline, the Banū Qasī clung to their territorial bases and their affiliation with the rural world, while simultaneously searching to pact

53 Manuel Acién, *Entre el feudalismo y el Islam. Umar ibn Hafṣūn en los historiadores, en las fuentes y en la historia* (Jaen, 1997).

54 Lorenzo, “El Valle del Ebro a través de los Banū Qasī,” pp. 229–30.

55 Bramon, *De quan érem o no musulmans*, p. 261.

56 In this campaign, the Banū al-Ṭawīl had the military support of Sancho I Garcés of Pamplona and Bernard Unifred, son of Ramon II, Count of Pallars and Ribagorza. Fernando Galtier, *Ribagorza condado independiente. Desde los orígenes hasta 1025* (Saragossa, 1981), pp. 65–66.

with urban society to ensure their control and strengthen ties with the entire border area. Thus, in 922, Muḥammad ibn Lubb consolidated the fortresses of Monzon,⁵⁷ Balaguer, Barbastro, Algerri, Montmagastre, Calassanç and others.⁵⁸ This Banū Qasī building activity, which was not at all suspicious, was welcomed by the inhabitants of Lleida, who gave them control of the city and, consequently, of the district.⁵⁹ However, conflicts in the eastern area of the Upper March with the Banū al-Ṭawīl continued, as can be seen in 922 or 932 when, together with the “inhabitants of Lleida”, they went to fight Muḥammad ibn Lubb ibn Qasī who was hiding in Algerri.

The events in Algerri triggered a series of key events for the immediate future of the Banū Qasī. On one hand, although they had recovered the government of Lleida, their weakness was evident given that, the same year, the Banū Tuġīb had gained control of Barbastro, like Monzon, an important fortress, halfway between Huesca and Lleida. The same year, the Banū Qasī lost the cradle of their lineage, Tudela, to the Banū Tuġīb. Due to this instability, in 927, “the people of Lleida” expelled the Banū Qasī from the city’s government and replaced them with a Banū Tuġīb. Obviously, in Lleida, this was a tactical move to ally with the strongest family on the Upper March and who was also loyal to the Cordoban Emir.

With the proclamation of the Caliphate of Cordoba in 929, the Muladi families disappeared from the centre stage of power in Andalusian territory. That same 929, Bernard I, Count of Ribagorza,⁶⁰ brother-in-law of the last Banū Qasī, betrayed and killed him, thus ending the lineage in the region of the Ebro Valley. It was a Christian nobleman related to the Banū Qasī who put an end to the dynasty that had governed the vast and complex territory of the Upper March for over a century.

2.2 *The Peak and Consolidation of the Caliphate of Cordoba (929–1017)*

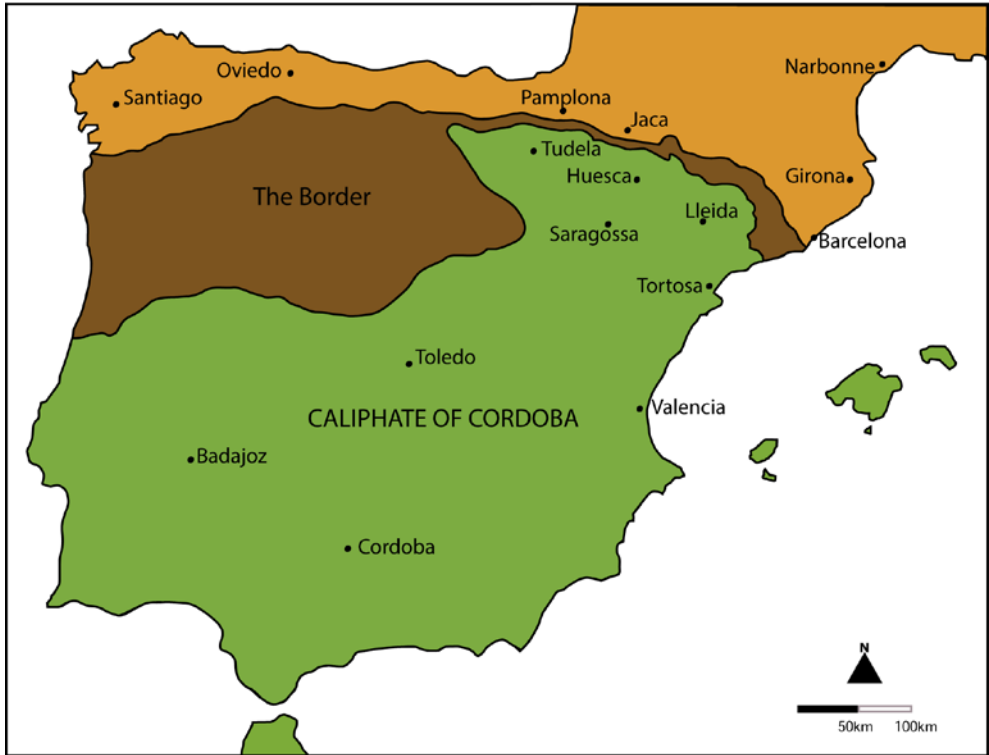
Since coming to power in 912, Emir ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III had sought to consolidate al-Andalus under the care of his family, the Umayyads, and unite the entire region, hence his eagerness to defeat the Muladi uprising of Umar ibn Ḥaḥṣūn, reduce his influence in the region and the power of the Muladi families from the Upper March. With the aim of strengthening power both within

57 In the end, Monzon returned under the watchful gaze of the Banū Qasī and became part of the Islamic district of Lleida.

58 Bramon, *De quan érem o no musulmans*, pp. 267–68.

59 Flocel Sabaté, *Història de Lleida. Alta edat mitjana* (Lleida, 2003), pp. 41–103.

60 Juan Vernet, “Un texto nuevo e importante para la historia de la España musulmana hasta el siglo XI,” *Revista del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos* 13 (1965–1966), 17–24.



MAP 2.1 *The Iberian Peninsula during the Caliphate of Cordoba.*

MAP BY JESÚS BRUFAL AND BRILL.

al-Andalus and Northern Africa, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Al-lāh (“he who victoriously fights for Allāh’s religion”) followed the example of the Fatimid Caliphate⁶¹ and proclaimed himself Caliph in 929 in the city of Cordoba.⁶²

Caliph ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III started to prepare structures that would consolidate al-Andalus as an entity administered by a centralised power run from Cordoba.⁶³ That is why he created two administrative figures to act on his behalf: the ḥāḡib⁶⁴ and the qadī or cadi.⁶⁵ In 936, he ordered the construc-

61 Philippe Sénac, *Le monde musulman des origines au XI^e siècle* (Paris, 2007), pp. 110–12.

62 Eduardo Manzano, *Conquistadores, emires y califas. Los Omeyas y la formación de al-Andalus* (Barcelona, 2006).

63 Gabriel Martínez-Gros, *L’idéologie Omeyyade. La construction de la légitimité du Califat de Cordoue (X^e–XI^e siècles)* (Madrid, 1992).

64 The roles of the ḥāḡib are those of the head of government with power in central administration and the management of the Andalusian districts.

65 This qadī was the head of all magistracies in al-Andalus.

tion of the large palatial city of Madīnat al-Zahrā, a symbol of the power and splendour of the Umayyad family and al-Andalus. In 944, he commissioned the building of important shipyards in Tortosa while continuing to fortify the land and sea borders.⁶⁶

The Caliphate's control of the Andalusian districts followed the same vein as the Emirate, with the difference that, by then, the Caliph appointed each governor for a short period. This practise was evident in 934 when the Caliph appointed Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ilyās governor of Tortosa, although he had previously been governor of Valencia and Huesca.⁶⁷ In the Upper March, mobility of the governors increased since the Caliphate sought to appoint people loyal to the Umayyads to avoid revolts like that of the Banū Tuġīb in 934, which was quickly suppressed by Caliph 'Abd al-Raḥmān III.

Nonetheless, the border with the Christians started to be seen as a danger, hence looting expeditions were still being sent to strategic areas. Two of these ended in defeat: to Osma in 933 and Simancas in 939. These failures were seen as the weakness of the caliphate in the face of the challenges to the unity of its own territory by the Christian kingdoms and counties that were gradually advancing into the border area. This led 'Abd al-Raḥmān III to adopt a different strategy to the regional lineages and to agree peace treaties with the Christian enemies. It was within this context that in 933 and 934 the Banū Tuġīb of Saragossa rose against the caliph. They made common cause with King Ramiro II of Leon, who acted in Saragossa to face the Caliph 'Abd al-Raḥmān III.⁶⁸ The revolt broke out in Saragossa, the capital of the Upper March, and spread to a good part of the territory as shown by the fact that Huesca joined the opposition to the Caliphate in 937. Concerning the former, in 937 he reached an agreement with the Banū Tuġīb about the governance of most of the territory of the Ebro Valley, including Lleida and Balaguer and the eastern fortresses,⁶⁹ besides guaranteeing that the positions held could be inherited within a lineage. Regarding the latter, there were several embassies, such as those of 939 and 940, between the Caliphate and Count Sunyer of Barcelona. Caliphs Al-Ḥakam II and Hišām II followed in the same line of policies with those families settled in the Upper March. In the case of the Banū Tuġīb, this meant them becoming a very powerful dynasty throughout the Ebro Valley,

66 Norman attacks occurred throughout the tenth century; one can highlight the assaults on Alcacer do Sal and Lisbon around 966. Jaime Ferreiro, *Arribadas de normandos y cruzados a las costa de la península Ibérica* (Madrid, 1999), pp. 35–41.

67 Bramon, *De quan érem o no musulmans*, pp. 276–77.

68 Sénac, *La frontière et les hommes*, p. 101.

69 Bramon, *De quan érem o no musulmans*, p. 287.

which explains how this family was able to support a taifa kingdom in such a large area after the abolition of the Caliphate in 1031.

The caliphate's concern with the Upper March is clear in 940 when 'Abd al-Raḥmān III sent his qadī 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī 'Īsa to mediate with the governors of Calatayud and Daroca, or in 941, when the same caliph sent 'Abd Allāh ibn Ḥudayr to recover the fortresses of Labata and Labiba and the bulwarks of Sen and Men.⁷⁰ At the same time, the caliph began an ambitious building programme to colonise the lands of the Ebro Valley with the clear purpose of structuring the area and generating synergies in his favour and in detriment to the links between the families traditional in the territory. This is seen in the area of Huesca and more specifically, in Marcen.⁷¹

The early years of the caliph Hišām II were marked by more movements on the edges of the Upper March. In 963, in command of a grand coalition made up of Pamplona, Castile and Barcelona, Sancho I of Leon attacked various parts of Al-Andalus, but Yaḥya ibn Muḥammad al-Tuġġibi, governor of Saragossa, sallied to defend the Ebro Valley. Again, Saragossa became the capital of the March, in this case, to avoid the attacks of the Christian coalition. Indeed, during the reign of the last Caliph of Cordoba, Hišām II, the Amiri family, to which the post of ḥāġib belonged, gained strength. The first was Muḥammad ibn Abī 'Āmir al-Manṣūr (978–1002). With the Amiri controlling the power of the Caliphate, the borders of al-Andalus gained special importance due to the strengthening of the Christian kingdoms and counties, which stood up to Islamic incursions while accelerating their advance into the border territory. That is why the Upper March became a base for military expeditions, while cities like Saragossa and Lleida covered the rearguard of the punishing army.⁷² The military importance of the entire Ebro Valley during the rule of al-Manṣūr directly influenced the absence of uprisings by regional lineages against the authority of the caliphate. The numerous expeditions led by al-Manṣūr against the Christian kingdoms and counties also benefited these families, as can be seen in the lack of information about Banū Tuġġib complaints or revolts during the last quarter of the tenth century and evidence of their complete obedience to the Amiri cause.⁷³

The death of al-Manṣūr in 1002 was seen by the Christian kingdoms and counties as a weakness of al-Andalus and the Caliphate institution, hence

70 Viguera, *Aragón musulmán*, pp. 151–52.

71 Philippe Sénac, *Un "village" d'al-Andalus aux alentours de l'an Mil. Las Sillas (Marcén, province de Huesca)* (Toulouse, 2009), pp. 126–29.

72 Viguera, *Aragón musulmán*, p. 163.

73 Viguera, *Aragón musulmán*, p. 164.

the proliferation of attacks across the border to effectively penetrate into Andalusian territory. Faced with this strategy, the Caliphate reinforced the role of Saragossa as the strategic base for operations in the north. In Albesa in 1003,⁷⁴ the troops of the new ḥāḡib of Caliph Hišām II, ‘Abd al-Malik al-Muẓaffar, fought to repel a county raid on Montsec and that reached the entrance to the Lleida plains, one of the most fertile areas in the Islamic district of Lleida. That same year, al-Muẓaffar ordered the Montmagastre Castle and its land⁷⁵ to be repopulated in a clear attempt to consolidate the border against the gradual advance of the county society. This strategy was probably more efficient than the Cordoban army raids year after year. One understands that they consolidated a region by contributing people to occupy and utilise it.

In 1006, from Saragossa, al-Muẓaffar attacked Sobrarbe, including the Plain of Binueste, San Juan de la Peña, Aina, Buil and Roda, but he was defeated in the Battle of Tora.⁷⁶ His return to Cordoba without the expected booty triggered tensions within a society fragmented by the addition of new Berbers and European slaves (*saqaliba*)⁷⁷ to the Amiri army over decades, despite the fact that the Andalusian unity had been built on three centuries of coexistence between Arabs, Berbers and Muladis. The uprising of Cordoba in 1009–1010 initially resulted in the Amiris, along with Caliph Hišām II, being overthrown. Who assumed the supposed control of al-Andalus was al-Mahdī: when he expelled the new Berbers and *saqaliba* from Cordoba, they spread throughout Andalusian territory, and later sought their own candidate, Sulaymān al-Mustaʿīn, to govern al-Andalus. The two sides, with the support of Christian troops (like the expedition of Catalans to Cordoba in 1010), met at ‘Aqabat al-Baqar, close to the Andalusian capital. There they waged a fierce and bloody battle where many Muslims perished, together with Christian mercenaries brought in to reinforce the shock troops. The *fitna* of 1010 marked the start of a new political and territorial period in al-Andalus, that of the taifas. The Caliphate continued to whither away until 1031 when the citizens of Cordoba permanently abolished it. Meanwhile, up to thirteen proclamations were made by the Caliph, highlighting the irreparable social divide among Andalusian Muslims.

In the Upper March, the *fitna* represented the consolidation and strengthening of the Banū Tuḡīb who were in favour of the Umayyad and protected the

74 Dolors Bramon, “La batalla de Albesa (25 de febrero de 1003) y la primera aceifa de ‘Abd al-Malik al-Muẓaffar (verano del mismo año),” *Anaquel de estudios árabes* 6 (1995), 21–28.

75 Bramon, *De quan érem o no musulmans*, pp. 342–43.

76 Bramon, *De quan érem o no musulmans*, p. 352, n. 342.

77 David Wasserstein, *The rise and fall of the Party-Kings. Politics and society in Islamic Spain* (Princeton, 1985).

Amiris. Nonetheless, given its traditional uniqueness, Tortosa accepted that the *saqaliba* linked to the old Amiri army could settle there. With the *fitna*, attention to one's own lineage grew over and above collective interests, as can be seen in the governments of the taifas, which were headed by lineages from the same ethnicity or social group. In 1017, a new lineage, the Banū Hūd, erupted with force in the district of Lleida, and expelled the Banū Tuġīb Arabs from the region. This was the start of a new period in the Upper March where this new lineage of supposedly Arab descent would determine the political future of the region and al-Andalus.

2.3 *Territorial Cohesion: Countryside and City*

Andalusian territory was structured around the cities and rural settlements that gave it unity. The increasingly urban world⁷⁸ gradually took on special relevance in the eighth century and followed several paths to consolidation. The impetus behind this should be sought, on the one hand, in the Andalusian state and, on the other, in the action of groups that organised territorial areas around centres that later became cities, as was the case of Medina Elvira in Granada⁷⁹ and probably Balaguer. However, the genesis⁸⁰ of cities in al-Andalus should be understood in its complexity, since there were many types of foundation to which the case of Pechina (Almeria), born from the union of two *alquerias*, should be added.⁸¹

Gradually, in the urban environment, social groups that stood out from the rest and were identified in Arabic sources as the *aḥl al-madīna*, that is, "the people of the city" became consolidated. In the Upper March, this ruling urban elite imposed itself on the Emir's plans by rejecting the governors he appointed. This demonstrates that in the ninth century, there was a consolidated urban network, with Saragossa, Huesca and Tudela standing out, with

78 Antonio Malpica, "Urban life in al-Andalus and its Role in Social Organization and the Structure of Settlement," *Imago Temporis. Medium Aevum* 4 (2010), 40–41.

79 Antonio Malpica, "La Ciudad de Madinat Ilbira y el poblamiento de la vega de Granada (siglos VIII–XI)," in *Mundos Medievales. Espacios, sociedades y poder*, eds. Beatriz Arízaga, Dolores Mariño, Carmen Díez, Esther Peña, Jesús Ángel Solórzano, Susana Guijarro, Javier Añíbarro, 2 vols. (Santander, 2012), 1: 681–92; Antonio Malpica, "La Ciudad andalusí de Ilbira. Su formación y desarrollo," in *Cristãos e Musulmanos na Idade Média Peninsular. Encontros e Desencontros*, eds. Rosa Varela, Mário Varela, Catarina Tente (Lisbon, 2011), pp. 27–49.

80 Patrice Créssier, Mercedes García-Arenal, eds. *Génese de la ville islamique en al-Andalus et au Maghreb occidental* (Madrid, 1998).

81 Malpica, "Urban life in al-Andalus," p. 49.

enough resources to defy the Emir and at the same time safeguard itself.⁸² So, the Islamic urban emergence in al-Andalus was not complete until the tenth century when, on the one hand, cities like Lleida and Tortosa rose to prominence, and fortresses like Calatayud,⁸³ Balaguer and Monzon became cities at the turn of that same century.

All this happened because cities were the powerhouses of economic activity in al-Andalus given their vital role in the trade of products, whether imported or from local or regional rural areas,⁸⁴ and the collection of taxes from trade and agricultural activity.⁸⁵

The urban world channelled much of the cultural and artistic life of Islam.⁸⁶ This can be seen in the decoration imitated in local pottery and fashion and cultural tendencies transmitted by scholars trained in Cordoba or Egypt. Social cohesion is related to the relevance of the Islamic religion of Sunni affiliation and Maliki law, excellently transmitted by ulemas and alfaquis. It was specifically through religious studies and knowledge of law where the families of traders and artisans found a way for their children to prosper socially.⁸⁷ Islamic cities hosted the figure of the governor as the representative of power. They also headed districts and capitalised an entire regional area like the Upper March. Furthermore, the city welcomed the figures of the qadī and the main

82 I am referring especially to defensive architecture which could not have stood attacks and sieges without constant maintenance. Therefore, they had the financial capacity to invest in defences.

83 Juan Antonio Couto, "Calatayud: una medina en su contexto (siglos IX–X)," in *De la Tarraconense à la Marche Supérieure d'al-Andalus (IV–XI^e siècle): les habitats ruraux*, ed. Philippe Sénac (Toulouse, 2006), pp. 121–44; Manel Feijoo, "Aportació sobre la fundació de ciutats en la Marca Superior d'al-Andalus: Calataiud," in *Arqueologia Medieval. Hàbitats medievals*, ed. Flocel Sabaté (Lleida, 2016), pp. 69–76.

84 Samir Amín, *El desarrollo desigual: Ensayo sobre las formaciones sociales del capitalismo periférico* (Barcelona, 1978), pp. 14–42.

85 Miquel Barceló, "Un estudio sobre la estructura fiscal y procedimientos contables del emirato omeya de Córdoba (138–300/755–912) y el califato (300–366/912–976)," in *El sol que salió por Occidente. (Estudios sobre el estado omeya en al-Andalus)*, ed. Miquel Barceló (Jaen, 1997), pp. 103–36; John Haldon, *The State and the tributary mode of production* (London, 1993); Eduardo Manzano, *Conquistadores, emires y califas: los omeyas y la formación de Al-Andalus* (Barcelona, 2006).

86 Juan Zozaya, "El objeto de arte como expresión del poder Califal," in *El Islam y Cataluña*, eds. Josep Giral, Joan Eusebi Biosca (Barcelona, 1998), pp. 113–19.

87 Xavier Ballestín, "Prosopografía dels Fuqaha' i Ulama' de la zona oriental del Tagr al-A'la: Balaga, Larida, Turtusa (I)," in *Estudios onomástico-biográficos de al-Andalus. Vol. VII. Homenaje a José María Fórneas*, eds. Helena de Felipe Rodríguez, Manuela Marín Niño (Madrid, 1995), pp. 55–119.

ulemas of the region who transmitted their knowledge to society in a full process of Islamisation.

Meanwhile, the rural world in the context from the conquest to the birth of the Caliphate of Cordoba continues to little unknown, although there has been notable progress in its study.⁸⁸ The establishment of farming and pastoral communities in the area contributed to the emergence of villas⁸⁹ that gave cohesion to the region. These were organised according to tribal origin, hence the *Miknasa*,⁹⁰ Berbers settled in Mequinensa. Farms were extremely complex due to the combination of irrigated agriculture and farming and livestock breeding in dry-lands areas, marshy areas and mountainous areas.⁹¹ In this initial context of al-Andalus, the first large peri-urban vegetable gardens were organised, as in Valencia,⁹² Tortosa⁹³ and the Balearic Islands, the latter well into the tenth century.⁹⁴ Agricultural wealth is quite notable in the valleys of the main rivers, like the Ebro, Segre, Gallego or Cinca. In Arabic sources, the latter is known as the river of olive trees, referring to the importance of this crop.⁹⁵ However, farming settlements also gathered near lesser rivers, like the Set, Martin, Guadalope, Corb and Ondara among other small river valleys. The use of smaller humid areas for agriculture is visible in dry-land areas like Castellans and its territory, and the area of the River Martin.⁹⁶

-
- 88 Helena Kirchner, ed., *Por una arqueología agraria. Perspectivas de investigación sobre espacios de cultivo en las sociedades medievales hispánicas* (Oxford, 2010).
- 89 Miquel Barceló, "El diseño de espacios irrigados en al-Andalus: un enunciado de principios generales," in *El agua en zonas áridas: Arqueología e Historia. Actas del I Coloquio de historia y medio físico: Almería, 14-15-16 de diciembre de 1989*, ed. Lorenzo Cara Barrionuevo, 2 vols. (Almería, 1989), 1: 15-47.
- 90 Pere Balañà, *Les arrels islàmiques de Mequinensa* (Barcelona, 1994).
- 91 Jesús Brufal, *El món rural i urbà en la Lleida islàmica (s. XI-XII). Lleida i l'est del districte: Castellans i el pla del Mascançà* (Lleida, 2013).
- 92 Ferran Esquilache, *Els espais agraris i l'estructura social d'una gran horta fluvial andalusina. La construcció i evolució de l'Horta de València entre els segles VIII i XIII*, PhD Dissertation (Valencia, 2015).
- 93 Joan Negre, "Origen y desarrollo de la huerta de Tortosa (siglos IV-XII). El proceso de formación de un macro-espacio irrigado en el levante peninsular," *Historia Agraria* 66 (2015), 11-40.
- 94 Fèlix Retamero, "Los espacios agrícolas de Madina Manûrqa (Ciudadella de Menorca). Siglos X-XIII," in *Por una arqueología agraria. Perspectivas de investigación sobre espacios de cultivo en las sociedades medievales hispánicas*, ed. Helena Kirchner (Oxford, 2010), pp. 95-106.
- 95 Bramon, *De quan érem o no musulmans*, p. 84.
- 96 Brufal, *El món rural i urbà en la Lleida islàmica*, pp. 237-96; Carlos Laliena, "Acerca de la articulación social de los espacios rurales en el Ebro Medio (siglos V-IX)," *Mainake* 31 (2009), 149-63.

Given its geographic location, the Ebro Valley was a communication channel between Christendom and Al-Andalus. This is why, on the Aragonese side of frontier, Latin documents are found which show trade exchanges, in a context of religious radicalism between the Christian and Andalusian societies from the second half of the eleventh century.⁹⁷

The cities were also producers, not only of pottery goods, but also stand out for textile making, especially leather and the production of rock salt in Saragossa.⁹⁸ The city of Fraga, within the district of Lleida, excelled in the production of honey and saffron, as did the Lleida area for the cultivation of flax. Lleida itself was noted for leather making, as was the River Segre for its gold resources on its path through Balaguer and Lleida. In Tarragona, walnuts, hazelnuts, pistachios, chestnuts and grapes were grown, while Tortosa stood out for its kohl mines, the growing of saffron, numerous fruit trees and pinewood for building boats in its shipyards and for the *Aljama* mosque in Cordoba.⁹⁹ The Marcen area was mainly dedicated to cereal and olive growing along with livestock and textile activities.¹⁰⁰

Farming settlements alternated with defensive fortresses built at strategic points to ensure the protection of the inhabitants and control of taxes. In the ninth century, there was a network of small towers now only known by the toponym *cireres*,¹⁰¹ and underground shelters known as *sirdab*, as well as others quite visibly built with lime masonry and medium gauge stone, like Saira, next to an important drove road and the Roman road linking Huesca and Lleida.¹⁰² This type of building took root in the rural areas, thinking about the protection of the inhabitants of villages or farmsteads or to control strategic points like roads, fords, etc. This construction technique was carried out by local builders, heirs to a coarser and relatively simpler way of building than working ashlar stone. It can be stated that there were two groups of builders in the Upper March, a first group of well-trained workers who carried out large defensive

97 Philippe Sénac, "Islam et chrétienté dans l'Espagne du haut Moyen Age: la naissance d'une frontière," *Studia Islamica* 89 (1999), 103–05; José María Lacarra, "Acerca de las fronteras en el valle del Ebro (siglos VIII–XII)," *En la España Medieval* 1 (1980), 181–91.

98 Dolors Bramon, Juan Souto, "Las maravillas de Zaragoza," *Aragón en la Edad Media* 7 (1987), 8–10.

99 Bramon, *De quan érem o no musulmans*, pp. 85–89.

100 Sénac, *Un «village» d'al-Andalus*, p. 125.

101 Pere Balañà, "Les "Cireres" en l'estratègia defensiva andalusina a la frontera superior," *Revista d'Igualada* 12 (2002), 7–11.

102 Jesús Brufal, *Memòria de la Intervenció Arqueològica Preventiva: Recollida de mostres i documentació del Castell de la Ràpita (Vallfogona de Balaguer, la Noguera), el Castell d'Alguair (Alguair, el Segrià) i la Torre de la Saira (Almacelles, el Segrià) (R/N: 494/K121 1-11505/2014)* (Barcelona, unpublished).

buildings and religious works where working the stone required specific skills, and another group, more local in reach, who did defensive buildings, homes, etc., but which did not require the same degree of technical sophistication nor skill in the execution of the work. However, it should be noted that, while waiting for more archaeological data, new building with ashlar, promoted by the Muladi families, stopped from the proclamation of the Caliphate. From this historical context from the mid-tenth century, ashlar were only used in restorations, and the use of adobe and masonry became generalised.

Changes in construction with the Caliphate are also seen in the society, especially in the so-called process of Islamisation. From specific cases like the evolution from military camp to town, very visible in Balaguer, or the founding of new rural settlements like Marcen, it is understood that the Islamisation of the society had reached a high level, especially in urban areas and the rural ones where the density of settlement was higher or that were close to urban centres. This meant that the Mozarab communities were relegated to the northern areas, those almost touching or not very far from the Christian society. That is very visible in Ager, Puibolea¹⁰³ or Castillonroy.

3 Taifas in al-Andalus (1010–1102)

The etymology of the word Taifa is the Arab *tā'ifa*, which means “group of individuals”, “faction” or “party”.¹⁰⁴ After 1031, when the institution of the Caliphate of Cordoba ceased to be effective within al-Andalus and “the people of Cordoba” became aware of this, nearly thirty small kingdoms appeared throughout the region; these were known as the taifa kingdoms. This extreme situation is a clear reflection of Islam’s political weakness, which is linked to a marked incapacity for dynastic legitimacy.¹⁰⁵ In these kingdoms, families from the same social group took the helm, while ensuring that neighbouring taifas were also close to their inclinations. The Banū Tuġīb had monopolised control of all the territories in the Ebro Valley since 1016. The taifas were seen as a misappropriation of caliphal power by groups strongly tied to regional power.¹⁰⁶ Nonetheless, in the specific case of the Banū Tuġīb, they tried to keep the institution of the caliphate alive by supporting candidates positively inclined

103 S  nac, *La Fronti  re et les hommes*, pp. 123–27.

104 Fran  ois Cl  ment, *Pouvoir et l  gitimit   en Espagne musulmane    l  poque des Taifas (V  /XI   si  cle)* (Paris, 1997), p. 13.

105 Christophe Picard, *Le monde musulman du XI   au XV   si  cle* (Paris, 2001), p. 11.

106 Andr   Clot, *L’Espagne musulmane VIII  –XV   si  cle* (Paris, 2004), p. 189.



MAP 2.2 *The taifa's kingdoms in Al-Andalus and the Christian kingdoms and counties in the North of the Iberian Peninsula in mid-eleventh century.*

MAP BY JESÚS BRUFAL AND BRILL.

towards them. The *coras*, administrative areas of the Emirate, were the territorial base around which taifas were organised. Despite this, in practice, the territory was structured around thriving Andalusian cities. Saragossa, Badajoz, Toledo, Seville, Almeria, Valencia, Denia, Granada, Lleida and Tortosa, among others, and at a different level, each had enough capacity to meet the social and economic needs of their respective taifas.

Power in the taifas was supported by the figure of a prince,¹⁰⁷ although this power could also be awarded by a city through “the people of the city”, as occurred in Toledo and Seville. This power is a clear indication of how each of the regions of al-Andalus evolved. In the Upper March, first the Muladi and then the Arab lineages remained in power and legalised themselves in it. Until the first half of the eleventh century, taifas supported their territorial hegemony

107 Imitating the Caliph's idea to seek the legitimacy that would consolidate their control of the Taifa.

with economic strength. A good reflection of this is the building of residential palaces in Saragossa and Balaguer, the boom in cultural life and the arts, and the proliferation of science and knowledge.¹⁰⁸

3.1 *The Banū Hūd Lineage and the Border*

During the first third of the eleventh century, King Sancho III of Pamplona, also Count of Aragon and, from 1018, Count of Ribagorza (next to Aragon by the East) stabilised the frontiers at the cost of the Muslims.¹⁰⁹ At the same time, there were also important changes in the organisation of the Upper March. In 1017, in the district of Lleida, a new lineage, the Banū Hūds, led by the patriarch Sulaymān, imposed themselves on the Banū Tuġīb Arabs. From Lleida, the former pursued a policy of good neighbourly relations with the other territories in the Upper March, while remaining attentive to events in Cordoba and the successions in the taifas in the Eastern Iberian Peninsula. The death of Mundīr II of the Banū Tuġīb in 1039 opened the door to the Lleida Banū Hūd to gain control over the entire Upper March. Therefore, once again, the Ebro Valley was under the control of one lineage, which monitored this enormous region from Lleida, on the eastern tip. Furthermore, in this context of superiority, Sulaymān ibn Hūd mediated in the Taifas of Valencia and Denia, even annexing the latter in 1045 through his daughter's marriage to the eldest son of Denia.¹¹⁰ The supremacy of the Banū Hūd led them to mint coins in Hellin,¹¹¹ a dramatic move in the context of the Andalusian taifas, where Sulaymān ibn Hūd clearly stood out as the most powerful leader. Despite the control of the Islamic territory of the Upper March, the territorial decline was clearly visible. Also in 1045, García Sánchez III of Pamplona conquered Calahorra, leaving the northeast of the Ebro Valley almost unprotected.¹¹²

In 1046, Sulaymān ibn Hūd died. In 1049, his four sons divided up the territories their father had unified: Aḥmad took Saragossa, Muḥammād became the leader of Calatayud, Lubb, of Huesca and Lleida was for Yūšuf al-Muẓaffar,

108 Josep Giral, "La arquitectura de los 'Mulūk al-ṭawā'if,'" in *El Islam y Cataluña*, eds. Josep Giral, Joan Eusebi García Biosca (Barcelona, 1998), pp. 175–80.

109 Fernando Galtier, *Ribagorza, condado independiente*, pp. 211–23.

110 Ibn ʿIdarī, *Al-Bayan al-Muġrib*, ed. Ambrosio Huici (Valencia, 1963), p. 130.

111 Maria Soler, *Les emissions monetàries dels Banū Tuġīb i dels Banū Hūd de la Marca Superior d'al-Andalus*, PhD Dissertation (Lleida, 1997).

112 Carlos Laliena, "Guerra santa y conquista feudal en el noroeste de la península a mediados del siglo XI: Barbastro, 1064," in *Cristianos y musulmanes en la Península Ibérica. La guerra, la frontera y la convivencia. XI Congreso de estudios medievales*, Fundación Sánchez Albornoz (Avila, 2009), p. 392.

the eldest son.¹¹³ Following this distribution, tensions arose between Aḥmad and Yuṣuf that would have an important impact on the loss of the territory to the Christian counties and kingdoms during the second half of the eleventh century. Simultaneously, this conflict between the two brothers increased alliances with the neighbouring Christian countries, mainly the rulers of Castile, Aragon, Urgell and Barcelona. These agreements were compensated with territorial concessions, like that of Camarasa to the Count of Barcelona in 1050,¹¹⁴ or the payment of taxes (called *parias*) in exchange for military assistance. Furthermore, in the second half of the eleventh century, characters like Arnau Mir de Tost and Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar, known as *el Cid*, who lived off war and the conquest of Islamic territory came into play.

Although the Taifas of Saragossa and Lleida paid *parias* to the Christian kingdoms and counties in search of non-belligerent agreements or military alliances, the retreat of the frontier was very visible all over the Ebro Valley. Thus, in 1058, Ramiro I of Aragon conquered the fortress of Puibolea,¹¹⁵ and in 1060, Ferdinand I of Leon and Castile attacked the Taifa of Saragossa. In 1062, Ramiro conquered Benabarre, Laguarres, Lascuarre, Falces, Luzas and Viacamp, and then in 1063, concentrated his efforts on conquering Graus, although this attempt ended with his death.¹¹⁶

Simultaneously there was a gradual religious radicalisation fuelled by the alfaquis against the policy of the taifa rulers. A good example is the victory of Aḥmad ibn Hūd in 1063–1064 at Barbastro over the Kingdom of Aragon,¹¹⁷ seen as an act of *ḡihād* against the infidel.¹¹⁸ In fact, in the last quarter of the eleventh century, the region of the Upper March suffered important loses to the Christian kingdoms and counties, the result of intense efforts to conquer Islamic territory. This was clearly visible in Alquezar in 1065 and in the Segre Valley when the Count of Urgell, Ermengol IV, conquered the castle of Gerb in 1082 and the fortress of La Rapita in 1091,¹¹⁹ thus surrounding the second

113 Ibn Idari, *La caída del Califato de Córdoba y los Reyes de Taifas (al-Bayan al-Mugrib)*, ed. Felipe Maíllo (Salamanca, 1993), p. 186.

114 Dolors Domingo, *Una frontera interior. Montgai i Butsènit a l'edat mitjana* (Lleida, 2014), p. 57.

115 Sénac, *La frontière et les hommes*, pp. 386–90.

116 Laliena, “Guerra santa y conquista feudal,” p. 408.

117 Sénac, *La Frontière et les homes*, pp. 391–417; Laliena, “Guerra santa y conquista feudal,” pp. 410–12.

118 ‘Abd al-Malik ibn al-Karadabūs, *Historia de al-Andalus*, ed. Felipe Maíllo (Madrid, 1986), p. 94.

119 Flocel Sabaté, *L'expansió territorial de Catalunya (segles IX–XII): conquesta o repoblació?* (Lleida, 1996), p. 80.

city in the district of Lleida, Balaguer. In 1083, the king of Aragon, Sancho Ramírez conquered Graus, and then moved south adding the fortress of Secastilla in 1084.¹²⁰ In addition, the County of Barcelona advanced through the *faḥs Maškiḡān* conquering key places like La Fuliola and Barbens.¹²¹ The loss of Toledo in 1085 to Alfonso VI of Leon and Castile signalled the questioning of the system of governing taifas, since one of the emblematic capitals of al-Andalus and consequently, one of the most important taifas, had been lost.¹²² Meanwhile, the northern frontier was quickly pushed back, with the loss of Huesca, which fell into the hands of Peter I of Aragon in 1096, the same king who also conquered Barbastro in 1101.¹²³

In the last quarter of the eleventh century, faced with the continuous harrying of the Andalusian territory in the Ebro Valley, the third generation of governors of the Banū Hūd family of Lleida and Saragossa tried to strengthen and maintain ties with the remaining region through alliances with the eastern taifas. Therefore, the conflict between them was moved there, and specifically between Denia and Valencia. During this long conflict, Lleida was the biggest loser while Saragossa and more precisely its ally, Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar, who was also a vassal of Alfonso VI of Leon and Castile, benefited greatly. In 1090, al-Mundir of Lleida died leaving a ruined taifa threatened by the Counties of Urgell and Barcelona and the Kingdom of Aragon. Between 1090 and 1102, the year in which the Almoravids conquered the Taifa of Lleida, Sulaymān, son of the deceased al-Mundir, was in power. This marked the beginning of a new stage, which commenced with a thread of hope that would quickly fade, because the situation was irreversible. The process soon started, and the cure, if it ever existed, came too late. The arrival of the Almoravids signalled the last Islamic stage in the territories of the Ebro Valley,¹²⁴ one which coincided with the start of a period of increasingly radical ideologies and religious fervour that became an incentive to defend and advance through regions, as well as to shape hatred of the enemy.

120 Viguera, *Aragón musulmán*, p. 209.

121 Prim Bertran, "Notes sobre els orígens d'unes poblacions urgellenques: la Fuliola, Boldú i Belcaire als segles XI i XII," *Ilerda* 42 (1981), 256–57.

122 Felipe Mailló, "Guerra y sociedad a fines del siglo XI," in *De Toledo a Huesca. Sociedades medievales en transición a finales del siglo XI (1080–1100)*, eds. Carlos Laliena, Juan Francisco Utrilla (Saragossa, 1998), pp. 11–27.

123 Carlos Laliena, *La formación del Estado Feudal. Aragón y Navarra en la Época de Pedro I* (Huesca, 1996), pp. 153–94.

124 Vincent Lagardère, *Les almoravides jusqu'au regne de Yūsuf ibn Tāšfin (1039–1106)* (Paris, 1989), pp. 101–46.

3.2 *The Dawn of the Rural World: The Almunias*

One of the most notable changes in the countryside in the eleventh century was the emergence of *almunias* throughout the territory of the Upper March. *Almunia* is the Latinisation of the Arabic word *munya*, which was set up in peri-urban and rural areas to manage irrigated and rain-fed land, and could have windmills.¹²⁵ These *almunias* belonged to families, as can be seen in the particle clearly visible in the prefixes *avin-* *avan-*, *vin-*, which is nothing more than the Arab form *ibn* that shaped an individual's name and indicated a relationship of affiliation.¹²⁶ All over the Ebro Valley, these people were associated with the urban elite of the Upper March, highlighting, for example, the qadī Abin Habanon of Monzon who had houses in the city and an *almunia* on the outskirts or Iben Abtalib of Huesca, who owned houses in the city and properties in Banastas, Yequeda, Chimillas, Nueno and Sabayes.¹²⁷ Therefore, throughout the region there were *almunias* bearing the name Vencillo, Vinatesa, Avinaced, Avinefar,AVINGOZAR, AVINGANYA, VINFERRI, VINAIXA, etc.

By the end of the tenth century, *almunias* were visible around Tudela, Saragossa, Huesca, Lleida and Tortosa, the leading cities on the Upper March. These properties were acquisitions of land by people related to the urban elites. In the eleventh century, this praxis was widely extended around the territory, as seen in the toponymy and in the Latin sources. The privatisation of the properties by urban families had key effects in the eleventh century, given that, on one hand, the land was settled but on the other, the peasant population lost control of the farmland and pastures, a fact that requires further study.

These settlements were set up in areas where the natural environment ensured the surroundings could be farmed, for instance in the proximity of major or minor rivers, in humid areas where the water was of good quality, and next to wells or springs.¹²⁸ In summary, Muslims sought the best areas that, from an environmental viewpoint, ensured the productivity of their property.

The vitality of the *almunias* is evident in their ability to defend themselves in the case of Christian raids. Thus, their towers were built with ashlar placed

125 Jesús Brufal, "Les alumunias du district musulman de Lérida (XI^e–XII^e siècles)," in *Terroires d'al-Andalus et du Maghreb Médiéval: Peuplements, Ressources et Sainteté*, eds. Élie Voguet, Sophie Gilotte (Saint Denis, 2015), pp. 150–78.

126 Xavier Eritja, *De l'Almunia a la Turris: organització de l'espai a la regió de Lleida (segles XI–XIII)* (Lleida, 1998), p. 34.

127 Philippe Sénac, "Evolución del poblamiento musulmán al norte del Ebro (siglos VIII–XI)," in *Arqueologia Medieval. Reflexions des de la pràctica*, ed. Flocel Sabaté (Lleida, 2007), p. 151.

128 Brufal, *El món rural i urbà en la Lleida islàmica*, pp. 297–350.

as headers and stretchers or built from masonry.¹²⁹ Therefore, these were not residential settlements like those seen in Southern al-Andalus, but a model of agricultural production.

The villas or *alquerias* set up in the ninth, and especially the tenth, century continued to utilise and occupy the territory of the Ebro Valley in accordance with the established model: proximity to watercourses, use of humid areas and the management of wells and springs. This is why these settlements always paid attention to irrigation networks to practice mainly cereal growing, combined with vegetable products and stockbreeding. However, as the eleventh century progressed and the twelfth century approached, as these settlements were more scattered in comparison with the *almunias*, they started to be abandoned out of fear of Christian raids.¹³⁰ In fact, their vulnerability exemplifies the collapse of the Andalusian defensive system, where the strong towers from the previous century, or imposing fortresses like Balaguer, Corbins or Tamarit, no longer fulfilled their function. Rural society, clearly helpless, had to flee to safer ground.

The farms had precise boundaries and a set of infrastructures they were made up of (tower, domestic areas, land, wells). That is why, once conquered, they became a good starting point for the installation of the new economic regime brought by the conquerors, feudalism.

4 The Almoravid Conquest and the End of Islamic Rule in the Ebro Valley

In 1102, the Almoravids took control of much of the Ebro Valley and surroundings¹³¹ after conquering Valencia in 1101, the city that had prevented their advance due to Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar's resistance. By summoning the alfaquis and with the support of the people, they quickly spread throughout these regions threatened by Christian counties and kingdoms. It should be noted, however, that Saragossa initially did not join the Almoravid rule, but reached an agreement about its autonomy in exchange for acknowledging the

129 Jesús Brufal, "Identificación y sistematización de las técnicas constructivas andalusíes en el distrito de Lleida," in *Nuevas investigaciones de jóvenes medievalistas*, ed. Concepción Villanueva (Murcia, 2013), pp. 69–80.

130 Philippe Sénac, *Un "village" d'al-Andalus aux alentours de l'an Mil. Las Sillas (Marcén, province de Huesca)* (Toulouse, 2009).

131 They incorporated the territories of Tortosa, Albarracín, Alpuente and Lleida.



MAP 2.3 *Al-Andalus under the Almoravids Empire in the context of the Iberian Peninsula before 1118.*

MAP BY JESÚS BRUFAL AND BRILL.

sovereignty of the Almoravid Emir. Later on, in 1110, “the people of the city” of Saragossa summoned the Almoravids to expel the last Banū Hūd from the city.

The eager arrival of Almoravid warriors briefly stopped the retreat throughout the Upper March, but this was only a mirage. In 1105, Balaguer, the second city in the Lleida district was assimilated into the county of Urgell, and Tamarit fortress was swallowed by the Kingdom of Aragon in 1107. There were various clashes near Saragossa in 1110 and 1111 between the Almoravids and the coalition made up of Alfonso I of Aragon and the exiled Banū Hūd ‘Imād al-Dawla. In 1116, Lleida lost the Aspres region and with it, the castles of Algerri, Os and Castello. In 1118, Alfonso I of Aragon conquered the capital of the Upper March, Saragossa.¹³² The Almoravids neglected the Upper March because they thought

¹³² José Luís Corral, “La reconquista del valle del Ebro,” *Militaria. Revista de cultura militar* 12 (1998), 56–59.

the true danger was Castile and not the Kingdom of Aragon and Counties of Urgell and Barcelona. They changed the regional capitals, which had irremediable consequences for al-Andalus,¹³³ and so their expeditions were sent out from Valencia and not Saragossa.

As a result of the loss of Saragossa, Daroca and Calatayud were added to the Kingdom of Aragon immediately. Then, in 1122, Sigüenza and Medinaceli also came under Aragonese domain,¹³⁴ while the Count of Urgell conquered Albesa and had *carte blanche* to besiege the city of Lleida. In fact, since the first decade of the twelfth century, the district of Lleida had become the last stronghold of Western Islam given that Saragossa was dying. The loss of the latter left the district of Lleida practically isolated and led it to forge ties with Tortosa and the Iberian Levant.

As the century advanced, there were important migratory movements from the Upper March southwards in search of safe areas to live within Islamic territory. This can be seen in Murcia, which welcomed a large number of Muslims from Lleida. The defensive towers of the farmsteads were no longer shelters for the rural population. The perception that the enemy could strike at any moment was widespread. Very few Islamic buildings from the twelfth century are perceptible, which means that they were either abandoned or, simply, only simple maintenance was carried out. The Andalusian countryside gradually lost its splendour as a consequence of the difficulties of maintaining the irrigation systems, farm the fields or grazing the animals. Similarly, trade became increasingly restricted to the immediate surroundings of the urban centres of Tortosa and Lleida, and from these places, southward.

The Lamtūna Banū Turğūt were the Almoravid elite.¹³⁵ This lineage monopolised all the power of the African emirate, relegating the autochthonous elites to second place. This can be seen in the various properties incorporated by ibn Ganiya, governor of Valencia, in the 1130s, after the important victory over Alfonso I of Aragon at Fraga in 1134.¹³⁶ However, tensions arising from the impermeability of Almoravid leadership, ideological control and bad relationships with the Christian and Jewish minorities encouraged a marked fragmentation between Andalusians and Almoravids. In addition, the latter had a serious problem due to the Almohad reform of 1130 when Ibn Mahdī pro-

133 Jesús Brufal, "La sociedad almorávide en el distrito de Lérida (1102–1146). La representación del poder mediante las propiedades rurales," *Medievalismo* 17 (2007), 13–38.

134 Antonio Ubieto, *Historia de Aragón. La formación territorial* (Saragossa, 1981), p. 163.

135 Vincent Lagardère, *Les Almoravides. Le djihād andalou (106–1143)* (Paris, 1999).

136 Viguera, *Aragón musulmán*, pp. 241–44.

claimed himself Caliph. Two fronts weakened the Almoravids and in 1146, they lost all territorial control after being defeated in al-Andalus and the Maghreb.

The defeat of the Almoravids opened new channels of Andalusian representation through the son of the last King of Saragossa, known as Zafadola, the last governor of Lleida, 'Abd Al-lāh ibn 'Iyad, and the son of the defender of Fraga against the Aragonese, ibn Mardaniš. They personified Andalusian identity: a tolerant Muslim country with a population united after four centuries of Islam, differentiated from the Christians in the north and the African Muslims. The death of the first two in 1146 and 1147 left ibn Mardaniš to stand out alone. Known as the "Wolf King", he then tried to consolidate an Andalusian homeland in the Eastern Peninsula with its capital in Murcia.¹³⁷ The remaining territory of the Upper March saw in this a glimpse of hope of remaining linked to al-Andalus, but ibn Mardaniš did not incorporate Tortosa or Lleida so as not to upset the Christians with whom he shared enemies: the Almohads who, since 1146, had been entering the Iberian Peninsula. Tortosa and Lleida were left to their fate, which was soon tested in 1148 when the first was conquered, followed by the second in 1149, thus putting an end to Islamic civilisation in the Ebro Valley.

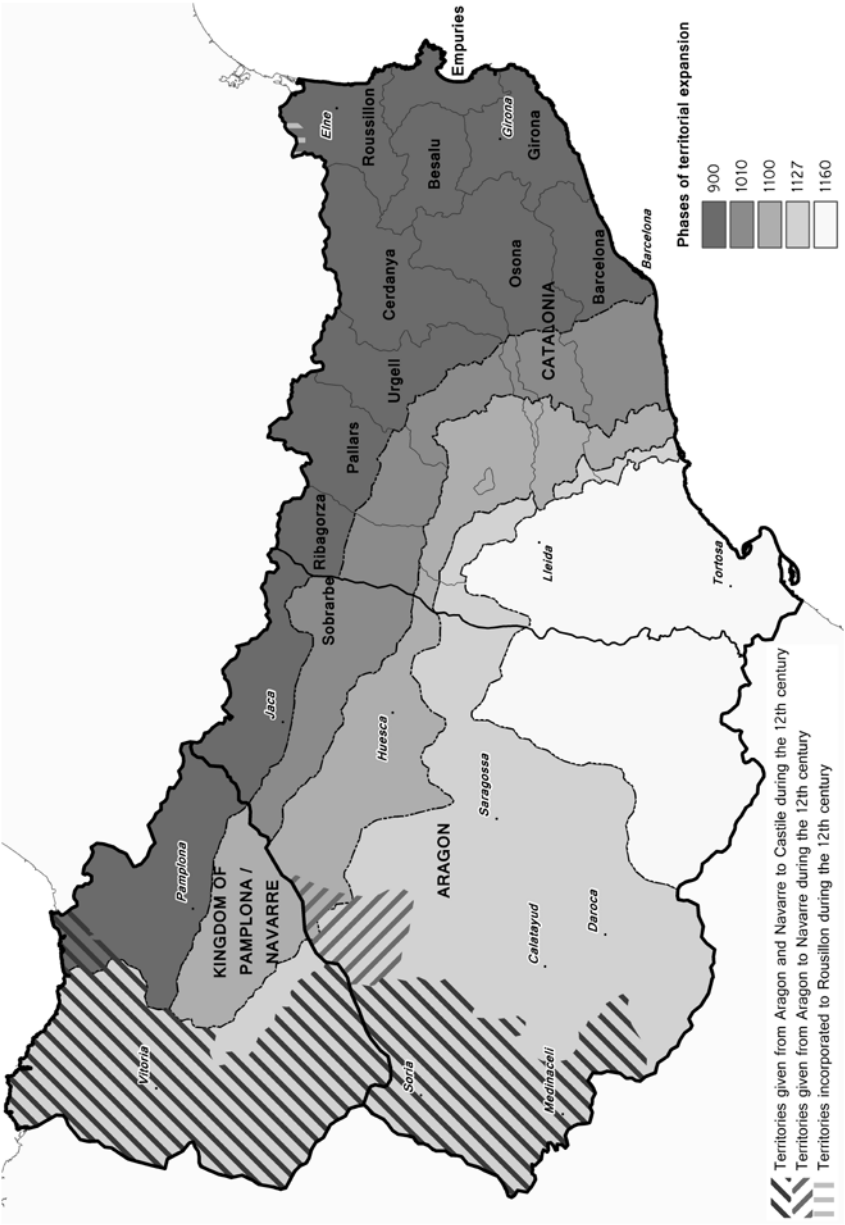
¹³⁷ Ignacio Cavero, "Una revisión de la figura de Ibn Mardanish. Su alianza con el reino de Castilla y la oposición frente a los almohades," *Miscelánea Medieval Murciana* 31 (2007), 95–110.

Aragon and the Catalan Counties Before the Union

Adam J. Kosto

A chapter on the history of the medieval Crown of Aragon to 1137 necessarily suffers from a conceptual challenge: it could reasonably be argued that such a history can only begin at that date. In that year, Ramon Berenguer IV, count of Barcelona (1131–1162), was betrothed to the infant Petronilla, heiress of the Kingdom of Aragon, uniting in a single dynasty control over the two core lands of the confederation that would later be known as the Crown of Aragon. Use of phrases such as *Corona Aragonum* to refer to the confederation as a whole, however, appear only in the early fourteenth century, when James II, count of Barcelona and king of Aragon (1291–1327), replaced a dynastic union with a constitutional one. As for the constituent parts themselves, while Aragon as a coherent political entity is attested as early as the ninth century, “Catalonia” as a recognized region—as opposed to the collection of Eastern Pyrenean counties in various combinations—emerges at the earliest around 1120, in a Pisan chronicle. Political contacts between these two areas are rarely attested before the very end of the period, when they were as often as not in open conflict, and connections to Valencia and the Balearics were even rarer ... let alone to the Crown’s future Mediterranean possessions further east. Most of the lands north of the Pyrenees gained by the counts of Barcelona in this period were lost in the wake of the Albigensian Crusade.

Studying the “prehistory” of the Crown of Aragon thus requires navigating between the dangers of teleology on the one hand and factitiousness on the other, while suffering the occasional anachronism (such as “Catalan counties,” to be used here). The fact that the histories of Aragon and Catalonia before the confederation are usually told separately probably has less to do with these challenges than with strong regionalist traditions of historiography, backed by a modern linguistic divide. While there are good geographical, political, and even linguistic grounds for the division of Aragon and Catalonia, however, there is something to be gained from viewing them in parallel, as societies in the same region facing similar challenges and responding in similar ways.



MAP 3.1 *Aragon and Catalonia 800–1160.*
MAP BY FLOCEL SABATÉ AND SERVEI CIENTIFICOTÈCNIC DE CARTOGRAFIA I SISTEMES D'INFORMACIÓ
GEGRÀFICA DE LA UNIVERSITAT DE LLEIDA.

1 The Political Framework

In the wake of the fall of the Visigothic monarchy and the conquest of the Iberian Peninsula by Muslim forces, the region between the Ebro River and the Pyrenees—the heart of the old Roman province of *Hispania Tarraconensis*—emerged as the boundary between the *dār al-Islām* and Francia. Saragossa and Tarragona fell to Muslim forces by 714, Barcelona by 720. Frankish troops under Louis, king of Aquitaine, took back Barcelona in 801, but Tarragona was not again a Christian city until 1116, and Saragossa not until two years later. Thus until the very end of the period considered in this chapter, the region was a frontier zone. Viewed from Damascus, and then from Cordoba, it was the *thaghr al-aqṣā*, the Upper March, one of the three military zones covering the northern regions of Muslim control. Centered in Saragossa, the *thaghr* reached as far west as Tudela and as far east as Tarragona. Ultimately the eastern parts were given their own designation, the *thaghr al-sharqī*, or Eastern March. With the fall of the Caliphate of Cordoba, the region became, from 1031, the Taifa of Saragossa, with Lleida, Tortosa, and Huesca occasionally acting independently. Viewed from Aachen, it was the *marca*, a term that denoted less an administrative district than an unorganized region. The fundamental administrative division—as throughout the Carolingian world—was not the *marca*, but rather the county or *pagus*, of which we can identify some sixteen, thirteen in the future Principality of Catalonia (Barcelona; Girona; Osona; Urgell; Cerdanya; Conflent; Roussillon; Vallespir; Peralada; Empuries; Besalu; and Pallars, divided into upper and lower halves from c.1011), and three (Ribagorza; Sobrarbe, first mentioned as such in 1027; and Aragon itself, sometimes referred to as Jaca) in the future Kingdom of Aragon.

Even this listing of counties, however, suggests more organization than there was. The counts who appear in the sources from the eighth century as representatives of royal power predated counties as fixed administrative districts by a century or more. The divisions that ultimately emerged were subject to frequent recombination, with multiple counties held by a single count, and some counties absorbing others; this complexity is only exacerbated by the fact that it involves lands on the other side of the Pyrenees, as well, as far north as Toulouse and as far east as the Rhone. Aragon was for much of the period considered here more closely tied to the histories of Navarre and Castile than to Barcelona; the boundary between Aragon and Navarre was not fixed until 1135, while the one between Aragon and Catalonia solidified only over the course of the fourteenth century. But for accidents of human reproduction and mortality, Aragon could have been absorbed permanently into the Kingdom of Navarre—or Pallars, Urgell, and even all of the Catalan counties, into the

Kingdom of Aragon. The “natural” groupings of some counties (Barcelona-Girona-Urgell-Osona, Pallars-Ribagorza) were equally labile.

The reality is found not in lines on maps, but instead in points, and in facts of geography: castles; religious centers; river valleys; and the distinction between the mountains and the plain. When the emirs in Cordoba considered their northern territories, they envisaged a series of fortifications under their control, or in control of Muslim rebels, the most distant of which by the tenth century probably included Najera, Boltaña, Roda, Cervera, and Castellfollit de Riubregos. These were at first simply points of control, with subject populations little changed from Visigothic times, but as Jesús Brufal shows in chapter 2, above, efforts were made in this period to reinforce the areas between the frontier and the major towns further to the south and west, such as Calahorra, Tarazona, Tudela, Barbastro, Saragossa, Huesca, and Lleida.

Things looked quite different from the north. In the substantially less urbanized Christian zone, the towns, depending on how one chooses to define them, were essentially limited to the episcopal sees (Elne, Girona, Barcelona, Vic, La Seu d’Urgell, Roda, Jaca), along with Cardona, Empuries, and Manresa. Military control of the region relied on a substantially denser network of lesser fortifications, when compared to areas under Muslim domination. Population clustered instead in the upland river valleys that eventually formed the backbones of the separate counties. One other fact of geography is worthy of note: the Aragon river runs across the Peninsula before descending into the Ebro plain, defining a valley that facilitates east-west communication between the River Gallego and Pamplona; the easternmost tributaries of the Ebro, however —the Segre, Noguera Pallaresa, and Noguera Ribagorzana— carve out deep north-south valleys that reach far into the plain, essentially blocking communication between Aragon and the eastern Catalan counties. Only when Christian forces took control of the fortresses at the mouths of those valleys were such connections possible. That would not begin to happen until very late in the eleventh century; Balaguer, on the Segre, was reached only in 1105.

Precisely because the regions that would become Aragon and Catalonia had so little substantial contact for nearly three centuries after the initial Frankish intervention in the region, their parallel political developments are best narrated separately. The story of Aragon is the development of the county as the center of control for the region stretching to its east, this larger region’s submersion in the politics of the Kingdom of Pamplona/Navarre, its ultimate emergence as an independent kingdom, and then the explosive territorial growth of that kingdom from the eleventh century onward. The sources for the earliest period are famously sparse: the late tenth-century *Genealogies* of Roda, as checked against a modest number of local charters, most of dubious

authenticity, and histories, notably that of al-'Udhri, support what can only be a tentative reconstruction. From a confusion of local rulers, Christian and Muslim, local and foreign, claiming control over various portions of the central and western Pyrenees from Pamplona to Pallars in the ninth century—including two separate lines of kings—we can isolate the earliest counts of Aragon. The first Carolingian representative in the region was a Count Oriol, who died in 809. The line of counts in the *Genealogies* begins with one Aznar Galíndez (809–16), but it is only in the mid-ninth century that the comital title becomes associated in documents with the toponym: “*regnante ... comite ... in Aragona*”. If there was an independent county in the ninth century, it was short lived. Aznar II Galíndez (867–893) married a daughter of a king of Pamplona; his son, Galindo II Aznárez (893–922) married the sister of Sancho I Garcés (905–925), who would inaugurate a new Navarrese dynasty. Galindo II had no male heir, and when around 919 his daughter was betrothed Sancho I's son and heir, it was simply a ratification of facts on the ground: the kings of Navarre had occupied and absorbed Aragon.

The region remained in this subordinate status through the reign of Sancho III Garcés “the Great” of Navarre (1004–1035), with various members of the dynasty, kings and their relatives, named as “ruling in Aragon.” Sancho's son, Ramiro I (d. 1063), had been assigned substantial rents in Aragon already in the lifetime of his father, just as another son, Gonzalo, had been in Sobrarbe and Ribagorza; after Sancho's death and the complex division of his realms, Ramiro ruled as a subking in his Aragonese lands. After conflict with his half-brother the king of Navarre, Ramiro began to rule independently, and after the assassination of his other half brother, Gonzalo, he annexed Sobrarbe and Ribagorza. While we can point to no foundational text, in practice it is from Ramiro's reign that the Kingdom of Aragon per se comes into being.

Already Sancho III had extended Christian control south of the Aragon river. Expansion west against Navarre rather than south into what was now the Taifa of Saragossa was a plausible option, but Ramiro took the latter course, pushing to the edge of the Ebro plain, dying in an attempt to conquer the fortress of Graus. Further expansion under his son, Sancho I Ramírez (1063–1094), was initially complicated by the fact that Saragossa was often allied with his relatives ruling in Castile, and sometimes those in Navarre, as well. But the murder of Sancho IV Garcés of Pamplona (1054–1076) led to the division of his kingdom between Castile and Aragon, bringing Sancho I much of the historical territory of Navarre, a formal claim to the royal title, and a free hand to the south. He established a new capital at Jaca, but further territorial expansion was initially slowed by the fact that Saragossa enjoyed the services of the exiled Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar, the Cid. On the other hand, the balance of power

clearly shifted at this juncture: Aragon began to receive tribute from the major cities of the taifas. When the Cid turned his attention to Valencia in the last decade of the century, Aragonese occupation of key strongholds in the Ebro plain became a possibility. Sancho I died while besieging Huesca, which enjoyed support from Castilian and Leonese forces; his son and successor Peter I (1094–1104) took the city in 1096, and then retook Barbastro in 1100, both with help from forces from Southern Francia.

It was Peter's brother, Alfonso I the Battler (1104–1134), who would finally determine the shape of the future Aragon. The failure of his marriage to the daughter of Alfonso VI of Leon-Castile, Urraca, ended associated attempts to unite the two kingdoms, instead sparking warfare between them. His subsequent success in defeating the Taifa of Saragossa expanded Aragonese territories to close to their ultimate historical extent, more than doubling the size of the kingdom. Saragossa itself fell in 1118; by Alfonso's death in 1134, his forces controlled fortresses well south of the Ebro, such as Calatayud and Soria, and confronted Valencia, Lleida, and Tortosa to the south and east. The crucial factor, though, was the management of his succession. His will called for the division of his lands among three military orders: the Templars, the Hospitallers, and the Order of the Holy Sepulchre. The will was all but ignored, with Alfonso's brother Ramiro II (1134–1137) proclaimed king in Jaca within days of his brother's death. Ramiro married in 1135, produced a daughter, Petronilla, in 1136, and betrothed her to Count Ramon Berenguer IV of Barcelona in 1137, transferring to him rights of succession to the Aragonese realm. The will remains a puzzle: was it an act of piety? a check against claims on the kingdom by Alfonso VII of Castile? an intentional failure, designed precisely to allow for the accession of Ramiro? Whatever the explanation, the resolution of Alfonso's succession linked permanently the territories of Aragon and Barcelona, laying the foundation for the federated Crown of Aragon.

The earliest history of the Catalan counties is less marked by the complexities of Iberian frontier politics, for several reasons. Because of the nature of the Carolingian intervention, the territory north and east of the borderlands shared with the caliphate and then the taifas was much more substantial than in Aragon, and included from the ninth century ample plains south of the Pyrenees and several urban centers. Muslim forces penetrated the interior with regularity throughout the ninth century, but after that, with the exception of the sack of Barcelona in 985 and an Almoravid raid in 1115 that reached the walls, conflict was essentially limited to the western marches. Those borderlands were until the very end of the period quite compact, running roughly north-south between the fixed boundaries of the sea and the mountains, rather than east-west and parallel with the Ebro. In part because of the

geographical isolation noted above, the counties were until quite late rarely involved in the dynastic political dance that possessed Aragon and the other Iberian kingdoms. Finally, while there was substantial internal conflict, the region was rarely at risk of being completely absorbed by its neighbors, as had been the case with Aragon. If Aragon became powerful through its expansion, Catalonia became capable of expansion through its power.

In another contrast with Aragon, Carolingian appointment of counts in the region lasted deep into the ninth century, with Franks of the family of the counts of Toulouse dominating, but also implicated in the civil wars under Louis the Pious and Charles the Bald. It was the family of the counts of Carcassonne, however, that ultimately gained power. Sunifred of Carcassonne's support for Charles led to his control of Cerdanya and Urgell in the 830s, and then of Barcelona, Girona, and Besalu, in addition to almost all of Septimania, in the following decade; his brothers controlled Carcassonne, Empuries, and Roussillon. Sunifred died in 848, and his family was eclipsed by another rebellion, but in the 870s it remerged in a dominant position. Sunifred's sons—notably Wilfred the Hairy (870–897)—acted as counts in the entire region from Urgell east and Roussillon south. (Pallars remained under the control of Toulouse until the emergence of an independent line of counts from 872.) Wilfred's sons and grandsons retained collective control; by the fourth and fifth generation, around the year 1000, the individual counties had solidified and the family's power had been divided into separate lines controlling Barcelona-Girona-Osona, Urgell, Cerdanya, and Besalu. Wilfred's direct descendants ruled Barcelona, and then the Crown of Aragon, into the fifteenth century.

The essential political development of this early period of rule of what is looked back on (anachronistically) as the “national dynasty” is the severing of ties with the Carolingians and their Capetian successors. Wilfred was the last count in the region appointed by a Frankish king. By the mid-tenth century, contact with the royal court was all but limited to a handful of monasteries. By the 970s, in fact, the count of Barcelona may have recognized some sort of juridical dependence on Cordoba, as suggested by Ibn Ḥayyān's accounts of embassies of Borrell II of Barcelona (945–993) to the caliph al-Ḥakam II (961–976) in 971 and 974 and a letter of the French king Hugh Capet in 988. The crisis of the caliphate and the campaigns of al-Manṣūr sparked a brief attempt to reestablish a connection north: a last royal precept for the region, in the name of Lothair, is dated 986; Borrell acknowledged Louis V in a document of the same year and, famously, in 987 appealed unsuccessfully to Hugh Capet for military aid. Documents from the region remained dated by the regnal year of the French king until 1180, and the comital families regularly entered marriage alliances with their peers in Southern Francia, but in terms of secular governance, the Catalan counties were henceforth on their own.

Within the Catalan counties, the principal story is rise of Barcelona to regional dominance over the course of the eleventh century. In part, this was through military leadership. The structure of the frontier put the counts of Barcelona in the best position to take advantage of the shift in the balance of power on the Peninsula with the collapse of the caliphate. Ramon Borrell (992–1017), along with Ermengol II of Urgell (1010–1038), Bernard I of Besalu (988–1020), and three bishops, participated in a raid on Cordoba in 1010 that symbolizes the pivot. Although in fact the counts of Barcelona first received tribute as early as 936–937, from Tortosa, from the turn of the millennium it became a flood, multiplied by booty and payments to mercenaries. As Christian forces seized fortifications further and further south, the counts of Urgell enjoyed a similar position and similar economic benefits. Barcelona, however, could because of its location more effectively take advantage of agricultural and commercial growth and a burgeoning population. Comital minorities and a decline in the flow of gold, not to mention the prospect of access to the increasing wealth of the region, sparked a veritable rebellion against comital power that affected not just Barcelona, but Cerdanya and Pallars as well. Ramon Berenguer I (1035–1076) managed to maintain control, outmaneuvering or simply outlasting his powerful grandmother, Ermesinde (d. 1058), and purchasing castles and exchanging grants of land and rights for promises of loyalty and service within but also beyond the core counties of Barcelona-Girona-Osona. He not only resumed attacks on the taifas, but acquired through purchase and politics substantial rights north of the Pyrenees, notably in Carcassonne and Razes, enmeshing Barcelona with Southern Francia for the next century and a half.

Ramon Berenguer I's sons almost squandered his gains, one of them (Peter) killing his step-mother and suffering exile, and a second (Berenguer Ramon II) likely killing the third (Ramon Berenguer II) in 1082. But it is from the period of the joint rule of Ramon Berenguer II and Berenguer Ramon II that Barcelona's engagement in broader peninsular politics takes off. They joined with Ermengol IV of Urgell (1065–1092) as well as Sancho I Ramírez of Aragon in planning campaigns well beyond the adjacent taifas, setting their sights on the entire eastern half of the Peninsula, but especially the territory that would become the Kingdom of Valencia. Their efforts failed, with Berenguer Ramon II twice ending up captured by the Cid and his allies, and then himself exiled; his nephew, Ramon Berenguer III (1096–1131), was put in power with a regency council in a compromise that ended civil war.

Ramon Berenguer III cemented and extended many of the efforts of his eleventh-century predecessors, shaping a polity in Barcelona that was in a position to join with, rather than be absorbed by, Aragon toward the end of his rule. Internally, he continued the process of regional consolidation by arranging

for the inheritance of the counties of Cerdanya and Besalu and the submission of Empuries which left only Urgell, Pallars, and Roussillon outside of the circle of direct control. North of the Pyrenees, he reestablished power over Carcassonne and Razès, and through marriage became the count of Provence, ultimately partitioned with the count of Toulouse. And to the south and west he collaborated with Aragon in the seizure of the key fortress of Balaguer, launched campaigns against the Balearic Islands with the assistance of Pisa, and orchestrated with the Papacy a campaign against Tarragona. Following the fall of Saragossa in 1118, Lleida and Tortosa resumed payment of the tribute, opening the way south to control of the Mediterranean coast.

Until the very end of the eleventh century, then, the histories of the two regions that would form the heart of the Crown of Aragon only rarely overlap beyond the border regions of Pallars and Ribagorça. Aznar I Galíndez was granted control over Urgell and Cerdanya after being exiled from Aragon around 820, but lost those lands to Sunifred of Carcassonne in the 830s. García I Sánchez of Pamplona agreed to marry the daughter of Sunyer of Barcelona around 940, but the plan was abandoned when Sunyer reached a rapprochement with Córdoba. Berenguer Ramon I of Barcelona (1017–1035) did marry the daughter of the king of Castile, making him the brother-in-law of Sancho III the Great, to whom he may have done homage. Ermengol III of Urgell (1038–1065) married the daughter of his military ally Ramiro I of Aragon around 1062, and Peter I was named to inherit the county if Ermengol IV died without an heir.

Although that list is not exhaustive, it is dwarfed by the connections between Aragon and the Catalan counties on the one hand, and their Muslim neighbors to the south on the other. For much of the period considered here, Christian military operations against Muslim polities were as often as not by invitation, or in alliance with other Muslim forces. This was true already under the Carolingians: Charlemagne's initial campaign was prompted by an embassy of the *wālī* of Barcelona to Paderborn in 777. The switch of dynasties on the throne of Navarre brought together the count of Aragon and the head of the Banū Qasī, the family that dominated portions of the *thaghr*. Muḥammad al-Ṭawīl, the governor of Huesca, joined Sancho I Garcés in attacking Monzon around 920. The great campaign of 1010 was in support of the attempt of the governor Wādīh to put his candidate on the caliphal throne. Alfonso the Battler himself retook Saragossa in 1118 in the company of 'Imād al-Dawla, the taifa ruler who had been kicked out by the Almoravids.

Alliances of this sort may be interpreted as tactical in the context of an overall strategy of expansion of Christian territory. Such an argument is weakened, however, by the numerous marriage alliances between Christian and

Muslim rulers. Belasquita, daughter of Sancho I Garcés of Pamplona, wed Muṭarrif of the Banū Qasī around 872; the emir ‘Abd Allāh married Onneca, daughter of Fortún I Garcés of Pamplona, which made Garcia I Sánchez the cousin of the caliph ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III; al-Ṭawīl of Huesca married Sancha, daughter of Aznar II Galíndez of Aragon, which gave him a claim on Aragon itself; their son Fortún ibn Muḥammad may have married into the family of Sancho I Garcés of Pamplona, who had seized Aragon, as a way of settling succession disputes. Ramon II of Pallars-Ribagorza (c.872–920), meanwhile, was married to a daughter of Lubd ibn Muḥammad of the Banū Qasī. The draw of the *Reconquista* framework is powerful, but certain developments may be better explained by the complexities of family dynamics. Also crucial was the fact that the entire region was a hotbed of rebellion, from Cordoba, but earlier from Aachen as well (and under the Visigoths, from Toledo). The much discussed turn of the count of Barcelona away from Francia and toward Cordoba in the mid-tenth century looks less radical in the context of two centuries of treaties and intermarriages among the leading families of both religions in the north of the Iberian Peninsula.

The teleological draw of the Crown of Aragon itself is equally problematic. The creation of that polity remained highly contingent until its ultimate realization. We have already seen the possibility that Alfonso I's will was designed to block any possible claims of Alfonso VII of Castile on the kingdom, but the latter must have attempted to arrange for it to be his son rather than the heir of Barcelona who married Petronilla. If the child had instead been a Peter, neither alliance would have been necessary. Neither would have been on the table had Alfonso I and Urraca managed to get along. As for the growing principality that the count of Barcelona was in the process of creating, a neutral observer might have bet on it being swallowed up by Aragon, or at least being blocked by Aragon's kings in its attempts to expand southward and thus forced to direct its attention away from Iberia and toward Southern Francia. Had Ermengol V of Urgell (1092–1102) not married and produced an heir in the last years of the eleventh century, his county would have passed to Peter I of Aragon, making Barcelona's possibilities for southern expansion all the more narrow. Ramon Berenguer III seems to have been worried enough about Aragonese power that he married off his daughter to Alfonso VII of Castile himself in 1128. And if not Aragon, there were other risks for the count to consider: in 1107, in the face of the Almoravid advance on Barcelona, Ramon Berenguer III appealed to Louis VII of France for military aid, raising the possibility that over two centuries of *de facto* independence would be reversed. But the pieces on the chess board were in just the right place in 1137; the Crown of Aragon had a future.

2 The Church

The ecclesiastical histories of Aragon and the Catalan counties are subject to similar consonances and dissonances, equally shaped by the geopolitical situation of the Pyrenees.

Despite the persistence of Christian communities in territories occupied by Muslim forces in the eighth century, the Visigothic ecclesiastical structure of the region seems to have been destroyed. With the exception of Empuries and Egara, all of the Visigothic dioceses of the *Tarraconensis* were restored by the twelfth century: Pamplona, Urgell, Barcelona, Girona, and Vic, by the ninth; Calahorra in the tenth; Huesca and Tarragona in the eleventh; Tortosa, Lleida, Tarazona, and Saragossa in the twelfth (Elne, in Roussillon and always subject to the archdiocese of Narbonne, also counts as a "Catalan" diocese). The path was circuitous, however, in part because of the pace of recovery of episcopal cities, and in part because of the abandonment of the old archdiocesan see of Tarragona.

The future Aragonese dioceses grew from Pamplona, whose first post-conquest bishop appears in 829, and Urgell, which was active already under Charlemagne. Sancho I Garcés may have reorganized the Pamplona diocese to manage his expanded territories by adding bishops, certainly one associated with Sasabe, replaced by the early eleventh century with a bishop of "Aragon". But the bishops of Sasabe-Aragon were without an episcopal city until 1077, when they were sited in the new city of Jaca. When Huesca was recovered in 1096, the bishops were relocated yet again. Alfonso the Battler appointed bishops in post-conquest Saragossa and Tarazona in 1118 and 1119, respectively. To the east, independent bishops appear in Pallars-Ribagorza in the first half of the tenth century; when those counties were separated, Pallars once again become subject to Urgell, while a new Ribagorzan see was established at Roda, around 956; its bishops moved to Barbastro in 1101 and were given jurisdiction over the still unconquered ancient see of Lleida, where they were finally transferred in 1148.

In the future Catalan territory, structures were more stable; only a short-lived attempt in 1017 to set up a bishop of Besalu disturbed the diocesan map. Instead, the issue in this region was suffragan status, as trans-Pyrenean Narbonne claimed control, perhaps first in connection with the Carolingian condemnation of the adoptionist teachings of Felix of Urgell at the end of the eighth century. Already in the late ninth century, however, there were attempts of churches of the old *Tarraconensis* to throw off the domination of Narbonne, focused on Urgell and Girona and tied up with local opposition to the rising regional power of Wilfred the Hairy; the jurisdiction of the archbishop of

Narbonne was ultimately confirmed by the Frankish king and the pope, but resistance continued. In the second half of the tenth century, Abbot Cesarius of Santa Cecilia de Montserrat claimed the title of archbishop of Tarragona, although he seems to have found no support in this position, particularly from Borrell II of Barcelona, who attempted to claim archiepiscopal status instead for Bishop Ató of Vic. Pope John XIII issued bulls in 971 effectively merging the sees of Vic and Tarragona, and granting Ató metropolitan status, with the expectation of future recovery of the old see. Ató's apparent assassination on his return from Rome in 972 killed the plan for archiepiscopal restoration, as well, at least in the short run. It remerged in the 1080s, as the conquest of Tarragona itself became a realistic possibility and the subject of papal interest. The diocese of Tarragona, though not yet taken, was restored in 1089, and Bishop Berenguer of Vic was named its archbishop shortly thereafter. Its definitive reestablishment took place only in 1118, this time with Olegarius, bishop of Barcelona, claiming the pallium and jurisdiction over the entirety of the peninsular lands of the future Crown of Aragon.

Like the diocesan structure, the Pyrenean monastic network seems to have been all but wiped out in the eighth century. By the year 1000, however, there were as many as fifty abbeys and priories in the eastern counties, and half again as many in Pallars, Ribagorça, and Aragon. While the possibility of direct continuity from the Visigothic period can be documented for only a handful of institutions, archaeological investigations suggest that many foundations dated to the ninth century and later were at sites with a deep Christian past. In the Catalan counties, private foundations reemerge slowly from the time of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious, although many failed to last. From the later ninth century, in contrast, we can point to a series of foundations undertaken with comital support that would develop into great regional centers: Cuixà and Ripoll, both in 879; Sant Joan de les Abadesses, in 885. Sant Cugat del Valles, although less wealthy and not similarly a comital foundation, developed into the most significant monastery in the region of Barcelona, especially after its recovery from destruction in the raid of 985. In Aragon, Siresa was already established by 848, when Eulogius of Córdoba marvelled at its library. San Juan de la Peña's origins, possibly in the tenth century, are obscure. What is certain is that from the early eleventh century, revitalized by Sancho III the Great, it had replaced Siresa as the principal foundation of the region. In the sheltered valleys of Ribagorça and Pallars, Obarra, Vilanova/Lavaix, and Alao took root over the ninth century, as well; San Victorian in Sobrarbe first appears in documents in the tenth.

The relationship of these various ecclesiastical institutions to general developments in the history of the European church is complex. Iberia is generally

described as a late adopter of a first wave of European ecclesiastical trends in the central Middle Ages, but the Carolingian presence in the Pyrenees from the late eighth century clearly left its mark. Benedict of Aniane visited Urgell at the very end of the eighth century, and while proof of Benedictine observance or non-Hispanic liturgies at a given location often postdates the earliest evidence for the institution itself, both seem to have been present in the region from the ninth century. This is true even in Aragon, where Siresa's practices seemed foreign to Saint Eulogius. San Juan de la Peña is again puzzle, because of origin stories that claim a militant Visigothic/Mozarabic tradition, but the first secure reference to the monastery is associated with the abbacy of Paternus, a monk of Cluny put in place by Sancho III, who also introduced Cluniac reforms in his Navarrese lands (e.g., Oña, Leyre), although none of these monasteries was made directly subject to the Burgundian abbey itself. Generally, the reign of Sancho III does seem to have been a watershed in the normalization of the Benedictine Rule, and that of Sancho I Ramírez of the Roman Rite.

Sancho III's Cluniac reforms may have been inspired by his ties to Oliba of Vic, from whom we have two letters to the king. If Cluny itself was held at arm's length in the Catalan counties, too, reforming congregations of monasteries are apparent there with strong ties to Francia that seem to run counter to the attempts of the dioceses to free themselves from Narbonne. From the late eleventh century, meanwhile, regular canons following the Augustinian rule spread, particularly under the influence of Saint-Ruf of Avignon. At this stage, few local magnates were willing to undo the tight connections between secular and ecclesiastical power. Cathedral chapters allowed modest reforms, for example, but not the abolition of private property for their canons. Throughout the period under consideration, abbots and bishops regularly hailed from comital families, which excelled at concentrating power: Oliba was the brother of the count of Cerdanya, briefly held the title of count himself, and ended his career as bishop of Vic and abbot of both Ripoll and Cuixa. His uncle Miró Bonfill was simultaneously count of Besalu and bishop of Girona. As late as 1099, Folc II was viscount regent of Cardona and bishop of Barcelona. The main thrust of papal reform was slow to take hold.

The Papacy's greatest successes were less spiritual than political. Most of the evidence for early contacts between Aragon/Navarre and the Papacy is suspect, although the strength of the relationship evident from the reign of Sancho I Ramírez surely was built on a strong foundation. Connections between Barcelona and Rome, by contrast, are quite clear. The voyage of the monk Sunyer of Cuixa to Rome in 950, during which he received a bull of exemption for his monastery (a year after a similar bull to Cluny), reestablished contacts dormant since papal intervention in the dispute over the archbishopric in the

late ninth century. In the next year, it was a larger delegation, including the count of Cerdanya; his brothers, counts of Cerdanya and Besalu, went in 968 and 979; in 970, it was Borrell II of Barcelona. Many other counts, bishops, and abbots followed, generally seeking privileges and papal protection for ecclesiastical institutions, often recognized with modest annual payments. Taken together, these voyages have been reasonably interpreted as marking a political shift away from Francia and toward Rome. Borrell's visit concerned the politically charged attempt to reestablish the archbishopric in Tarragona, while in retiring to the monastery of Monte Cassino in 988, Oliba Cabreta had left in the protection of the pope not ecclesiastical foundations but his own sons, the future counts of Cerdanya and Besalu.

The first half of the eleventh century saw less direct Pyrenean contact with the Papacy, but that changed with the pontificate of Alexander II and especially the work of the papal legate, Hugo Candidus. In 1068, Sancho I Ramírez travelled to Rome and submitted his kingdom to be held as a fief from the Papacy, promising Alexander II service as a *miles Sancti Petri* and an annual tribute; in 1071, he submitted San Juan de la Peña and two other monasteries to papal protection. And in that same year, the Roman rite was officially established in Aragon, a decade before its adoption in Leon-Castile. Papal interest in Iberian affairs achieved theoretical backing under Gregory VII, who claimed sovereignty over the Peninsula on the basis of "ancient constitutions" (probably the Donation of Constantine). While Alfonso VI of Leon-Castile refused to play along, Gregory and then Urban II found willing partners in the future Crown of Aragon. In the Catalan counties, it was suspected fratricides who submitted to papal lordship: first Bernard II of Besalu in 1077, and then Berenguer Ramon II of Barcelona in 1090. Sancho I Ramírez repeated his submission of Aragon in 1088 and was followed Peter I in 1094–1095.

This introduction of papal influence went hand in hand with the internationalization, both in terms of personnel and ideology, of Christian-Muslim conflict on the Peninsula: the creation of the Iberian crusades. The majority of lands transferred from Muslim to Christian control from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries in campaigns with papal backing fell to Leon-Castile, but Aragon and the Catalan counties played a crucial role at the outset. Ermengol III of Urgell was one of the leaders of the international force that took Barbastro in 1064, and Sancho I Ramírez was surely involved in the 1068 campaign of his brother-in-law, Ebles de Roucy. The attempts of Berenguer Ramon II and Ermengol V of Urgell to seize Tarragona and reestablish the diocese were undertaken in concert with Pope Urban II, who promised remission of sins to those who fought; in 1123, with Tarragona still not secure, Calixtus II appointed as papal legate its new archbishop, Olegarius of Barcelona. The campaign led

by Ramon Berenguer III and the Pisan fleet against the Balearics in 1114–15 sailed under the papal banner, and a crusading bull supported Alfonso I's campaign against Saragossa in 1118. Innocent II was unsuccessful in enforcing the terms of Alfonso's will, but he and later popes remained deeply involved in shaping the military activities of Alfonso's successors. By that point, the popes could deal with a single ruler in a Northeastern Iberia whose ancient diocesan map had been all but reestablished—perhaps their desired outcome, but surely not one that was guaranteed.

3 Economy and Society

By 1137, two distinct territories were developing in the northeast of the Peninsula: one of continuous Christian control since the Carolingian intervention (Upper Aragon, Old Catalonia), and one of territories recently occupied by Christian rulers (the Aragonese *Extremadura*, New Catalonia). In the “new” territories, the population remained principally of indigenous descent, but by the eleventh century, simultaneous processes of Islamization, Arabization, and transformation of social structures and agricultural techniques had created a thoroughly Muslim society. As the new Christian rulers lacked the demographic resources simply to displace the Muslim population, and in fact required the presence of that population to work the land to support further expansion, the inhabitants were left in place on generous terms: taxation and relocation from towns to the countryside, in exchange for substantial religious and judicial autonomy—an echo of the terms of Muslim conquest over three centuries earlier. Such Christian newcomers as there were might enjoy similarly beneficial terms of settlement, although the vast majority of “franchise charters” postdate the period examined here.

The old zones saw their own transformation, over a longer period, much more visible in the Catalan counties than in sparsely documented Aragon, though aspects are clearly repeated in the latter on a smaller scale and in reduced economic circumstances. While historians and archaeologists are revising earlier theories of the creation of a barren “no-man's land” between densely populated Pyrenean valleys and areas under Muslim control, it is undeniable that the pre-Pyrenees and the plains underwent a process of progressive administrative organization and an increase in the density of settlement over the ninth and tenth centuries. Ecclesiastical institutions played a role in this process, and counts and kings a greater one, but so too did substantially free agriculturalists taking advantage of opportunities for improvement of their economic condition. The relative freedom of the local population compared

to much of the rest of Europe was tied to the particular circumstances of the Muslim conquest, but it lasted, in the Catalan counties at least, even longer than in other regions of Iberia. If some began as freeholders, they quickly became paying tenants, but for the most part without the obligations and exactions characteristic of unfreedom. The isolated farm, rather than the great estate dominated by an elite landowner, was the norm. The success of the counts in maintaining order by drawing on Visigothic and Carolingian traditions created the conditions for success.

The beneficial economic effects of this settlement activity, combined with the influx of gold from tribute, can be read in uncommon detail in the Catalan counties: an increase in agricultural production, the planting of vineyards and orchards, the diffusion of credit and coinage, the development of a land market, all contributing to the urban development of Barcelona itself. Similar agricultural and demographic trends in Aragon must be inferred from transformations in social structure that seem designed to take advantage of growth. Until the towns of the Ebro Valley were taken in the early twelfth century, the only urban center to speak of in Aragon was Jaca, but it, too, offers evidence for a quickening of the pace of the economy. Jaca was a plausible site for Sancho I Ramírez's new capital in 1076 precisely because it was booming thanks to its location on a Pyrenean pass (Somport) that channeled both trade between Francia/France and the Muslim south and pilgrimage traffic to Saint James of Compostela. The economic trends were not unidirectional: the influx of gold into the Catalan counties collapsed between 1020 and 1050, for example, simultaneous with the political crisis that disturbed the region; Barcelona experienced severe economic contraction between 1090 and 1140. But overall economic expansion provides the context for the radical restructuring of the social order in the eleventh century.

This happened with different rhythms in the two regions. The experience of the county of Barcelona highlights the sorts of changes that occurred elsewhere in the Catalan counties in distinct combinations and with various chronologies: the adaptation of institutional forms to new socio-political contexts. Authority that had been in the hands of the counts began to fall into the hands of the count's subordinates: the viscounts and vicars, but also castellans and lesser lords, whose violent exercise of power become the norm. Comital castles were seized and adulterine castles constructed, and knights begin to appear in the sources. Comital justice receded in favor of extrajudicial dispute settlement. The Peace of God was declared in 1027. And the powerful men and women of the region, as recently as 1010 united against a common enemy, started attacking each other and exploiting as best as they could their lordship over the peasantry.

Beginning in the 1050s, in the territories he controlled, Ramon Berenguer I managed to put down the open rebellions against him, principally by using grants of land and rights in return for promises of loyalty and service, recorded in hundreds of written agreements (*convenientiae*) and oaths (that employ the words *fevum*, *hominaticum*, *fidelitas*, etc.), to reestablish control over the castles that had become the currency of power. He extended these agreements beyond his own territories, in pacts of a similar tenor with neighboring counts. He —or rather, they, because he acted in concert with his wife, Almodis— recouped minting and milling rights, rebuilding the *Rec Comtal*, the irrigation channel that fed the comital mills. They supported ecclesiastical institutions in the Peace and Truce, and issued legislation that would in the next century become the core of the *Usatges de Barcelona*. The structures of power built during the comital recovery persisted until the mid-twelfth-century efforts of Ramon Berenguer IV and Alphonse the Chaste (1162–1196) to reshape the governance of what by then can be called Catalonia.

But the old social order was disrupted. The castellans found their knightly henchmen among the ranks of the well-off peasantry. Most of the remainder — not all, not at once, and not in the same way everywhere— became subject to the sorts of obligations and liabilities that made them substantially less free than they had been before. From the castles that served as their centers of power, lords claimed the sorts of taxes and jurisdiction that had once pertained to the count, but they also developed new and more oppressive means of exploitation. Labor services, monopolies, and quasi-judicial penalties—for example for the marriage, intestacy, or adultery of tenants— emerge, as does evidence that tenants could be tied to their land. Landlordship and jurisdictional lordship shaded increasingly into personal lordship. This was not yet a coherent and widespread system of servitude: favorable tenures remained, and some peasants took advantage of arrangements that in the end were less about lordly oppression than about effective management of resources. But it would develop into such a system in the twelfth century, particularly in Old Catalonia.

Aragon witnessed similar developments, but at a different pace, in large part because of the absence of a crisis of royal authority, but also because they took place in the context of a rapid and massive expansion of territory. From the early eleventh century, we can see the king parceling out rights in his own lands as *honores* to be held by small groups of barons, retaining for himself ultimate control and portions of the revenues; the barons, in turn, owed aid, counsel, fidelity, and limited military service. Expansion southward in the last quarter of the eleventh century allowed for and required the growth of the elites, but the king similarly managed the distribution of revenues, recognizing

independent baronial initiatives with correspondingly greater control, such as allodial rights in fortifications. Barons entered similar arrangements with the knights they used to control their lands. Despite noble pressure, the kings claimed free disposition of *honores* into the twelfth century: Alfonso I's will, for example, called for all *honores* to pass to the military orders at the death of the holder. The extraordinary military success of the Aragonese kings allowed for a community of interest with the barons, but the royal position in the new lands was potentially much more precarious.

In Upper Aragon and the earliest areas of expansion, the degradation in the status of the peasantry (*mezquinos*, *villanos*) seems to have begun already in the tenth century; as in the Catalan counties, however, the wealthiest of the agriculturalists and petty landowners became assimilated to the nobles, here under the name of *infanzones*. The newly conquered territories of the Ebro valley and beyond were more densely castellated and featured concentrated settlement patterns; concentration, however, enabled more collective organization, while the need for military forces opened up to the peasantry and especially occupants of the newly conquered towns more opportunities for social mobility. In these new, heavily militarized regions, the population was at once more tightly controlled and less subject to servile obligations and liabilities than in Upper Aragon, foreshadowing the split that would develop between Old and New Catalonia.

Conclusions

As Isabel Grifoll details in chapter 5, below, it is to ecclesiastical institutions that the bulk of cultural and artistic developments in the region before the twelfth century must be linked, because of the state of the evidence. But a key aspect of the written culture in particular of the Catalan counties is its extension to the laity, seen, for example, in the existence of a group of lay scribes and judges around the year 1000, and even more so in the spread of documentary practices: despite patterns of preservation of charters that privilege ecclesiastical institutions, transactions between laypeople, some clearly no more than well-off peasants, represent between a third and a half of the surviving material before the millennium. Those charters—over 6,000 from before the millennium, and as many as 15,000 more for the period before 1137—render challenging the sort of parallel histories offered here, but the sources reflect rather than determine the differences between the regions.

Aragon was constantly in flux, starting out a tiny county that only began to rival the Catalan counties in geographical extent in the final decades of the

period. Aragon's ecclesiastical institutions were fewer, for the most part newer, and ever shifting, while the Catalan Church enjoyed substantial stability from the ninth century. Aragon featured, until the last decades of the period, a single urban agglomeration of note, while Barcelona competed with several neighbors and on a Mediterranean stage. Aragon before expansion was a primarily pastoral economy, while in the Catalan counties agriculture was the principal engine of growth. Aragon was only briefly influenced by Carolingian occupation, while the Catalan counties were for nearly two centuries part of the empire. Aragon's attention was always drawn to the south, while the Catalan counties, until the final decades of the period, looked north. Aragon was ruled by kings who exercised the sort of control over their subordinates that was not available to the counts to their east. Aragon was threatened by dynastic conflicts, but enjoyed relative internal stability; the independence of the Catalan counties was never under serious threat, but they experienced two periods of virtual civil war in the eleventh century.

Yet each region in its own way, and with different chronologies, was shaped by its presence on the margins of Latin Europe and Muslim Spain. Expansion of settlement into new territory was a constant concern, and the condition of the peasantry depended on its location. The flow of tribute money shaped politics and possibilities. Knights and castles, fiefs and fidelity, flourished in fortified borderlands. Toward the end of the period, both regions were subject to intense papal interest, which was reciprocated, and they shared distinct worry about the growing power of Castile. For both long-term structural and short-term political reasons, then, the interests of Barcelona and Aragon were aligned in 1137. Despite obvious differences, the union was not a mixed marriage.

Appendix

Bibliographical Note

The vast majority of the evidence for this period consists of charters. For Catalonia, much of the material pre-1000 is being collected as *Catalunya carolíngia*, 6 vols. in 12 parts to date (Barcelona, 1926–). Pending completion of the volumes on Barcelona and Urgell/Cerdanya, and for the period after 1000, recourse must be made to the publication of the comital and cathedral archives. Many fonds from these archives and others are published in print and online by the Fundació Noguera (www.fundacionoguera.com). For the former Royal Archives of the Crown of Aragon (*Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó*): Frederic Udina i Martorell, ed., *El archivo condal de Barcelona: Estudio crítico de sus fondos* (Barcelona, 1951); Gaspar Feliu, Josep M. Salrach, eds., *Els pergamins de*

l'arxiu comtal de Barcelona de Ramon Borrell a Ramon Berenguer I, 3 vols. (Barcelona, 1999); Ignasi J. Baiges, Gaspar Feliu, Josep M. Salrach, eds., *Els pergamins de l'arxiu comtal de Barcelona, de Ramon Berenguer II a Ramon Berenguer IV*, 4 vols. (Barcelona, 2010). Cathedral archives: Àngel Fàbrega, ed., *Diplomatari de la Catedral de Barcelona: Documents dels anys 844–1000* (Barcelona, 1995); Josep Baucells, Àngel Fàbrega, Manuel Riu, Joseph Hernando, Carme Batlle, eds., *Diplomatari de l'Arxiu Capitular de Barcelona: Segle XI*, 5 vols. (Lleida, 2006); Cebrià Baraut, ed., "Els documents, dels segles IX i X, conservats a l'Arxiu Capitular de La Seu d'Urgell," *Urgellia* 2 (1979), 7–145; Cebrià Baraut, ed., "Els documents dels anys 981–1010, de l'Arxiu Capitular de la Seu d'Urgell," *Urgellia* 3 (1980), 7–166; Cebrià Baraut, ed., "Els documents, dels anys 1010–1035, de l'Arxiu Capitular de la Seu d'Urgell," *Urgellia* 4 (1981), 7–186; Cebrià Baraut, ed., "Els documents, dels anys 1036–1050, de l'Arxiu Capitular de la Seu d'Urgell," *Urgellia* 5 (1982), 7–158; Cebrià Baraut, ed., "Els documents, dels anys 1051–1075, de l'Arxiu Capitular de la Seu d'Urgell," *Urgellia* 6 (1983), 7–243; Cebrià Baraut, ed., "Els documents, dels anys 1076–1092, de l'Arxiu Capitular de la Seu d'Urgell," *Urgellia* 7 (1984–1985), 7–218; Cebrià Baraut, ed., "Els documents, dels anys 1093–1100, de l'Arxiu Capitular de la Seu d'Urgell," *Urgellia* 8 (1986–1987), 7–149; Cebrià Baraut, ed., "Els documents, dels anys 1101–1150, de l'Arxiu Capitular de la Seu d'Urgell," *Urgellia* 9 (1986–1989), 7–312; Ramon Ordeig, ed., *Diplomatari de la Catedral de Vic: Segle XI*, 6 vols. (Vic, 2000–2010). Among the principal cartularies are: Francisco Miquel Rosell, ed., *Liber feudorum maior: Cartulario real que se conserva en el Archivo de la Corona de Aragón*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1945); José Rius, ed., *Cartulario de "Sant Cugat" del Vallés*, 4 vols. (Barcelona, 1945–1981); Josep Maria Marquès ed., *Cartoral, dit de Carlemany, del bisbe de Girona: s. IX–XIV* (Barcelona, 1993). Still fundamental for papal documents is: Paul Kehr, *Papsturkunden in Spanien: Vorarbeiten zur Hispania pontificia. Katalanien*, vol. 1/2 (Berlin, 1926). Arabic chronicle excerpts are translated into Catalan in: Dolors Bramon, *De quan érem o no musulmans: Textos del 713 al 1010* (Vic, 2000).

For Aragon, the series of royal documents before the union is now fully published: Antonio Ubieto Arteta, ed., *Documentos reales navarro-aragonesas hasta el año 1004* (Saragossa, 1986); Roldán Jimeno Arangueren, Aitor Pescador, eds., *Colección documental de Sancho Garcés III, el Mayor, rey de Pamplona (1004–1035)* (Pamplona, 2003); Roberto Viruete Erdozáin, ed., *La colección diplomática del reinado de Ramiro I de Aragón (1035–64)* (Saragossa, 2013); Ángel Canellas López, ed., *Colección diplomática de Sancho Ramírez* (Saragossa, 1993); Antonio Ubieto Arteta, ed., *Colección diplomática de Pedro I de Aragón y Navarra* (Saragossa, 1951); José Angel Lema Pueyo, ed., *Colección diplomática de Alfonso I de Aragón y Pamplona, 1104–1134* (Donostia, 1990); Antonio Ubieto Arteta, ed., *Documentos de Ramiro II de Aragón* (Saragossa, 1988). Much else, including the monastic cartularies from San Juan de la Peña, Siresa, Alao, etc. and translations of Arabic sources, is found in the series *Textos medievales* (Saragossa, 1981–). The *Genealogies* of Roda are found in: José María Lacarra, "Textos navarros

del Códice de Roda," *Estudios de Edad Media de la Corona de Aragón* 1 (1945), 194–283. For Ribagorza, see *Catalunya carolíngia* (as above), vol. 3, and for papal documents Paul Kehr, *Papsturkunden in Spanien: Vorarbeiten zur Hispania pontificia. Navarra und Aragon*, vol. 2 (Berlin, 1928).

For studies of Aragon and Catalonia together in the years before the union, outside of Thomas N. Bisson, *The Medieval Crown of Aragon: A Short History* (Oxford, 1986), chapter 1, students are essentially limited to sections of broader syntheses of Iberian history, the most useful of which in English are: Roger Collins, *Caliphs and Kings: Spain, 796–1031* (Chichester, 2012), chapter 8; Bernard F. Reilly, *The Contest of Christian and Muslim Spain, 1031–1157* (Oxford, 1992).

For the narrative political history of Catalonia, the fundamental starting points main: Ramon d'Abadal, *Els primers comtes catalans*, 2nd ed. (Barcelona, 1965) for the earlier period and Santiago Sobrequés: Santiago Sobrequés, *Els grans comtes de Barcelona* (Barcelona, 1961) for the later. The encyclopedia *Catalunya romànica*, 27 vols. (Barcelona, 1984–1998); organized by districts (*comarques*), is a treasure-trove of local history as well as art-historical and architectural analysis.

Because of the interpenetration of the histories of Aragon and Navarre: Juan José Larrea, *La Navarre du IV^e au XII^e siècle: Peuplement et société* (Brussels, 1998), along with the relevant chapters of the earlier: José María Lacarra, *Historia política del reino de Navarra desde sus orígenes hasta su incorporación a Castilla*, 3 vols. (Pamplona, 1972–1973), offer important orientations. Antonio Durán Gudiol, *Los condados de Aragón y Sobrarbe* (Saragossa, 1988), and Fernando Galtier, *Ribagorza: Condado independiente* (Saragossa, 1981), are more geographically focused, as are the volumes of Antonio Ubieto Arteta, *Historia de Aragón*, 8 vols. to date (Saragossa, 1981–), which are full of useful discussions of specialized points. Philippe Sénac, *La frontière et les hommes (VII^e–XII^e siècle): Le peuplement musulman au nord de l'Ebre et les débuts de la reconquête aragonaise* (Paris, 2000), with its consideration of Arabic sources and archaeological data, points the way for future scholarship.

On ecclesiastical history, the twin studies of Paul Kehr remain essential: Paul Kehr, *Das Papsttum und der katalanische Prinzipat bis zur Vereinigung mit Aragon*, Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Jahrgang 1926, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, no. 4 (Berlin, 1926) (trans. Ramon d'Abadal, "El papat i el principat de Catalunya fins a la unió amb Aragó," *Estudis universitaris catalans* 12 (1927), 321–47; 13 (1928), 1–12, 289–323; 14 (1929), 14–32, 213–26; 15 (1930), 1–20); *Das Papsttum und die Königreiche Navarra und Aragon bis zur Mitte des XII. Jahrhunderts*, Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Jahrgang 1928, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, no. 4 (Berlin, 1928). See also: Antonio Durán Gudiol, *La Iglesia de Aragón durante los reinados de Sancho Ramírez y Pedro I, 1062?–1104* (Rome, 1962); Lawrence J. McCrank, *Restoration and Reconquest in Medieval Catalonia: The Church and Principality of Tarragona, 971–1177*, PhD Dissertation (Charlottesville, 1974);

Paul H. Freedman, *The Diocese of Vic: Tradition and Regeneration in Medieval Catalonia* (New Brunswick, 1983); and much of Ramon d'Abadal, *Dels visigots als catalans*, ed. Jaume Sobrequés, 3rd ed., 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1986).

On the economy and society, in addition to many of the general works cited above: Paul H. Freedman, *The Origins of Peasant Servitude in Medieval Catalonia* (Cambridge, Eng., 1991), especially chapter 3; Pere Benito, *Senyoria de la terra i tinença pagesa al comtat de Barcelona* (Barcelona, 2003); Stephen P. Bench, *Barcelona and its Rulers, 1096–1291* (Cambridge, Eng., 1995); Lynn H. Nelson, "The Foundation of Jaca (1076): Urban Growth in Early Aragon," *Speculum* 53 (1978), 688–708. For political structures: Carlos Laliena, *La formación del Estado feudal: Aragón y Navarra en la época de Pedro I* (Huesca, 1996); Adam J. Kosto, *Making Agreements in Medieval Catalonia: Power, Order, and the Written Word, 1000–1200* (Cambridge, Eng., 2001). On feudalism, see: Carlos Laliena, "El proceso de feudalización en Aragón en los siglos XI y XII," and Flocel Sabaté, "La feudalizació de la societat catalana," both in *El temps i l'espai del feudalisme*, ed. Flocel Sabaté, Joan Farré (Lleida, 2004), pp. 197–219, 221–406; the latter chapter in Spanish translation as *La feudalización de la sociedad catalana* (Granada, 2007). Much of the work on Catalonia cited here amounts to fundamental revision of the classic works of: Pierre Bonnassie, *La Catalogne du milieu du X^e à la fin du XI^e siècle: Croissance et mutations d'une société*, 2 vols. (Toulouse, 1974–1975), and Josep M. Salrach, *El procés de formació nacional de Catalunya (segles VIII–IX)*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1978).

On written culture, see the monumental: Michel Zimmermann, *Écrire et lire en Catalogne (IX^e–XII^e siècle)*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 2003), with Adam J. Kosto, "Laymen, Clerics, and Documentary Practices in the Early Middle Ages: The Example of Catalonia," *Speculum* 80 (2005), 44–74.

An Intense but Stymied Occitan Campaign

Pere Benito

1 The Creation of a Patrimonial State beyond the Pyrenees by the House of Barcelona

1.1 *The “Purchase” of Carcassonne-Razes (1067–1070)*

From the mid-tenth century the Houses of Barcelona, Besalu, Urgell and Pallars practice a marriage policy oriented toward establishing alliances with comital and viscomital lineages of Languedoc, Auvergne and Provence. These strategies, which would be the basis of the future Catalan political penetration in the Occitan space, are not at all surprising. The Catalan counties and the Occitan principalities —born from the dissolution of the Carolingian Empire— are part of the same political space of exchange and relationships between territories and population which share a common past, as well as the same language and culture. The legacy of Carolingian culture is still very much alive in the eleventh century; the records from Barcelona, which are dated by the years of reign of the Frankish kings, remember the belonging of the counties governed by the successors of Wilfred to western France and the acknowledgement of the Carolingian and Capetian legitimacy. Until the eleventh century the royal order is considered by the Catalan counts and the Church as the basis of public right.¹ The dependence of Catalan dioceses of the metropolitan See in Narbonne —where also the Languedoc diocese are— reinforces the political and religious ties between one side and the other of the Pyrenees.

However, we cannot yet talk about Barcelona's control over Occitan space until the second half of the eleventh century. Ramon d'Abadal buried the thesis that postulates continuity between the twelfth century's Catalano-Occitan state and the Septimania's Visigoth past, highlighting the special significance

1 Jean Dufourcq, “Obédience respective des Carolingiens et des Capétiens (fin X^e siècle–début XI^e siècle),” in *Catalunya i França Meridional a l'entorn de l'any mil. Actes del col·loqui internacional Hug Capet* (Barcelona, 1991), pp. 21–44; Michel Zimmermann, “Naissance d'une principauté: Barcelone et les autres comtés catalans aux alentours de l'an Mil,” in *Catalunya i França Meridional a l'entorn de l'any mil. Actes del col·loqui Hug Capet* (Barcelona, 1991), pp. 112–13.

of the purchase of Carcassonne and Razes in 1067–1070 as a starting point of an ultra-Pyrenean policy of the Counts of Barcelona.²

Ramon Berenguer I's intentions are made clear with his third marriage to Almodis, daughter of the counts of La Marche (Limousin), in 1054. Shortly after, around 1066, the opportunity turns up: the count of Carcassonne-Razes Roger III, great-grandson of Roger I the Old, dies without offspring, leaving his sister Ermengard, wife of the viscount of Albi and Nîmes, Raymond Bernard, as the main heiress of the County of Carcassonne and the viscounties of Agde and Beziers, to the detriment of Roger II of Foix as a direct descendant of Roger the Old and heir of his uncle Roger I of Foix and II of Carcassonne.

The conflict among the heirs of the Foix branch and the beneficiaries of Roger III of Carcassonne's inheritance opens the door to Catalan interference: on the one hand, the viscount Raymond Bernard Trencavel entrusting Ermengard's —his wife— rights to the count of Barcelona, obtains a defender and an ally versus the counts of Foix and Toulouse;³ on the other, Rangard of La Marche, Ermengard's mother, seeks for an alternative protector of her rights in her son-in-law, the count Guillem Ramon of Cerdanya,⁴ whom she appoints co-lord of Razes.⁵

The acquisition of the counties of Carcassonne and Razes is formalized between 1067 and 1070 through a minimum of thirteen agreements and transactions and a great number of oaths,⁶ which according to Pierre Bonnassie prove the fast implementation of Barcelona's feudal government system in the

2 Ramon d'Abadal, "À propos de la 'domination' de la maison comtale de Barcelone sur le Midi français," *Annales du Midi* 76/68–69 (1964), 315–18. Similarly: Ferran Soldevila, *Història de Catalunya* (Barcelona, 1962), 1: 108–09.

3 Hélène Débax, *La féodalité languedocienne, XI^e–XII^e siècles. Serments, hommages et fiefs dans le Languedoc des Trencavel* (Toulouse, 2003), p. 69.

4 According to Santiago Sobrequés, *Els grans comtes de Barcelona* (Barcelona, 1961), p. 85.

5 Pere Benito, Pilar Sendra, Carles Vela, "Corpus documental," in *Tractats i negociacions diplomàtiques de Catalunya i de la Corona catalanoaragonesa a l'edat mitjana*, eds. Maria Teresa Ferrer, Manuel Riu (Barcelona, 2009), 1: 253–53 (doc. 5).

6 Francisco Miquel Rosell, ed., *Liber Feudorum Maior, Cartulario real que se conserva en el Archivo de la Corona de Aragón*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1945–1947), 2: 313–321 (docs. 826, 828, 829, 830, 831, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838) -long list of 35 oaths-; 324 (doc. 840). Regarding the dating and the content of the documents, the following analyses are fundamental: Fredric L. Cheyette, "The 'Sale' of Carcassonne to the Counts of Barcelona (1067–1070) and the Rise of the Trencavels," *Speculum* 63 (1988), 826–64; Débax, *La féodalité languedocienne*, pp. 58–71; and Giulia Ammannati, "Saint-Victor di Marsiglia e la sua espansione nell'area pirenaica. Tre lettere della seconda metà del sec. XI," *Studi Medievali* 48/1 (2007), 41–64.

region.⁷ In total, the counts of Barcelona Ramon Berenguer I and Almodis invest 5,000 gold ounces in the acquisition of Roger the Old's inheritance, the rescue of the rights of all his heirs and pretenders, the purchase of several castles, and the achievement of neutrality of the counts of Toulouse and Foix.⁸

After this agreement the counts of Barcelona become sovereigns of the County of Carcassonne and lords of the city, the bishopric and the homonymous viscounty. The clash with the counts of Toulouse becomes inevitable. The 1067–1070 agreements set the basis for the Great Occitan War —the *Grande Guerre méridionale* in French historiography— the conflict which, until 1198, will make Toulouse and Barcelona fight for the hegemony of Languedoc and Provence's most prosperous principalities, lordships and cities.⁹

1.2 Bernard Ato IV and the Loss of Barcelona's Effective Sovereignty over Carcassonne-Razes

For Ramon d'Abadal with the purchase of Carcassonne and Razes Ramon Berenguer I and Almodis did not intend to set "*els fonaments de l'imperi ultrapirinenc dels sobirans de Barcelona*",¹⁰ but simply building an appanage for their second son, the future Ramon Berenguer II the Towhead, who would have been excluded of the Barcelona inheritance, which was reserved for the heir, Peter Ramon, the son of countess Elisabet, Ramon Berenguer's first wife.¹¹

However, two tragic events —presumably related to the succession issue— disrupted the count's plans. The first one was the assassination of Almodis by her stepson Peter Ramon in 1071, who due to this crime had to go into exile and lost all of his inheritance rights. Then Ramon Berenguer I's estates were passed on, undivided, to Almodis' two sons, Ramon Berenguer and Berenguer Ramon.

7 Pierre Bonnassie, "Le comté de Toulouse et le comté de Barcelone du début du IX^e au début du XIII^e siècle (801–1213): esquisse d'une histoire comparée," in *Actes del Vuitè Col·loqui Internacional de llengua i literatura catalanes*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1989), 1: 40.

8 Sobrequès, *Els grans comtes de Barcelona*, pp. 83 and 85; Pierre Bonnassie, *Catalunya mil anys enrera*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1979–1981), 2: 295.

9 Charles Higounet, "Un grand chapitre de l'histoire du XII^e siècle. La rivalité des maisons de Toulouse et de Barcelone pour la prépondérance méridionale," in *Mélanges d'histoire du Moyen âge, dédiés à la mémoire de Louis Halphen* (Paris, 1951), pp. 313–22; D'Abadal, *À propos*, pp. 315–46; Pierre Bonnassie, "L'Occitanie un État manqué?," *L'Histoire* 14 (1979), 31–40; Débax, *La féodalité languedocienne*, p. 72; Laurent Macé, *Les comtes de Toulouse et leur entourage: XII^e–XIII^e siècles: rivalités, alliances et jeux de pouvoir* (Toulouse, 2003), pp. 23 and 98.

10 "the pillars of an empire of Barcelona's sovereigns beyond the Pyrenees". Sobrequès, *Els grans comtes de Barcelona*, p. 90.

11 D'Abadal, *À propos*, pp. 325–26.

The second was the assassination of the count Ramon Berenguer II, the Towhead, which a long historiographical tradition would attribute to his twin brother, Berenguer Ramon II. The alleged fratricide took place in 1082, a few days after the wife of the Towhead, countess Mahault, had given birth to Ramon Berenguer III.

The murder of the Towhead opened a new period of instability of which the viscount of Beziers, Bernard Ato IV, took advantage in order to act with total independence from Barcelona in Carcassonne and Razès.¹² Santiago Sobrequés understood that the people of Carcassonne would have only accepted the lordship of the son of the Towhead, the future Ramon Berenguer III. Mahault would then have ceded the counties of Carcassonne and Razès to Bernard Ato IV and her mother Ermengard together with the guardianship of her son until he became knight.¹³ Nevertheless, when in 1096 Ramon Berenguer III claimed the city and the County of Carcassonne, the viscount's disaffection endured.

When returning from the Holy Land, in 1107 Bernard Ato IV had to face a revolt carried out by the people of Carcassonne, presumably instigated by the count of Barcelona.¹⁴ Shortly after, he started an unusual diplomatic activity against Ramon Berenguer III,¹⁵ who had just seized the counties of Besalu, Vallespir, Fonolledes and Peyrepertuse because of the marriage of his daughter, Ximena, to the old count Bernard III of Besalu.¹⁶ Count Bernard of Toulouse, in war against the duke of Aquitaine Guilhem IX of Poitiers, entrusted to Alfonso the Battler recovering Toulouse and he relinquished all his honours in allodium (May 1108).¹⁷ Bernard Ato joined the league entrusting

12 André Dupont, "Le vicomte Bernard Aton IV (1074–1129)," *Mémoires de l'Académie de Nîmes* 56 (1965–1967), 159; Débax, *La féodalité Languedocienne*, pp. 77–78.

13 Claude Devic, Joseph Vaissete, *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, 2nd ed., 14 vols. (Toulouse, 1872), 3: 434–35; Sobrequés, *Els grans comtes de Barcelona*, pp. 130 and 168; Szabolcs de Vajay, "Mahaut de Pouille, comtesse de Barcelone et vicomtesse de Narbonne dans le contexte social de son temps," in *Béziers et le Biterrois. XLIII^e Congrès de la Fédération historique du Languedoc méditerranéen et du Roussillon* (Montpellier, 1971), p. 143, n. 44.

14 Devic-Vaissete, *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, 3: 579.

15 Devic-Vaissete, *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, 5: 803–04.

16 Ignasi Baiges, Gaspar Feliu, Josep M. Salrach, eds., *Els Pergamins de l'Arxiu Comtal de Barcelona, de Ramon Berenguer II a Ramon Berenguer IV*, 4 vols. (Barcelona, 2010), 2: 673–79 (docs. 370–73).

17 Baiges, Feliu, Salrach, *Els Pergamins de l'Arxiu Comtal*, 2: 692–94 (doc. 380); Miquel Rossell, *Liber Feudorum Maior*, 1: 4–5 (docs. 2 and 3); José Ángel Lema, ed., *Colección diplomática de Alfonso I de Aragón y de Pamplona* (Donostia, 1990), pp. 48–51 (docs. 29 and 30).

the Battler with the city's and the County of Razès¹⁸ defence, and the count of Toulouse with the defence of Carcassonne.¹⁹ Busy defending Barcelona from the Almoravid threat (1108–1109), Ramon Berenguer III, had to renounce intervening in the Languadocian trouble hotspot.

2 The Great Occitan War (1): From the Annexation of Provence to the Baux Submission

2.1 *The Marriage of Ramon Berenguer III with Douce of Provence and the Military Campaign of 1112 in Languedoc*

In February 1112 the Court of Barcelona fulfilled an ambitious political project, which was facilitated and prepared by the monks of Saint Victor of Marseilles: the count of Barcelona Ramon Berenguer III —Almodis de Mortain' widower— got married for the third time to the countess Douce, daughter of the deceased count Gerbert of Gevaudan and the countess Gerberge of Arles. The territories that Douce transferred in dowry to her husband included, besides Provence, the County of Gevaudan, the Viscounty of Carlades and several possessions at Rouergue, which Douce had received from her father.²⁰

This diplomatic success gave Ramon Berenguer III hope to recover effective sovereignty over the ultra-Pyrenean territories lost after 1082. With this aim, he instigated Carcassonne's population to revolt against the viscount,²¹ and prepared a great army, which in May 1112 set off to Languedoc.²² The intervention, in extremis, of the archbishop Richard of Narbonne avoided the armed conflict. At the beginning of June the viscount of Beziers acknowledged the lord-

18 Devic-Vaissete, *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, 5: cols. 826–27 (doc. 342–57); Miquel Rossell, ed., *Liber Feudorum Maior*, 2: 324–25 (docs. 841 and 842); Lema, *Colección diplomática de Alfonso I*, pp. 76–77 (docs. 55 and 56).

19 Hélène Débax, "À propos d'une figure du fief en Languedoc au début du XII^e siècle: les accords de 1112 entre Ramon Berenguer III et Bernard Aton IV," in *Les sociétés méridionales à l'âge féodal (Espagne, Italie et sud de la France X^e–XIII^e siècle)* (Toulouse, 1999), p. 327.

20 Benito, Sendra, Vela, "Corpus documental," pp. 274–76; 287–89 (docs. 21, 22 and 35); Aurell, *Les noces del comte*, pp. 371–75.

21 Benito, Sendra, Vela, "Corpus documental," pp. 277–80 (doc. 25, n. 1). Sobrequès, *Els grans comtes de Barcelona*, pp. 168–69; Federico Udina Martorell, "Catalunya y su corónimo, así como el étnico 'catalán', aparecen en el siglo XI," *Estudios de Edad Media de la Corona de Aragón* 7 (1962), 563–76.

22 Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Cancelleria, pergamins de Ramon Berenguer IV, extrainventari, 2504; Devic-Vaissete, *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, 5: cols. 31–33 (doc. 6-vi).

ship of the count of Barcelona over Carcassonne and Razès; in return he would keep the effective possession over these territories as the count's feudatory.²³

The 1112 agreements guaranteed peace between Barcelona and Toulouse for some time, which was a necessary condition to assure the success of the expedition to Majorca, a venture which was promoted by the Pope Paschal II as a kind of crusade with the aim of terminating the pirate actions over the western Mediterranean coast, and redeeming captive Christians. The expedition put together ships and military forces from several Italian cities that were under the command of Pisa to which were added —after the signing of the *societas* and *amicitia* treaty with the count of Barcelona on September 9th 1113 in Girona— Catalan, Languedocian and Provençal ships and troops (those of the viscount Eimeric II of Narbonne, Ramon of Baux, and Guilhem VI of Montpellier, and the counts of Cerdanya, Urgell and Empuries), all under the command of Ramon Berenguer III.²⁴

2.2 *War and Partition of Provence between Toulouse and Barcelona (1121–1125)*

Alfonso I Jordan, as count of Saint-Gilles, did not give up yet his sovereignty over the whole territorial set of the historical Provence (coastal Provence, the County of Forcalquier and the March or inland Provence), although he only possessed a small part of it: the County of Venaissin and Avignon. When Toulouse was recovered from the hands of the duke of Aquitaine Guilhem IX of Poitiers,²⁵ he prepared himself to seize Provence with the help of Ramon of Baux and the Genovese fleet. With the concurrence of the Pisan fleet, Ramon Berenguer III fought Alfonso I Jordan on the Rhone's right bank, and in the

23 Benito, Sendra, Vela, "Corpus documental," docs. 26, 27, 28, 29 and 30; Débax, "À propos," pp. 328–30.

24 On this expedition, see: Sobrequès, *Els grans comtes de Barcelona*, pp. 174–80; Miquel Barceló, "Expedicions militars i projectes d'atac contra les Illes orientals d'Al-Andalus (al-Jaza'ir al-Sharqiyya al-Andalus) abans de la conquesta catalana (1229)," *Estudi General* 1/1 (1981), 99–107; José Ramón Julià, "La situazione politica nel Mediterraneo occidentale all'epoca di Raimondo Berengario III: la spedizione a Maiorca del 1113–1115," *Medioevo. Saggi e Rassegne* 16 (1992), 61–68.

25 Sobrequès, *Els grans comtes de Barcelona*, pp. 172 and 188; Hélène Débax, "Stratégies matrimoniales des comtes de Toulouse (850–1270)," *Annales du Midi* 100/182 (1988), 137.

land of Argence;²⁶ in 1123 laid siege to Orange²⁷ and on May 5th 1125 occupied Avignon.²⁸ Then Alfonso I Jordan accepted initiating negotiations with his opponent for a stable agreement over Provence.

On September 16th 1125 Ramon Berenguer III and Alfonso I Jordan signed a peace treaty which, for the first time ever, set the partition of Provence between the two comital houses.²⁹ Toulouse would keep its domain over continental Provence (the March), the territory situated between the Durance and the Isere, including the County of Venaissin, the County of Forcalquier and Northern Argence. On Ramon Berenguer III and Douce's side they would see their rights acknowledged over maritime Provence, limited by the Rhone to the west, the Durance to the north, the Montgenevre and the Turbie.

2.3 *Berenguer Ramon of Provence, Count of Melgueil*

At the death of the count Ramon Berenguer III in 1131, the eldest of his sons, future Ramon Berenguer IV, inherited the County of Barcelona (1131–1162), while Provence, Rodez, Gevaudan and Carladès were constituted in *apanage* for his second eldest son, Berenguer Ramon (1131–1144).³⁰ This last one approached Guilhem VI of Montpellier, who gave him the hand of his niece Beatrice, the heiress of the County of Melgueil—including also the coining rights—as dowry (c.1132).³¹

Having lost all chances of marrying Beatrice, when viscount Eimeric II of Narbonne died (July 1134) Alfonso I Jordan seized the Viscounty of Narbonne

26 Victor-Louis Bourrilly, Raoul Busquet, *La Provence au Moyen Age. Histoire Politique. L'Église. Les Institutions (1112–1481)* (Marseille, 1924), p. 10; Geo Pistarino, "Genova e l'Occitania nel secolo XII," in *Actes du 1^{er} Congrès historique Provence-Ligurie. 2–5 octobre 1964* (Aix-en-Provence, 1966), pp. 77–78.

27 Devic-Vaissette, *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, 3: 654.

28 Jean-Pierre Poly, *La Provence et la société féodale (879–1166)* (Paris, 1976), pp. 330, 332.

29 Benito, Sendra, Vela, "Corpus documental," doc. 39; Jean-Pierre Papon, *Histoire Générale de Provence*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1778), 4/2: 224; *Liber instrumentorum memorialium. Cartulaire des Guilhems de Montpellier*, ed. Alexandre-Charles Germain (Montpellier, 1886), 3/2: 207; Sobrequés, *Els grans comtes de Barcelona*, pp. 189–90.

30 ACA, Cancellaria, pergamins de Ramon Berenguer IV, 6.

31 Devic-Vaissette, *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, 5: cols. 988–993 (doc. 522); Papon, *Histoire Générale de Provence* (1778), 2: 126–35 (docs. 71 and 72); Alexandre-Charles Germain, *Étude historique sur les comtes de Maguelone, de Substantion et de Melgueil* (Montpellier, 1854), pp. 43–47; Jean Baumel, *Histoire d'une seigneurie du Midi de la France*, 3 vols. (Montpellier, 1969), 1: 116–17.

while Ermengard —heiress of the deceased count— was still a minor.³² In 1141 he instigated a revolt of Montpellier's bourgeois against their lord, Guilhem VI.³³ The viscount Roger I of Beziers, who had returned to Barcelona's obedience, led the coalition against Toulouse.³⁴ The Pope Innocent II instigated the alliance between Genoa and Pisa and Montpellier's lordship, from which the two naval forces expected significant fiscal advantages, in exchange for the military help.³⁵ In the summer of 1143, while the Barcelona host fought a bloody battle against the rebels, the Genoese and the Pisans carried out joint action on the coast. Besieged by sea and land, the people of Montpellier surrendered and Guilhem VI regained control over the city.³⁶

2.4 *The Wars of the Baux*

From the start the counts of Barcelona faced numerous problems to impose their sovereignty over Provence. The worst was the rebelliousness of the Baux, which was the most important noble family of the Rhone. The Baux claimed part of the inheritance of Provence based on the rights of Stephanie, wife of Ramon of Baux and daughter of the countess Gerberge. Initially, Ramon of Baux helped Ramon Berenguer III in the fight against the Brussan-Palliols, who were guilty of the death of the count Gerbert,³⁷ but their support to Alfonso I Jordan in 1121 had its consequences. Ramon Berenguer's III will ended for good all the wishes this lineage could have for the Provence county's succession.³⁸

32 Aryeh Grabois, "Une étape dans l'évolution vers la désagrégation de l'État toulousain au XII^e siècle: l'intervention d'Alphonse-Jourdain à Narbonne (1134–1143)," *Annales du Midi* 78/76 (1966), 26; Jacqueline Caille, "Les seigneurs de Narbonne dans le conflit Toulouse-Barcelone au XII^e siècle," *Annales du Midi* 97/171 (1985), 230; Jacqueline Caille, "Ermengarde, vicomtesse de Narbonne (1127/29–1196/97). Une grande figure féminine du Midi aristocratique," in *La femme dans l'histoire et la société méridionales (IX^e–XIX^e siècle). Actes du 66^e Congrès de la Fédération historique du Languedoc méditerranéen et du Roussillon* (Narbonne, 1995), pp. 11–12; Fredric L. Cheyette, *Ermengard of Narbonne and the world of the troubadours* (London, 2001), p. 21.

33 Alexandre-Charles Germain, *Histoire de la commune de Montpellier*, 3 vols. (Montpellier, 1851), 1: 11–15; Baumel, *Histoire*, 1: 129–38.

34 Bourrilly-Busquet, *La Provence*, p. 16.

35 Pistarino, "Genova e l'Occitania," pp. 87–88.

36 Dino Puncuh, Antonella Rovere, *I Libri Iurium della Repubblica di Genova*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1992), 1/1: 113–14 (doc. 68); Pistarino, "Genova e l'Occitania," p. 89.

37 Benito, Sendra, Vela, "Corpus documental," p. 292 (doc. 38); Bourrilly-Busquet, *La Provence*, p. 15; Poly, *La Provence*, p. 325.

38 Edwin Smyrl, "La famille des Baux," *Cahiers du centre d'études des sociétés méditerranéennes* 2 (1968), 31–32.

While Ramon Berenguer's IV army was fighting in Montpellier, Ramon of Baux rose in arms against the count of Provence Berenguer Ramon. His main ally, the count Alfonso I Jordan, with the concurrence of the Genovese and Pisan fleets, led a wide coalition against Barcelona. At the port of Melgueil the count of Provence was hit by crossbow shot from a Ligurian galley and died (1144).³⁹ The Baux immediately set up a toll (*teloneum*) in Trinquetaille and seized the county's lands of the Camargue,⁴⁰ while the emperor Conrad III, the supposed sovereign of the county as king of Burgundy,⁴¹ acknowledged them certain royal rights and granted them the Imperial fief over the lands that belonged to count Gerbert and to the countess Gerberge —parents of Stephanie (1145).⁴² In February 1146 Ramon Berenguer IV, as the guardian of his nephew Ramon Berenguer III, was in Provence with his army in order to punish the noble revolt.⁴³ Ramon of Baux was imprisoned, tried and forced to do homage to Ramon Berenguer IV.⁴⁴

During the campaigns of Lleida and Tortosa Stephanie of Baux, the widow, and her children revolted again. In the spring of 1150 Ramon Berenguer IV returned to Provence and forced the Baux to sign a concord that implied resigning to all their rights over the county.⁴⁵

Nevertheless, the Baux did not give up. Provided with a golden bull given to them by the chancery of Frederick I Barbarossa (1155) that confirmed the imperial diploma of Conrad III,⁴⁶ and with the support of the count Raymond V of Toulouse and the Genoese, Stephanie and her children rose up in arms once again. Ramon Berenguer IV laid siege to Trinquetaille (April 1156), seized several castles (September 1156) and forced the Baux to subscribe to a new sub-

39 Papon, *Histoire Générale de Provence*, 4/2: 230; Devic-Vaissette, *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, 3: 729–730; Germain, *Étude historique*, p. 49.

40 Poly, *La Provence*, pp. 336–38.

41 René Poupardin, *Le royaume de Bourgogne (888–1038). Étude sur les origines du royaume d'Arles* (Paris, 1907), pp. 126–27, 143–44 and 159–66.

42 Paul Fournier, *Le royaume d'Arles et de Vienne (1138–1378)* (Paris, 1891), pp. 7–10; Bourrilly-Busquet, *La Provence*, p. 17; Smyrl, "La famille des Baux," p. 36.

43 Benito, Sendra, Vela, "Corpus documental," pp. 307–308 (doc. 49); Poly, *La Provence*, pp. 338–39.

44 Benito, Sendra, Vela, "Corpus documental," pp. 324–26 (doc. 57); Francisco Diago, *Historia de los victoriosísimos antiguos condes de Barcelona*, 3 vols. (Barcelona, 1603), 2: f. 229r [chapter CXLVIII]; Papon, *Histoire Générale de Provence*, 4/2: 230–31.

45 Benito, Sendra, Vela, "Corpus documental," pp. 324–26 (doc. 57); Smyrl, "La famille des Baux," p. 39.

46 Papon, *Histoire Générale de Provence*, 4/2: 236; Fournier, *Le royaume*, p. 17; Bourrilly-Busquet, *La Provence*, p. 19; Smyrl, "La famille des Baux," pp. 41, 88 (doc. 13 bis).

mission treaty that ratified the 1150⁴⁷ concord and set the basis for this lineage's political isolation.⁴⁸

3 The Great Occitan War (11): Alfonso the Chaste's "Empire" beyond the Pyrenees

3.1 *The Anglo-Aragonese Alliance against Toulouse*

Since the mid-twelfth century, with the entry of the English, French and Imperial chancelleries, as well as the Republic of Genoa, in the war between Barcelona and Toulouse and in the Albigenian issue, the Great Occitan War went into a new ruthless and endemic phase.

The marriage of Henry II Plantagenet to Eleanor of Poitou, Queen Petronilla's cousin and the heir of Aquitaine (1152), laid the foundations for the alliance between Ramon Berenguer IV and Henry II, which was sealed six years later in the agreement reached in the castle of Blaye in 1159.⁴⁹ As a response to the Anglo-Aragonese coalition, Raymond V of Toulouse closed an alliance to the Capetians through his marriage to Constance, the sister of King Louis VII of France (1154). Since that moment, the war between Barcelona and Toulouse, focused on the Languedoc and coastal Provence, is linked to the forty-years-long war that the Plantagenet and the Counts of Toulouse fight in Aquitaine and Limousin.⁵⁰ Besides, Genoa stepped in, conducting corsair action against Provençal and Catalan interests since 1143, and signing treaties with Toulouse in 1171 and 1174 to fight Barcelona and to gain control over the Provençal coast.⁵¹

By 1157, the majority of independent rulers of the Languedoc's principalities formed a great alliance with the Count of Barcelona and the King of England against the Count of Toulouse.⁵² In March 1159, Henry II formally vindicated

47 Diago, *Historia*, 2: f. 248r [chapter CLXVI]. Bourrilly-Busquet, *La Provence*, p. 19; Smyrl, "La famille des Baux," p. 41; Benito, Sendra, Vela, "Corpus documental," pp. 344–49 (doc. 72 and 73).

48 Benito, Sendra, Vela, "Corpus documental," pp. 340–54 (doc. 74, 75 and 76); Smyrl, "La famille des Baux," pp. 41–42.

49 Jerónimo Zurita, *Anales de la Corona de Aragón*, ed. Ángel Canellas, 9 vols. (Saragossa, 1967), 1: 69 [liber II, chapter XVII], which dates the interview to 1160; Devic-Vaissete, *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, 4: 232.

50 Richard Benjamin, "A Forty Years War. Toulouse and the Plantagenets, 1156–1196," *Historical Research* 61 (1988), 270.

51 Pistarino, "Genova e l'Occitania," pp. 112–16.

52 Devic-Vaissete, *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, 3: 807–09; Macé, *Les comtes de Toulouse*, p. 29.

his wife's rights over the County of Toulouse at a barons gathering at Poitiers.⁵³ In the summer of 1159 his troops took Cahors, part of Quercy and Rouergue, and with the aid of the troops of Ramon Berenguer IV, advanced until they surrounded Toulouse from the north in August.⁵⁴ Raymond V would break the siege thanks to the support of his brother-in-law, the King of France.⁵⁵

3.2 *Provence "within" the Empire (1162)*

The shift in the Provençal politics of the Hohenstaufen is another indicator that the tide had changed. Since 1159, Frederick Barbarossa was backing the Antipope Victor IV in his dispute for the Papal throne against Alexander III. Seeking support, he approached Ramon Berenguer IV, who saw the chance to legitimate his domination of the County of Provence. The reconciliation was confirmed by the marriage of Ramon Berenguer III of Provence, his nephew, to Richeza of Poland, the Emperor's niece.⁵⁶

In August 1162 Ramon Berenguer IV and his nephew departed for Turin to meet the Emperor in an assembly. The expedition turned out to be fatal for the Count of Barcelona, who died at Borgo San Dalmazzo.⁵⁷ Nonetheless, Ramon Berenguer III of Provence came back with an Imperial privilege that acknowledged the possession of the County and March of Provence, the city of Arles and its *regalia*, and the County of Forcalquier. This investiture terminated Hugh of Baux' aspirations to the Provençal heritage, which were sustained on two previous bulls that were declared null and destroyed in front of the Curia gathered at Turin.⁵⁸

With this privilege in his hands, and once he had ensured the tutelage of Alfonso II, the Count of Provence prepared a campaign against Hugh of Baux. In the spring of 1166 he led his army to Lagrasse and attacked Nice, but an enemy crossbow shot when besieging the city mortally wounded him.⁵⁹

53 Benjamin, "A Forty Years War," p. 271.

54 Devic-Vaissete, *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, 4: 231–34, n. 54; Jacques Boussard, *Le gouvernement d'Henri II Plantagenet* (Paris, 1956), pp. 419–20; Jane Martindale, "An Unfinished Business. Angevin Politics and the Siege of Toulouse, 1159," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 23 (2000), 115–54.

55 Benjamin, "A Forty Years War," p. 271.

56 Papon, *Histoire Générale de Provence*, 4/2: 237; Aurell, *Les noces del comte*, pp. 376–77.

57 Miquel Rossell, *Liber Feudorum Maior*, 1: 533–34 (doc. 494).

58 Benito, Sendra, Vela, "Corpus documental," pp. 359–64 (doc. 81 and 82).

59 *Gesta comitum Barcinonensium*, eds. Lluís Barrau Dihigo, Josep Massó Torrents (Barcelona, 1925), pp. 13, 46 and 135; *Gestes dels Comtes de Barcelona i Reis d'Aragó*, ed. Stefano Maria Cingolani (Valencia, 2008), p. 119.

The death of Ramon Berenguer III of Provence resurrected the county succession problem. The Count had only left a daughter whose marriage to Raymond, the son of Raymond v of Toulouse (October 1165), had been arranged. Raymond v then hurried to repudiate Constance, the sister of King Louis VII of France, in order to marry Richeza of Poland, the Count's widow, mother of the county's heir. The Regency Council of Alfonso the Chaste was quick to react: the seneschal Guillem Ramon de Montcada and Guilhem VII of Montpellier brought the young king to Arles, brought the Baux to the Royal banner and signed a treaty of alliance and mutual assistance with the Genoese consul (May 1167). Raymond v, who was fighting the King of England at the same time, was forced to abandon his objective to take Provence.⁶⁰

Alfonso the Chaste, who adopted the title of Marquis of Provence, went back to his Iberian dominions leaving his brother Peter, who would change his name for Ramon Berenguer as a symbol of dynastic continuity, in charge of the county, and appointing Gui Guerrejat, the brother of Guilhem VII of Montpellier, as procurator.⁶¹

3.3 *The Alliances between Toulouse and Genoa in 1171 and 1174*

In May 1171 Genoa, confronted to Pisa and Montpellier for the Occitan mercantile ports, signed a threatening alliance with the count of Toulouse against Barcelona.⁶² Right after that, Raymond v took over Melgueil and blockaded Montpellier. Besieged by land and sea, Guilhem VII of Montpellier was forced to acknowledge Raymond v as Count of Melgueil and do him homage in exchange for the profit obtained from the *Melgorien* coinage (June 1171/1172).⁶³

Henry II of England did not succeed in appeasing Alfonso the Chaste and Raymond v at Montferrand (February 1173).⁶⁴ In August 1174 Raymond v and the council of Genoa signed a new military alliance against the King Alfonso that renewed and extended the 1171 agreement. In exchange for military aid and fiscal advantages the Genoese obtained the monopoly of seafaring commerce,

60 Devic-Vaissette, *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, 6: 24–25; Jordi Ventura, *Alfons el Cast* (Barcelona, 1961), pp. 108–11; Pistarino, “Genova e l’Occitania,” pp. 110–11.

61 Devic-Vaissette, *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, 6: 33; Ventura, *Alfons el Cast*, p. 115.

62 Puncuh, Rovere, *I Libri Iurium della Repubblica di Genova*, 1/2: 226–230 (docs. 360 and 361); Emile-G. Léonard, *Catalogue des actes des comtes de Toulouse. III. Raymond V (1149–1194)* (Paris, 1932), pp. 39–40 (doc. 57). On the content of this treaty within the context of the war of Genoa against Pisa and Montpellier, see: Pistarino, “Genova e l’Occitania,” p. 113.

63 *Cartulaire de Maguelone*, ed. Jean Rouquette, Augustin Villemagne, 2 vols. (Montpellier, 1912–1913), 1:287 (doc. 156); Léonard, *Catalogue*, p. 44 (doc. 63); Devic-Vaissette, *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, 6: 46; Germain, *Étude historique*, p. 58.

64 Boussard, *Le gouvernement*, p. 473; Benjamin, “A Forty Years War,” p. 274–75.

control over Marseilles and Hyeres, and joint control over the other port towns of coastal Provence, whilst Toulouse —besides its share of the ports— kept sovereignty over the county and control over the continental area.⁶⁵

3.4 *The Expedition of Alfonso the Chaste 'apud Tolosam' and the Peace of Tarascon (1175–1176)*

Alfonso the Chaste responded to this alliance with the formation of a great army that left for Toulouse in late September or early October 1175.⁶⁶ In October the expedition was in Saves, Comminges, where the King granted the Aran Valley to count Centule II of Bigorre and his wife Matilde, widow of Peter I of Bearn and cousin of the king.⁶⁷

Alfonso's expedition and the pressure from the King of England might have persuaded the contendants of the convenience of entering into negotiations in order to reach a lasting peace.⁶⁸ On 18th April 1176, in a scenario chosen for its symbolism —the island on the Rhone called Jarnegues, on the lower side of the town of Tarascon— and in front of a selected political and ecclesiastical representation, Alfonso the Chaste and Raymond v of Toulouse swore a peace agreement that had been reached thanks to the work of Hugh Gaufred, the master Templar of Aragon and Catalonia, and a commission of arbitrators from both parties.⁶⁹

By this treaty, on the first place, Raymond v renounced to all the rights he might have claimed over the County of Provence and the Viscounties of Millau, Gevaudan and Carlades; in return, Alfonso the Chaste compensated him with 3100 silver marks. Secondly, both parts ratified the 1125 partition of Provence between Ramon Berenguer III and Alfonso I Jordan, but for the fact that the King and the Count committed to maintaining the *status quo* of the disputed lands, i.e. the Viscounty of Gevaudan, owned by the former, and the County of

65 Puncuh, Rovere, *I Libri Iurium della Repubblica di Genova*, 1/2: 231–44 (docs. 362–63); Léonard, *Catalogue*, pp. 47–49 (docs. 66 bis and 66 ter). Commented in: Pistarino, “Genova e l’Occitania,” pp. 114–16, and Ventura, *Alfons el Cast*, pp. 161–64.

66 Agustí Altisent, “À propos de l’expédition d’Alphonse le Chaste à Toulouse en 1175,” *Annales du Midi* 79/84 (1967), 429–36; Pere Benito, “The Catalan-Aragonese Expedition to Toulouse and the Submission of Nice and Forcauquier (1175–1177): a before and an after in the Course of the Great Occitan War,” *Imago Temporis. Medium Aevum* 9 (2015), 191–209.

67 Benito, Sendra, Vela, “Corpus documental,” pp. 377–78 (doc. 92).

68 Preparations for the meeting might have been decided at a previous encounter at Mezous, near Montpellier: Devic-Vaissete, *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, 6: 61–62.

69 Benito, Sendra, Vela, “Corpus documental,” pp. 378–80 (doc. 93). Commented by: Devic-Vaissete, *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, 6: 68 and 7: 10–11; D’Abadal, “À propos,” pp. 336–38.

Melgueil and the castle of Albaron, owned by the latter; each part would keep control over these dominions and in the future the disputes would be solved through arbitrages and written agreements.

To sum up, Alfonso the Chaste renounced to all the rights over Languedoc derived from the purchase of Ramon Berenguer I, as well as over the county of Melgueil, under the sovereignty of Toulouse since 1172; in return, he strengthened his control over the County of Provence and over the viscounties of Millau, Carladès and Gevaudan. The 1176 peace agreement definitely buried the military alliance between Toulouse and Genoa signed on April 1174, as well as the Genoese aspirations of controlling coastal Provence.

3.5 *Submission of Nice and Forcalquier (1176–1177)*

Once peace had been made with the Count of Toulouse and control over Provence had been ensured, the King Alfonso headed towards Eastern Provence to subdue Nice, the rebel city where Ramon Berenguer III of Provence had died in 1166. In order to ensure success, he made an alliance to the Marquis of Busca (April 1176).⁷⁰ From Grasse, he headed towards the place called Arinçana, at the mouth of the Var River, and his troops camped scarcely two miles from the city. The Nice consuls addressed him with an agreement proposal that included their recognition of the sovereignty of the Counts of Provence in return for the confirmation of the consular institutions.⁷¹

Once Nice had been integrated to the Crown, Alfonso the Chaste considered that the time had come to subdue Forcalquier. Leading a big army, he went across the Durance River, took a number of strongholds and laid siege to the county capital (spring 1177).⁷² Taking advice from the Provençal Church, Guilhem IV, count of Forcalquier, agreed to recognise the sovereignty of the Count of Provence. The King Alfonso and Guilhem IV finally agreed on the conditions of the agreement at the castle of Sault, in September 1177. Later on, Guilhem IV sent Alfonso a procurator that did him homage in a solemn

70 Benito, Sendra, Vela, "Corpus documental," pp. 380–81 (doc. 94); Zurita, *Anales*, 1: 273–74 [liber II, chapter XXXIV].

71 Benito, Sendra, Vela, "Corpus documental," pp. 381–82 (doc. 95).

72 Caesar de Nostradamus, *Histoire et chronique de Provence* (Lyon, 1614), pp. 146–47; Le Père Columbi, *Opera Varia: Guillelmus Junior, comes Forcalquerii* (Lyon, 1663); Antoine de Ruffi, *Histoire des comtes de Provence* (Aix-en-Provence, 1655), pp. 79–80; Bourrilly-Busquet, *La Provence*, p. 26; Maria Cristina Varano, *Espace religieux et espace politique en pays provençal au Moyen Âge (IX^e–XIII^e siècles). L'exemple de Forcalquier et de sa région*, PhD Dissertation, 2 vols. (Marseille, 2011), 2: 464–65 (<https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/file/index/docid/656210/filename/ThA_se_M_Varano_vol_1_2_3.pdf>).

ceremony presided by Hugh of Baux and his son Ramon, and declared that the County of Forcalquier depended on the County of Provence.⁷³

In December 1178, Alfonso the Chaste put his brother Ramon Berenguer IV in charge of the counties of Provence, Gevaudan and Rouergue.⁷⁴ The delegation of political powers over Provence was accompanied by the delegation of economic authority to Gui Gerrejat, the brother of Guilhem VII of Montpellier, who was appointed royal procurator, and by the translation of the county capital from Arles to Aix.

By 1178, Alfonso the Chaste ruled over a vast aggregation of territories that, in the words of Roger of Howden, extended along the coast from the Montsia Mountains (south of Tortosa) to Nice.⁷⁵ The conquest project of Provence defined by the 1125 partition treaty had been concluded with the submission of Nice and Forcalquier. Guilhem VIII of Montpellier and the Viscountess of Narbonne remained Alfonso's faithful vassals and allies. The kingdom of Aragon extended its territory inland up to the borders of Navarre and, north of the Pyrenees, had influence over Bearn —under Aragonese tutelage since 1154—,⁷⁶ Bigorre, Comminges and Aran Valley. At the same time, Roussillon (1172)⁷⁷ and Pallars Jussa (1177) had been incorporated to the direct dominions of the Counts of Barcelona. In the interior of Occitania, the Provençal heritage included the viscounties of Millau, Gevaudan, Rouergue and half of Carlades, for which Hug II of Rodez had declared himself a feudatory of the King (1167).⁷⁸

The campaigns of 1175–1177 signal one of the peak moments of the Catalano-Aragonese Crown expansion beyond the Pyrenees, as well as the beginning of an unprecedented period of consolidation of the royal power on his territories.

73 Varano, *Espace religieux*, 2: 465.

74 Benito, Sendra, Vela, "Corpus documental," pp. 384 (doc. 97); Honoré Bouche, *L'Histoire Chronologique de Provence*, 2 vols. (Aix-en-Provence, 1664), 2: 1056–57; Papon, *Histoire Générale de Provence*, 4/2: 244–45, in which the document is dated to 1168. The mistake is solved by: Bourrilly-Busquet, *La Provence*, p. 27.

75 Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, ed. William Stubbs, 4 vols. [*Rolls Series*, 51] (London, 1868–1871), p. 52.

76 Pierre Tucó-Chala, *La vicomté de Béarn et le problème de sa souveraineté des origines à 1620* (Bordeaux, 1961), pp. 42–44; Pere Benito, "L'expansió territorial ultrapirinenca de Barcelona i de la Corona d'Aragó," in *Tractats i negociacions diplomàtiques de Catalunya i de la Corona catalanoaragonesa a l'edat mitjana*, eds. Maria Teresa Ferrer, Manuel Riu (Barcelona, 2009), p. 58.

77 Benito, "L'expansió territorial ultrapirinenca," p. 67.

78 Benito, Sendra, Vela, "Corpus documental," pp. 369–70 (doc. 86); Gustave Saige, Louis, comte de Dienne, *Documents historiques relatifs à la vicomté de Carladès*, 2 vols. (Monaco, 1900), 2: 7–9 (docs. 5 and 22–23, doc. 10).

After the brilliant victories of his army, Alfonso the Chaste will draw on the recently obtained fame and prestige in order to assert his power on the local aristocracy, resurrect old plans of territorial expansion, help his allies, challenge the German Emperor, and to break with the Frankish legitimacy scrupulously maintained for three hundred years.⁷⁹

3.6 *The Oaths of Roger II Trencavel and Bernard Ato IV of Nîmes (1179)*

In September 1177 Raymond V wrote a letter to the General Chapter of the Cistercian Order in which he denounced that the Catharist heresy was spreading throughout the lands of the Trencavel and that the very same Viscount Roger II favoured, protected and was an accomplice to the heretic, and in which he demanded the intervention of the King of France.⁸⁰ Henry II and Louis VII sent an embassy presided by the Cardinal Peter of Pavia to Languedoc, with the mission of fighting Catharism.⁸¹ The mission arrived at Toulouse in August 1178 and entered the Albigeois. Roger II Trencavel, who avoided the missionaries, was declared a traitor, heretic and a perjurer, and was excommunicated for his passivity in front of the heresy.⁸²

The situation got complicated when the Third Lateran Council, celebrated in Rome in March 1179, decreed all accomplices or protectors of Catharism be excommunicated, their subjects to be relieved of their obligations towards them, and spiritual rewards to be granted to all those fighting against them.⁸³ The measure entitled the Count of Toulouse to take action against the Viscounts of Beziers and Nîmes, both accused of being accomplices and protectors of the heretics, and against their vassals, and to confiscate their property and goods.

In these circumstances, the Viscounts of Nîmes and Beziers were left with no other option than to require the protection from the King of Aragon. Alfonso II did not miss the chance to benefit from the occasion. Thus, by

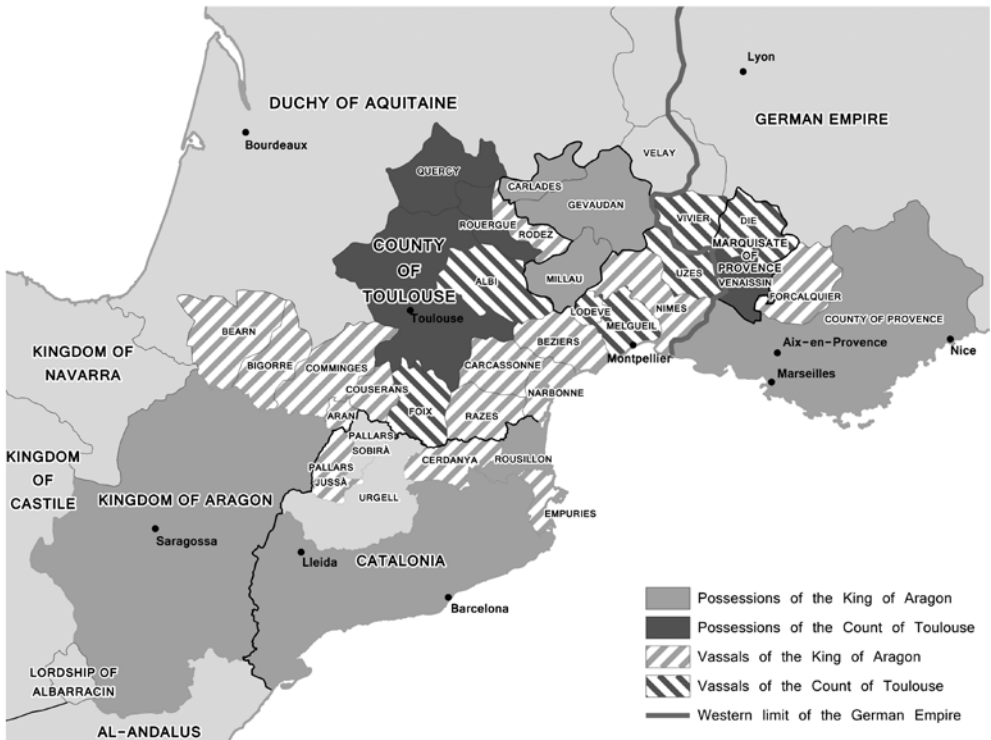
79 Michel Zimmerman, *Les rapports de la France et de la Catalogne du X^e au XII^e siècle, Mélanges de la Bibliothèque Espagnole*. Paris 1977–1978 (Madrid-Paris, 1982), pp. 81–99; Michel Zimmerman, “La datation des documents catalans du IX^e au XII^e siècle: un itinéraire politique,” *Annales du Midi* 93/154 (1981), 345–75.

80 Devic-Vaissete, *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, 6: 77–78; Michel Roquebert, *L'épopée cathare*, 4 vols. (Toulouse, 1970–1989), 1: 83–84.

81 Devic-Vaissete, *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, 6: 78–81; Léonard, *Catalogue*, p. 10; Broussart, *Le gouvernement*, p. 526; Ventura, *Alfons el Cast*, p. 184.

82 Henrici Claraevallensis, “Epistolae,” *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, 221 vols. (Paris, 1855), 204: cols. 235–240; Devic-Vaissete, *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, 6: 81.

83 Joannes Dominicus Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova Amplissima Collectio* (Venice, 1778), 22: 232; Ventura, *Alfons el Cast*, pp. 196–97.



MAP 4.1 *The opposed domains of the King of Aragon and the Count of Toulouse (1180).*

MAP BY PERE BENITO, FLOCEL SABATÉ AND SERVEI CIENTIFICOTÈCNIC DE CARTOGRAFIA I SISTEMES D'INFORMACIÓ GEOGRÀFICA DE LA UNIVERSITAT DE LLEIDA.

virtue of the agreements of October–November 1179, it was not only Roger II of Beziers who recognised Barcelona's sovereignty over Carcassonne–Razes,⁸⁴ but also Bernard Ato IV who offered Alfonso the Chaste his Viscounty of Nîmes in *alodium*. Besides, Ramon Berenguer III of Provence received various castles in Millau.⁸⁵ For all these reasons, Jordi Ventura asserts that this was the “culminating moment of the domination of the House of Barcelona–Aragon over the lands of Languedoc.”⁸⁶

84 Benito, Sendra, Vela, “Corpus documental,” pp. 393–409 (docs. 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112 and 113); Devic-Vaissete, *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, 6: 90–91.

85 Devic-Vaissete, *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, 6: 88–89; Benito, Sendra, Vela, “Corpus documental,” docs. 98, 99, 100 and 101.

86 Ventura, *Alfons el Cast*, p. 199; D'Abadal, *À propos*, p. 343.

3.7 *The Resuming of the War between Barcelona and Toulouse (1181–1183)*

The 1179 agreements of Beziers and Carcassonne supposed the first steps of a new war between Toulouse and Barcelona, the episodes of which are poorly known. The Viscounty of Nîmes was the main scenario. In early 1181 Pons Gaucelm de Lunel captured Bernard Ato VI, who had to sell the Viscounty of Nîmes to Raymond V to be able to pay his rescue.⁸⁷ On the other hand, Raymond V invaded the Viscounty of Narbonne and fought Ramon Berenguer IV of Provence, who ultimately fell victim to an ambush nearby Montpellier and was murdered by the men of Ademar de Murviel (5th April 1181).⁸⁸

Alfonso the Chaste appointed his brother Sancho as the delegate Count of Provence and confirmed his alliance with Guilhem VIII of Montpellier, Bernat d'Anduze, Guilhem of Laurac and other barons against the Count of Toulouse (25th March 1181/1182).⁸⁹ Then, in order to avenge his brother, he crossed the Pyrenees, besieged Fourques, in Argence, a Toulousain stronghold (May 1181)⁹⁰ and destroyed the Murviel castle (June 1181).

The war between the King of Aragon and his allies and Count Raymond V of Toulouse was retaken in autumn 1181⁹¹ and continued throughout 1182.⁹² Alfonso II assisted the King of England in his fight against the rebel nobles at the siege of Saint Front castle (June 1182)⁹³ and at the siege of Hautefort castle (June 1183).⁹⁴

In March 1183, whilst fighting against Raymond V, Alfonso the Chaste transferred the rights he possessed over the Counties of Rodez and Gevaudan and in Carlades to his brother Sancho; these dominions were added to the County of Provence, which he already held by delegation of the King.⁹⁵ Months later Sancho betrayed his brother and concluded a treaty with the Republic of Genoa

87 Laurent Macé, "Chronique d'une grande commotion: la rivalité entre les comtes de Toulouse et les Trencavel (XII^e–XIII^e siècles)," *Revue du Tarn* 176 (1999), 671.

88 *Gesta comitum Barcinonensium*, ed. Dihigo, Massó, pp. 13 and 47; Papon, *Histoire Générale de Provence*, 4/2: 260; Devic-Vaissette, *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, 6: 93; Léonard, *Catalogue*, p. 10.

89 Benito, Sendra, Vela, "Corpus documental," pp. 409–10 (docs. 114 and 115).

90 Georges Doublet, *Recueil des actes concernant les évêques d'Antibes* (Monaco, 1915), pp. 133–34; Devic-Vaissette, *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, 8: col. 382 (doc. 56-XXXVIII).

91 Devic-Vaissette, *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, 6: 99; 8: cols. 351–353 (docs. 40-XXXIII).

92 Devic-Vaissette, *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, 6: 102.

93 "Ex Fragmento de Petragoricensibus episcopis," *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, XII: 392; Devic-Vaissette, *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, 6: 102.

94 Devic-Vaissette, *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, 6: 103–04.

95 Benito, Sendra, Vela, "Corpus documental," pp. 412 (doc. 118).

that represented a true declaration of war to the king of Aragon.⁹⁶ This alliance was another piece in the anti-Catalan league led by Raymond v, which also included, apart from the Count of Forcalquier, who had signed the treaty, Guilhem VII of Montpellier.

Alfonso the Chaste found himself in another complicated situation, with the temporary loss of control over Provence and with his natural allies against him; only the viscount of Nîmes, Bernard Ato VI, who had been dispossessed of his dominions by the Count of Toulouse, and Viscount Roger II of Beziers, stood by his side—forced by the treaty of March 1183. In this context, the Catalano-Narbonnese Church worked to reconcile Raymond v and Alfonso the Chaste with the objective of re-establishing the 1176 Peace of Tarascon and to try to tackle the differences that had arisen from the unsolved litigations. Ecclesiastical mediation was fruitful and by February 1184, Alfonso II and Raymond v ratified the 1176 treaty, putting an end to the controversies that had emerged afterwards. Both rulers committed to keeping the 1176 *status quo* in relation to the territories in dispute: the County of Melgueil and the mote of Albaron remained under control of Raymond v, whilst Rodez and Gevaudan were kept by the King.⁹⁷

In a new peace treaty signed at the island of Jarneques, Alfonso II of Aragon and Raymond v of Toulouse renewed the pacts of 1184 in Narbonne and agreed to equally divide among each other the further acquisitions in the city of Avignon; they also decided to appoint arbitrators for the resolution of further territorial conflicts.⁹⁸

In the summer 1190, Richard Lionheart, the heir of Henry II of England, and Philip Augustus of France left for the Holy Land. The wars between Toulouse, France and England momentarily stopped due to the truce that was imposed because of the Crusades.⁹⁹ Alfonso the Chaste took advantage of this moment to redirect his Hispanic politics and to ensure his dominion over Forcalquier. With the latter in mind, in July 1193 he arranged the marriage of his son, Alfonso, the heir to the County of Provence, with Garsenda of Sabran, granddaughter of Guilhem IV of Forcalquier, who until that moment had been an ally of the

96 Puncuh, Rovere, *I Libri Iurium della Repubblica di Genova*, 1/2: 253–56 (doc. 365); Léonard, *Catalogue*, pp. XXXI, n. 2, and 81–82 (doc. 116); Ventura, *Alfons el Cast*, pp. 207–09; Pistarino, “Genova e l’Occitania,” p. 122.

97 Benito, Sendra, Vela, “Corpus documental,” pp. 413–15 (doc. 119).

98 Benito, Sendra, Vela, “Corpus documental,” pp. 432–34 (doc. 131); Henry de Gérin-Ricard, Émile Isnard, *Actes concernant les vicomtes de Marseille et leurs descendants* (Monaco, 1926), pp. 81–83 (doc. 288).

99 Devic-Vaissette, *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, 6: 134–35.

Count of Toulouse.¹⁰⁰ During the last year of his reign, Alfonso the Chaste had to face with his army the powerful communal movement of Marseilles, which was hostile to the Viscountal power and to the Barcelonese interference.¹⁰¹

4 Peter the Catholic's Project for the Occitan Unification

4.1 *The Disappearance of the Main Characters of the Great Occitan War*

The beginning of the reign of Peter the Catholic signals a radical shift in the Aragonese policy beyond the Pyrenees, in contrast with that followed by his predecessor. In February 1198, Peter the Catholic and Raymond VI decided to finally end the war that had confronted Barcelona and Toulouse in Languedoc and Provence and to open a new period of friendship and alliance between the two comital Houses.

The causes for this sudden switch in the alliances have to be found outside the sphere of the Aragonese and Occitan politics. Indeed, by 1196 a number of events taking place at a superregional scale hastily changed the course of the Occitan politics of the Crown of Aragon and its entry in a completely different scenario. In the first place, we must note the impact of the 1194–1197 famine and epidemic mortality, a catastrophe whose effects have yet to be properly calculated.¹⁰² As a consequence of the pandemics, the main characters of the last phase of the Great Occitan War disappeared between 1194 and 1196. Viscount Roger II of Beziers died in Carcassonne shortly after the 17th March 1194,¹⁰³ Count Raymond V of Toulouse died in Nîmes in December 1194,¹⁰⁴ and Viscountess Ermengard of Narbonne on 30th April 1196.¹⁰⁵ A few days later, on

100 Benito, Sendra, Vela, "Corpus documental," pp. 439–41 (doc. 135); Guy de Tournadre, *Histoire du comté de Forcalquier (XII^e siècle)* (Paris, 1930), pp. 95–97; Mariacristina Varano, *Espace religieux*, 2: 468–71.

101 Bourrilly-Busquet, *La Provence*, p. 30–31; Édouard Baratier, "De la vicomté au consulat (950–1246)," in *Histoire de Marseille*, ed. Édouard Baratier (Toulouse, 1973), pp. 66–68.

102 Pere Benito, "Famines sans frontières en Occident avant la conjoncture de 1300. À propos d'une enquête en cours," in *Les disettes dans la conjoncture de 1300 en Méditerranée Occidentale*, eds. Monique Bourin, John Drendel, François Menant (Rome, 2011), pp. 36–87.

103 Devic-Vaissette, *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, 6: 153–56; Léonard, *Catalogue*, p. xi; Macé, "Chronique d'une grande commotion," p. 680.

104 Léonard, *Catalogue*, p. xi.

105 Caille, "Ermengarde, vicomtesse de Narbonne," pp. 23–24 and 43–49; Cheyette, *Ermengard of Narbonne*, p. 340–342.

25th April, Alfonso the Chaste passed away in Perpignan, where he had summoned the lords and barons of Provence.¹⁰⁶

The 1194–1197 disaster ended up with a whole generation of princes, and momentarily stopped war. However, the generational change of rulers does not explain on its own the shift of the last decade of the twelfth century, the temporary halt of the hostilities, nor the substitution of the secular conflict between Barcelona and Toulouse by a new war based on religious principles. It must be conceded that a major contribution to this change was made by the Church and by the desperate claims of Celestine III and Innocent III to fight both the *Christianitas'* exterior and interior enemies, i.e. the Almohads and the Albigensian heresy.

The Castilian defeat at Alarcos (19th July 1195) in front of the Almohads had struck the Christian west and had prompted the interruption of the war between France and England. Shortly after, Philip Augustus and Richard Lionheart would make peace at Louviers (January 1196) and would delimit their areas of expansion, leaving the dominions of the Count of Toulouse under French influence.¹⁰⁷

4.2 *The Shift of Alliances*

The new international order established by the Treaty of Louviers brought significant changes in the alliances' game in the Occitan space. In the first place, it ended the war that for forty years had confronted England and Toulouse for the control of the continental territories of the Plantagenet. In October 1196 the Saint-Gilles and the Plantagenet made peace and sealed their alliance with the marriage of the young count Raymond VI with Joan, Richard Lionheart's sister, who provided the restitution of Quercy and the handing of the Agenais, both territories in dispute in the hands of the English King, as dowry.¹⁰⁸

In the second place, it implied the end of the Great Occitan War. The basis and the programme of the alliance between Toulouse and Barcelona, which put an end to almost ninety years of war (1112–1198), were decided in the summit that Raymond VI, his cousin Bernard IV of Comminges, and Peter II of Aragon celebrated in Perpignan in February 1198.¹⁰⁹ The contents of this summit

106 Jordi Ventura, *Pere el Catòlic i Simó de Montfort* (Barcelona, 1960), p. 41.

107 On the changes on the international arena, see: Martín Alvira, *El Jueves de Muret: 12 de Septiembre de 1213* (Barcelona, 2002), pp. 86–87.

108 Benjamin, "A Forty Years War," p. 282; Macé, *Les comtes de Toulouse*, pp. 60–61.

109 Martín Alvira Cabrer, *Pedro el Católico, Rey de Aragón y Conde de Barcelona (1196–1213). Documentos, Testimonios y Memoria Histórica*, 6 vols. (Saragossa, 2010), 1: 259–60 (doc. 121).

are unknown, but both Ferran Soldevila and Jordi Ventura point out that it was probably not a coincidence that it took place shortly after the enthronization as Pope of Lotario de Conti (8 January), a jurist that had defined as his main programme the defeating and eradication of Catharism and the submission of all Christian princes to the Catholic Church.¹¹⁰ Charles Higounet underlines that after the enthronization of Innocent III, Raymond VI, who had been excommunicated by Celestine III and was under suspicion of being an accomplice to the heretics, needed to get near the king of Aragon, who was starting to take measures to combat heresy within his states.¹¹¹

Higounet goes even further and considers that the marriage between Peter the Catholic and Marie of Montpellier, who had recently become the new wife of Bernard IV of Comminges, might have been decided at the summit of 1198 at Perpignan.¹¹² The marriage between Bernard IV and Marie of Montpellier would be a provisional solution for Peter II: Bernard IV would be her husband until the death of his father-in-law, Guilhem VIII; at that point the succession to the lordship of Montpellier would be posed: Bernard would repudiate his wife and, as the renounce to the succession would have expired for the breaking of the marriage, Peter the Catholic would be able to spouse her and obtain the lordship of Montpellier.¹¹³

In a new interview celebrated in November 1202, the alliance between Toulouse and Barcelona took shape. Raymond VI, who had been widowed from his fourth wife, Joan of England, was engaged to young Eleanor, the sister of Peter II of Aragon.¹¹⁴ As she was still under age, it was necessary to wait until January 1204 in order to celebrate the marriage, and the chosen place was Perpignan.¹¹⁵ As a result of this union, the territories over which Barcelona and Toulouse had litigated were divided the following way: the Count of Toulouse ensured his authority over Foix, Carcassonne and the Viscounty of Narbonne, and the King of Aragon gained support from a powerful ally and was free to undisputedly incorporate the lordship of Montpellier.

110 Ventura, *Pere el Catòlic*, p. 50.

111 Charles Higounet, *Le comté de Comminges. De ses origines à son annexion à la couronne* (Toulouse, 1949), p. 82.

112 Devic-Vaisette, *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, 6: 182; Germain, *Liber instrumentorum memorialium*, pp. 349–52 (doc. 204); Alvira, *Pedro el Católico*, 1: 250–51 (doc. 108 and 109).

113 Higounet, *Le comté de Comminges*, pp. 79–82 and 85; Higounet, “Un grand chapitre,” pp. 319–20.

114 Alvira, *Pedro el Católico*, 1: 351 (doc. 218).

115 Benito, Sendra, Vela, “Corpus documental,” pp. 453–54 (doc. 142).

4.3 *Montpellier: The Tumultuous Arrival of Peter the Catholic*

The next step in the Perpignan scheme was the marriage of Peter the Catholic to Marie of Montpellier. With this objective, Peter II induced Bernard IV of Comminges to repudiate the daughter of Guilhem VIII of Montpellier.¹¹⁶ In September 1201 Bernard IV was appropriately granted the fief over the Aran Valley and, in return, he recognised Peter the Catholic as his overlord, both in this territory and in the County of Comminges, and paid him homage.¹¹⁷

In order to gather the necessary dowry to marry Marie of Montpellier, by April 1204, Peter II of Aragon pawned the counties of Millau and Gevaudan in exchange for 150,000 *solidi* of Melgueil.¹¹⁸ The operation was closed with a *coniuratio*, a peculiar sworn pact between three parts by which Raymond VI, Peter II of Aragon and Alfonso II of Provence were obliged to give each other advice and mutual assistance.¹¹⁹ Afterwards, Peter the Catholic headed to Montpellier and, conspiring with a sector of the city's oligarchy, forced Guilhem IX to abdicate in favour of the legitimate heiress of the lordship.¹²⁰ On 15th July 1204, at the House of the Templars of Montpellier, the King hands over to Marie the County of Roussillon as her dowry and receives from her the lordship of Montpellier.¹²¹

Montpellier was a city placed under the lordship of the Bishop of Maguelone, was protected by the Papacy,¹²² was not corrupted by heresy, and

116 Devic-Vaisette, *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, 6: 213; Higounet, *Le comté de Comminges*, p. 86.

117 Benito, Sendra, Vela, "Corpus documental," pp. 452–53 (doc. 141); Alvira, *Pedro el Católico*, 1: 424–26 (doc. 292); Juan Reglà, *Francia, la Corona de Aragón y la frontera pirenaica. La lucha por el Valle de Arán (siglos XIII–XIV)*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1951), 2: 41; Higounet, *Le comté de Comminges*, pp. 84–85.

118 Benito, Sendra, Vela, "Corpus documental," pp. 455–57 (doc. 143); Alvira, *Pedro el Católico*, 2: 562–65 (doc. 447).

119 Benito, Sendra, Vela, "Corpus documental," 458–59 (doc. 144); Alvira, *Pedro el Católico*, 2: 565–66 (doc. 448); Roquebert, *L'épopée cathare*, 1: 172. On the meaning of this agreement, see: Martín Alvira "Le Traité de Millau (avril 1204)," in *La vicomté de Millau au temps de la domination catalano-aragonaise. Rivalités et dissidences* (forthcoming).

120 Henri Vidal, "L'Aragon et la révolution montpelliéraine de 1204," in *Montpellier, la Couronne d'Aragon et les pays de langue d'oc (1204–1349). Actes du XII^e Congrès d'histoire de la Couronne d'Aragon. Montpellier, 26–29 septembre 1985*, 2 vols. (Montpellier, 1987–1988), 1: 43–58; Hideyuki Katsura, *La seigneurie de Montpellier aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles. Formation et mutation d'une seigneurie en Bas-Languedoc*, PhD Dissertation (Toulouse, 1996), pp. 193.

121 Benito, Sendra, Vela, "Corpus documental," pp. 463–68 (doc. 146); Alvira, *Pedro el Católico*, 2: 581–84 (doc. 466); Baumel, *Histoire d'une seigneurie*, 1: 234–35.

122 Germain, *Étude historique*, pp. 47–48 and 54–55; Baumel, *Histoire d'une seigneurie*, 1: 152–58; Katsura, *La seigneurie de Montpellier*, pp. 234 and 248, n. 27.

was thus alien to the religious controversy that agitated Languedoc.¹²³ The acquisition of Montpellier by marriage created a direct link between the kings of Aragon and the Roman Church at a time when the Church's pressure against Catharism and against Raymond VI was increasing, and in which the threat of a Crusade led by the Capetian king and the nobles from Northern France stronger than ever.

4.4 *Peter the Catholic is Crowned in Rome*

Meanwhile, the pressure and threats from the Papacy towards the King of Aragon had not ceased to increase. On 28th May 1204, Innocent III had asked Philip Augustus that him, his son or some great French lord of his choice should intervene in front of a military expedition to destroy the meridional heresy, and had authorized him to seize the property and goods of any count, baron or citizen that tolerated or protected it.¹²⁴

Peter II reacted cleverly suggesting the Holy Father that the fief over his kingdoms be handed to the Holy See. Innocent III accepted, seeing an occasion to gain a powerful ally in his Mediterranean policy, to ensure the continuity of the Iberian policy of the Crown of Aragon and to firmly commit the Aragonese king, as the leader of a hegemonic power in Occitania, in the fight against heresy in Languedoc.¹²⁵

Innocent III crowned Peter II on 11th November 1204 at the church of Saint Pancras in Rome. In front of the Roman Curia, the king swore fealty and obedience to the Pope and the Roman Church, he committed himself to keeping his kingdoms under the Catholic faith and to eradicating heresy, he obliged himself to the annual payment of 250 *masmudines*, and he renounced to the right of royal patronage over the churches of his kingdoms. In return, the Pope put the king and his kingdoms under his protection.¹²⁶

4.5 *The Resistance of the People of Montpellier*

To Peter the Catholic, Montpellier was a bargaining chip in the game of his Occitan politics and, more specifically, in his alliance to Raymond VI of

123 Germain, *Étude historique*, pp. 47–48 and 54–55; Baumel, *Histoire d'une seigneurie*, 1: 152–58; Katsura, *La seigneurie de Montpellier*, pp. 234 and 248, n. 27.

124 Roquebert, *L'épopée cathare*, 1: 163–64.

125 Demetrio Mansilla, *La documentación pontificia hasta Inocencio III (965–1216)* (Rome, 1955), p. 339 (doc. 306). On the reasons and the meaning of the coronation, see: Damian J. Smith, "Motivo y significado de la coronación de Pedro II de Aragón," *Hispania* 60/1 (2000), 163–179; Alvira, *El jueves de Muret*, pp. 95–98.

126 Benito, Sendra, Vela, "Corpus documental," pp. 472–73 (doc. 149); Alvira, *Pedro el Católico*, 2: 603–06 (doc. 485).

Toulouse. Even though in his marriage contract to Marie of Montpellier the King had committed to preserve the patrimony received as dowry intact, fifteen months later, in September 1205, the Queen, being pregnant, subscribed a second donation in which she handed Montpellier and the castles in its lordship to the King.¹²⁷ Then, Peter II of Aragon, in order to confirm his alliance to the Count of Toulouse hurried to engage her future daughter Sancha to the son of Raymond VI and Joan of England, along with the city of Montpellier. The agreement took place at Florensac in October 1205.¹²⁸ Even though the death of the princess would prevent the celebration of the marriage, Marie of Montpellier would denounce that the pact had been made against her will in a document in which she presented her husband as a tyrant and Machiavellian king that had fooled her with the only objective of serving his own purposes.¹²⁹

But Marie of Montpellier was not alone in her fight against her tyrannical husband. Whilst the King Peter was fighting the count of Forcalquier (July 1206), the bourgeois of Montpellier, with support from the Queen, took up arms and assaulted the city's royal castle. The king headed to the city but was besieged at the castle of Lattes and had to come to terms with an arbitral concord (Villeneuve de Montpellier, 27th October 1206)¹³⁰ that contained significant concessions regarding the properties and goods that formed Marie of Montpellier's dowry.¹³¹ The agreement forbid the king from entering the city of Montpellier and the castles of Lattes and Castelnou, both horseback or on foot,

127 Benito, Sendra, Vela, "Corpus documental," pp. 474–75 (doc. 150); Alvira, *Pedro el Católico*, 2: 669–70 (doc. 569).

128 Benito, Sendra, Vela, "Corpus documental," pp. 475–78 (doc. 151); Alvira, *Pedro el Católico*, 2: 675–78 (doc. 576).

129 Benito, Sendra, Vela, "Corpus documental," pp. 478–79 (doc. 152); Alvira, *Pedro el Católico*, 2: 674–75 (doc. 575). Commented by: Alexandre Germain, "Une nouvelle charte inédite de Marie de Montpellier," *Publications de la société archéologique de Montpellier* 5 (1860), 59–67. See also: Paul Amargier, "Eloge d'une reine: Marie de Montpellier," in *La femme dans la vie religieuse du Languedoc* ["Cahiers de Fanjeaux", n. 23] (Toulouse, 1988), pp. 28–29; Claude Duhamel-Amado, "Femmes entre elles, Filles et épouses languedociennes (XI^e–XII^e siècles)," in *Femmes, Mariages, Lignages (XII^e–XIV^e siècle). Mélanges offerts à G. Duby* (Bruxelles, 1992), p. 149; Elizabeth Haluska-Rausch, "Unwilling partners: conflict and ambition in the marriage of Peter II of Aragon and Marie de Montpellier," in *Queenship and Political Power in Medieval Spain and Early Modern Spain*, ed. Theresa Earenfight (London, 2005), pp. 11–12.

130 Benito, Sendra, Vela, "Corpus documental," pp. 482–86 (doc. 155); Alvira, *Pedro el Católico*, 2: 752–58 (doc. 659); Charles d'Aigrefeuille, *Histoire de la ville de Montpellier*, 4 vols. (Montpellier, 1737), 1:61; *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, 8: col. 534; Katsura, *La seigneurie de Montpellier*, pp. 226–28.

131 Katsura, *La seigneurie de Montpellier*, pp. 223–25.

until he had redeemed some securities.¹³² Besides, a secret agreement between the consuls and the Queen allowed these to pull down the tower, the walls and the fortifications of the royal castle in the city.¹³³

4.6 *The Spiritual Crusade*

At the same time, the Church began its own particular Crusade in Languedoc against Catharism. In order to preach the Catholic faith and to fight against the diffusion of the heresy, Innocent III chose two legates from Narbonne's area, the Cistercians Pierre de Castelnau and Rudolf of Fontfroide, and Cîteaux abbot, Arnaud Amaury. To this group were added, since 1206, the Bishop of Osma, Diego de Acebo, Domingo de Guzmán, and some abbots from Northern France.¹³⁴

Whilst Domingo de Guzmán preached, tried to convert the heretics, and founded convents,¹³⁵ Pierre de Castelnau led a violent campaign against Raymond VI. On 20th May 1207, Innocent III confirmed the excommunication of the Count of Toulouse; in another bull published on 17th November 1207, he exhorted Philip Augustus and the high nobility of France should take arms against the Cathars, and he offered Occitan lands to all those that joined the Crusade, as well as the same indulgencies that had been granted to those participating in the Crusades in Holy Land.¹³⁶ At that point, Raymond VI, maybe advised by Peter the Catholic, relinquished, made peace with the Baux and the other Provençal barons and summoned Pierre de Castelnau and the Bishop Navar of Couserans at Saint-Gilles; nonetheless, the excommunication upon him was not lifted.

However, on 14th January 1208, an inappropriate incident unexpectedly accelerated the course of events. In his return from Saint-Gilles, the Pontifical legate Pierre de Castelnau was murdered at the burg of Trinquetaille, near Arles, allegedly by a squire of the Count of Saint-Gilles.¹³⁷

Castelnau's assassination unleashed the Pope's fury; he directly accused the Count of Toulouse of Castelnau's death, excommunicated him again,

132 Benito, Sendra, Vela, "Corpus documental," pp. 486–87 (doc. 156); Alvira, *Pedro el Católico*, 2: 758–59 (doc. 660); Katsura, *La seigneurie de Montpellier*, p. 228.

133 Montpellier, Archives Municipales de Montpellier, Louvet 108; Alvira, *Pedro el Católico*, 2: 783–84 (doc. 699).

134 Roquebert, *L'épopée cathare*, 1: 165 and 566; Alvira, *El jueves de Muret*, pp. 98–100.

135 Roquebert, *L'épopée cathare*, 1: 183–200 and 206–210.

136 Doublet, *Recueil des historiens*, 19: 490–91; Roquebert, *L'épopée cathare*, 1: 201–06; Alvira, *El jueves de Muret*, p. 101.

137 Papon, *Histoire Générale de Provence*, 4/2: 286. On Castelnau's assassination, see: Roquebert, *L'épopée cathare*, 1: 211–19.

declared that all those who had sworn fealty, society or alliance to the Count were now free of their oaths, and allowed any Catholic, not only to persecute Raymond VI, but also to occupy and hold his dominions (10th March 1208). In another letter, he urged Philip Augustus, the counts, barons and knights of the kingdom of France to take arms to avenge the legate's death and to exterminate the heretics.¹³⁸ The spiritual crusade was finally over and gave way to the military crusade against the Albigensian.

4.7 *The Baron's Crusade*

Immediately, Arnaud Amaury, the abbot of Cîteaux, and the Cistercians published the Crusade against the Count of Saint-Gilles and his vassals. The Duke of Burgundy and the Count of Nevers, with the authorization of Philip Augustus, decided to take up the Cross, and to them joined combatants from all the regions of France.¹³⁹ By 24th June 1209, barons and vassals of the king of France and nobles and knights of different ranks, all led by different prelates, gathered in Lyon. They were accompanied by a horde of squires, assistants, men, and women with lust for adventure, eager for loot and attracted by the promise of spiritual benefits. All in all, it has been estimated that the Crusader army, directed by abbot Arnaud Amaury by appointment of Pope Innocent III, was formed by some 5000 horsemen and between 10,000 and 15,000 foot soldiers.¹⁴⁰

On 22nd July the army reached Beziers. The crusaders passed the walls, massacred the population and sacked and raised the city.¹⁴¹ The army passed by Narbonne and followed the Aude River whilst the lords of the Corbières surrendered and Viscount Raymond Roger Trencavel prepared to resist the siege. On 15th August the Crusaders made their way into Carcassonne and captured and imprisoned him.¹⁴²

Immediately, a commission presided by Arnau, the Papal legate, chose Simon de Montfort, 5th Earl of Leicester, a member of the retinue of the Duke of Burgundy, as the leader of the Crusaders. During the autumn of 1209,

138 Papon, *Histoire Générale de Provence*, 4/2: 287; Roquebert, *L'épopée cathare*, 1: 221–25; Alvira, *El jueves de Muret*, p. 103.

139 Roquebert, *L'épopée cathare*, 1: 223–27.

140 Roquebert, *L'épopée cathare*, 1: 235; Alvira, *El jueves de Muret*, p. 104.

141 The chronicles, exaggerated as usual, talk about 15,000 to 40,000 casualties. On the assault and sacking of Beziers: Roquebert, *L'épopée cathare*, 1: 245–65; Monique Bourin, "La massacre de 1209," in *Histoire de Béziers*, ed. Jean Sagnes (Toulouse, 1986), pp. 95–113; Alvira, *El jueves de Muret*, p. 107; and the various contributions compiled in: Martín Alvira, Monique Bourin, eds., *En Languedoc au XIII^e siècle. Le temps du sac de Béziers* (Perpignan, 2010).

142 Roquebert, *L'épopée cathare*, 1: 267–78.

Simon de Montfort's troops conquered the four viscounties of the Trencavel. Raymond Roger was imprisoned and died shortly after, possibly poisoned (10th November 1209).¹⁴³ Simon de Montfort lured the widow into renouncing to all her rights over the viscounties of Beziers, Carcassonne, Albi, Agde, and Razès, and into dis inheriting her son Raymond Roger, and made the King Peter accept his vassalage in order to legalize the possession of the newly conquered lands.¹⁴⁴

At that point, the vassals of the Trencavel had started to take arms against Montfort's knights, and the Church mobilized in order to get reinforcements for a second campaign. Many bulls were addressed to the neighbouring sovereigns asking them to preach the Crusade again.¹⁴⁵

4.8 *The Failures of Diplomacy*

In March 1210, a great number of crusaders from different origins responded to the Papal call and concentrated at Pezenas, where they got ready to start a second campaign in order to recover the strongholds lost in 1209.¹⁴⁶ By mid-January 1211, Simon de Montfort temporarily stopped hostilities to attend a summit where the Pontifical legates had summoned Raymond VI, Raymond-Roger, Count of Foix, and Peter the Catholic. The King wanted to negotiate peace and to save his vassals, but was only able to obtain an indefinite truce for the Count of Foix, in return to which Peter would have to ensure that the Count would obey Papal commandments.¹⁴⁷ Besides, he would have to consent to receiving homage from Simon de Montfort for the old Trencavel dominions.¹⁴⁸

Afterwards, Montfort suggested to the King that his daughter Amicia should marry the heir to the Crown of Aragon. Peter II accepted the alliance and handed his son James, then a three year old, so that Simon would take him into

143 Ventura, *Pere el Catòlic*, pp. 111–12. On the death of Raymond Roger Trencavel, see also: Claude Duhamel-Amado, "L'État toulousain sur ses marges: les choix politiques des Trencavels entre les maisons comtales de Toulouse et de Barcelone (1070–1209)," *Les troubadours et l'État toulousain avant la Croisade (1209)*. *Annales de Littérature Occitane* 1 (1995), 132; Roquebert, *L'épopée cathare*, 1: 323–26; Alvira, *El jueves de Muret*, p. 109, n. 351.

144 Devic-Vaissette, *Histoire Générale de Languedoc* 6: 314; 8: cols. 579–581 (doc. 148); Ventura, *Pere el Catòlic*, p. 115; Débax, *La féodalité Languedocienne*, p. 95.

145 Roquebert, *L'épopée cathare*, 1: 329–33; Alvira, *El jueves de Muret*, pp. 109–10.

146 Roquebert, *L'épopée cathare*, 1: 355–66; Alvira, *El jueves de Muret*, p. 111.

147 Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay, *Histoire Albigeoise*, trans. Henri Maisonneuve, Pascal Guébin (Paris, 1951), pp. 54 and 80–81; Auguste Molinier, "Catalogue des actes de Simon et d'Amauri de Montfort," *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 34 (1873), 457 (doc. 41a); Roquebert, *L'épopée cathare*, 1: 372–74.

148 Vaux-de-Cernay, *Histoire Albigeoise*, pp. 80–81 and 85–86; Molinier, "Catalogue," p. 457 (doc. 41b); Alvira, *El jueves de Muret*, p. 112.

custody until James would be eighteen. Along with the heir, the King also ceded the city of Montpellier, which Simon would govern until the end of this period (27th January 1211).¹⁴⁹ Shortly after, Sancha, the sister of the King of Aragon, married the first-born of the Count of Toulouse, a marriage that had been arranged in October 1205 at Florensac, and by which the King of Aragon was obliged to hand, as a dowry to the Count of Toulouse, the city of Montpellier—although he would be allowed to retain the usufruct for life.¹⁵⁰

4.9 *Toulouse Surrounded*

The agreements of Narbonne and Montpellier gave a free hand to Simon de Montfort to finish the conquest of the viscounties of the Trencavell. From that moment on, the advance of the crusaders was unstoppable and castles and towns fell one after the other in the Lauragais, the regions of Carcassone and the Albigeois.¹⁵¹

The invasion of the dominions of Raymond VI and the attack against Toulouse represented a turning point on the history of the crusade, as Peter the Catholic was persuaded that it was necessary to completely engage in the defence of his vassals and that the only possible solution implied an armed conflict with the crusaders.¹⁵²

Nonetheless, Peter II was in a complicated financial situation and overcome by the Iberian politics since the early 1211, when news had arrived that Caliph Muḥammad al-Nasir was preparing a great expedition to the Peninsula. In these circumstances, the king sent Gaston IV of Montcada, Viscount of Bearn, to Toulouse; at the same time, John Lackland sent Savari de Mauléon, his seneschal in Aquitaine, to help Raymond VI.

Throughout the summer, most castles of the area, from Agen (June 1212) to Moissac (September 1212) fell prey to the crusader, occasionally after long and hard sieges.¹⁵³ Montfort had recovered the Albigeois, Toulousain, Rouergue, Quercy, Agenais and Comminges regions; Raymond VI only possessed Toulouse and Montauban. Once they had occupied almost all the County of Toulouse, the crusaders were free to start the siege of the capital.¹⁵⁴ The situation was

149 Benito, Sendra, Vela, "Corpus documental," pp. 491–92 (doc. 161); Alvira, *Pedro el Católico*, 3: 1174–75 (doc. 1113). Roquebert, *L'épopée cathare*, 1: 375.

150 Benito, Sendra, Vela, "Corpus documental," pp. 475–78 (doc. 151).

151 Alvira, *El jueves de Muret*, p. 113.

152 Alvira, *El jueves de Muret*, p. 114.

153 Vaux-de-Cernay, *Histoire Albigeoise*, pp. 96–98; Molinier, "Catalogue," pp. 461–62 (docs. 51a–55a); Roquebert, *L'épopée cathare*, 1: 467–83; Alvira, *El jueves de Muret*, pp. 114–15.

154 Roquebert, *L'épopée cathare*, 1: 489–90; Alvira, *El jueves de Muret*, pp. 145–46.

critical and Raymond VI fled to Catalonia to ask for help.¹⁵⁵ Ironically, the bad news from Toulouse would arrive at the same time that the Christian victory against the Almohads at Las Navas de Tolosa had consecrated Peter the Catholic as the guard of orthodoxy in the West.

4.10 *Exhausting the Diplomatic Channels. The Council of Lavaur and the Oaths of Toulouse*

Then, trying to take advantage of the prestige acquired at Las Navas de Tolosa and of his good relations to the Papacy, the King Peter decided to send an embassy to Rome to negotiate with Innocent III.¹⁵⁶ The ambassadors managed to persuade the Papacy, and Innocent III ordered Arnaud Amaury to stop the Crusade and to enter into negotiations with the King of Aragon. Rome and the Aragonese ambassadors agreed that Raymond VI ought to abdicate, and that his fief should be transferred to his son Raymond VII. All in all, Innocent III accepted the main points of the peace plan presented by Peter II ambassadors: the Crown of Aragon would protect the County of Toulouse, the heir of Raymond VI would be placed under royal tutelage, the Count would have to penance and orthodoxy would be respected throughout the region.¹⁵⁷

However, the council of Lavaur took a different direction. Archbishop Arnaud of Narbonne started a diplomatic and propagandistic counteroffensive which aimed at gaining Papal support to continue the war and to neutralize the work of the royal embassy at the Roman Curia.¹⁵⁸

But the King challenged the intransigent positions of the legate and the Council of Lavaur and placed Toulouse, Montauban and the dominions of his Occitan allies, which were threatened by Simon de Montfort, under his protection. On Sunday 27th January 1213, Count Raymond VI of Toulouse, Count Raymond-Roger of Foix, Count Bernard IV of Comminges and Viscount Gaston VI of Bearn handed their dominions to Peter II and paid him homage and swore him fealty as a warrant for the accomplishment of the Papal orders. The oath of Raymond VI was ratified by the twenty-four consuls of Toulouse.¹⁵⁹ A protectorate of the Crown of Aragon over the territories threatened by the crusaders was thus established.

¹⁵⁵ Roquebert, *L'épopée cathare*, 2: 43–44.

¹⁵⁶ Alvira, *El jueves de Muret*, p. 155.

¹⁵⁷ Molinier, "Catalogue," p. 466 (docs. 63 and 64); Roquebert, *L'épopée cathare*, 2: 81–88; Alvira, *El jueves de Muret*, pp. 170–71.

¹⁵⁸ Roquebert, *L'épopée cathare*, 2: 92–98; Alvira, *El jueves de Muret*, pp. 160–63.

¹⁵⁹ Benito, Sendra, Vela, "Corpus documental," pp. 494–99 (docs. 163, 164, 165, 166 and 167); Alvira, *Pedro el Católico*, 3: 1482–88 (docs. 1448–1452).

Shortly after, Peter the Catholic sent to Paris an embassy presided by Berenguer de Palou, the bishop of Barcelona. Its two complementary goals were stopping the Crusade and to ask, on behalf of the King of Aragon, for the hand of Marie, Philip Augustus' daughter and the widow of Philip I of Namur. Peter wished thus to obtain an alliance to the Capetian King that would have definitely isolated Simon de Montfort.¹⁶⁰ However, a major ecclesiastical hindrance made this project impossible: on 19th January Innocent III had proclaimed the indissolubility of Peter's marriage to Marie de Montpellier. Anyway, various circumstances prevented the French army from departing: on 8th April Philip Augustus cancelled the Occitan campaign in order to fight John Lackland, his enemy, who was preparing a great coalition against him.

Days after, in mid-May, the delegates to the Council of Lavaur arrived at Rome, and the Pope ordered to discuss whether the Crusade should continue, as the delegates defended, or if the peace plan suggested by the ambassadors of Peter the Catholic should be accepted. The final decision of the Holy Father could not have been more disappointing to the Crown of Aragon: on 1st June Innocent III commanded King Peter to abandon the defence of the Counts of Toulouse, Foix and Comminges and the Viscount of Bearn, and to sign a truce with Simon de Montfort; at the same time he sent a cardinal vested with all his powers in order to deliver justice to the litigants. But Pontifical orders lacked the force to persuade Peter the Catholic of abandoning his decision of defending his vassals.¹⁶¹

4.11 *The Battle of Muret*

The Catalano-Aragonese army had been mobilized since early March, but Innocent's change of heart evidently rushed preparations for the campaign. The King Peter was determined to engage Simon de Montfort in battle, and thus crossed the Pyrenees on 9th September in order to join the troops of the other three vassal Counts in Comminges; from there, they would head towards Muret, where Simon de Montfort had posted a small garrison, in order to besiege it.¹⁶² Alarmed by the sounds of war, Arnaud Amaury and the Occitan bishops gathered at Fanjeaux decided to go to Muret to negotiate peace with the King. It was too late to stop the battle plans.¹⁶³

Having been informed of the impending arrival of Simon de Montfort's reinforcements, Peter II preferred to leave the crusaders enter Muret and

160 Roquebert, *L'épopée cathare*, 2: 133–36; Alvira, *El jueves de Muret*, pp. 184–85.

161 Benito, Sendra, Vela, "Corpus documental," pp. 501–03 (doc. 169); Roquebert, *L'épopée cathare*, 2: 140–43; Alvira, *El jueves de Muret*, pp. 194–97.

162 Roquebert, *L'épopée cathare*, 2: 169–71; Alvira, *El jueves de Muret*, pp. 201–03.

163 Roquebert, *L'épopée cathare*, 2: 176–78; Alvira, *El jueves de Muret*, pp. 219–20.

ordered the militia and the consuls of Toulouse to retreat. In the morning of 12th September the king and the three Occitan counts decided the strategy they would follow. The King made the provisions to start the attack and divided the troops in two camps: a Toulousain one and a Catalano-Aragonese one, nearby Muret. The cavalry was divided in three sections commanded by the Count of Foix, the King and the Count of Toulouse.¹⁶⁴

Simon de Montfort also divided his cavalry in three sections. His battle plan was as follows: the infantry would guard the stronghold against an attack of the Toulousains whilst the three cavalry sections would march against the royal camp.¹⁶⁵ The three sections of Simon de Montfort went out through the east gate, surrounding the walls along the Garonne River until they arrived to the castle, crossed the Louge River by the Saint Sernin bridge. The tactic consisted in simulating that the crusaders were eluding combat, going back, falling by surprise on the enemy and destroying it separately.

The first crusader's section attacked the men of the Count of Foix, who were besieging the gate of Toulouse, and rapidly swept them away. Immediately, it crossed the Louge again to attack the Catalano-Aragonese cavalry, whilst the second section attacked the flank commanded by the King. The combat took Peter the Catholic by surprise; without order or strategy, he went on to aid the Count of Foix, thus provoking confusion in the Catalano-Aragonese camp.¹⁶⁶ The attack launched by the crusaders was irresistible for the disorganized groups of the royal cavalry and, according to the chronicle of Baldwin of Avesnes, the king, who had changed his armour in order not to be recognised, was caught by the knights Alain de Roucy and Florent de Ville, who chased him and beat him with their swords until they finally killed him.¹⁶⁷

The news of the King's death unleashed panic among the army of the Count of Toulouse, who had not yet intervened in the battle, and his foot soldiers fled the camp following down the river. Simon de Montfort's troops chased them and massacred them.¹⁶⁸ At the end of the battle, Simon de Montfort took the body of Peter II and handed it to the Prior of the Hospital Order, so that it would be taken to Toulouse.¹⁶⁹

The outcome of the battle, as well as its central event, i.e. the death of the King of Aragon, was copiously diffused by royal and ecclesiastical historiography and caused great commotion throughout the Christian world. It had a

164 Roquebert, *L'épopée cathare*, 2: 184–86 and 199–200; Alvira, *El jueves de Muret*, pp. 294–303.

165 Alvira, *El jueves de Muret*, pp. 293–94.

166 Roquebert, *L'épopée cathare*, 2: 208–24.

167 Roquebert, *L'épopée cathare*, 2: 228–29; Alvira, *El jueves de Muret*, pp. 331–33.

168 Alvira, *El jueves de Muret*, pp. 352–60.

169 Roquebert, *L'épopée cathare*, 2: 234–36; Alvira, *El jueves de Muret*, pp. 367–69.

huge political and mental impact on the European monarchies in general, and on the Occitan society in particular, and it echoed on medieval chronicles.

For modern Catalan historiography, Muret represents a turning point in the political history of the Crown of Aragon, for it represents the collapse of a dream, that of the construction of a Catalano-Occitan state on the basis of the conquests and annexations of Peter II's predecessors, as well as the end of the Catalano-Aragonese hegemony in Occitania. For Toulousain historians, Muret represents a turning point in the history of the County of Toulouse, the beginning of its final annexation to France and the end of the brilliant civilization of the Cathars and the troubadours.¹⁷⁰

These pessimistic perspectives generally derive from the image of the battle that medieval chroniclers shaped, and have been recently revised in depth.¹⁷¹ The defeat of the Aragonese army and the death of Peter the Catholic did not imply the end of the Albigensian Crusade, which still would have to face a strong resistance movement that would even end the life of Simon de Montfort (1218). Muret did not either imply the end of the Occitan unification project conceived by Peter II at the beginning of his reign. The international context offered James I a second opportunity to make it come true shortly after the word about his second great military victory in Valencia (1238) had spread and his prestige was consolidated throughout the Christian world. In 1241, the Conqueror pressed hard so that the houses of Toulouse and Provence would unite through the marriage between Raymond VII and Sancha, the third daughter of Ramon Berenguer V of Provence. Even though the union did not work out due to the Papacy's opposition, James I, as the sovereign "*tota terra regis Aragonum et suorum a Rodano usque Valenciam*", joined the great anti-French coalition led by Raymond VII of Toulouse along with Henry III of England. At that point, James I was still thinking of handing his dominions in Languedoc to the Prince Peter, the future King Peter the Great (January 1242). However, Henry III's defeat to the troops of Louis IX, the rapid dissolution of the coalition and the submission of Raymond VII to the King of France persuaded him that it was necessary to definitely abandon the Occitan project. This option was ratified on 11th May 1258 at the treaty signed at Corbeil with Louis IX, whereby James I renounced forever to his rights over Occitan lands, except for Montpellier and the Aran Valley.¹⁷²

170 Alvira, *El jueves de Muret*, pp. 523–24.

171 See the works of Martín Alvira Cabrer, in particular: Martín Alvira, "Tòpics i llocs comuns d'una batalla decisiva: Muret, 1213," *Butlletí de la Societat Catalana d'Estudis Històrics* 25 (2014), 19–43.

172 Alvira, *El jueves de Muret*, pp. 525–30 and 546–57.

The Culture (Ninth–Twelfth Centuries): Clerics and Troubadours

Isabel Grifoll

1 Carolingian “renovatio”

Carolingian domain opened Catalonia to the Northern European cultural environment. Charlemagne (742/747–814) promoted an ambitious cultural programme across his empire that is known historiographically as the Carolingian *renovatio* or Carolingian Renaissance. It was fuelled by the desire to unite the different peoples and ethnic groups that made up the empire by giving them a common culture. Culture was an instrument of policy, especially after Charlemagne’s coronation as *Imperator romanorum* in Rome (800).

The Carolingian *renovatio* was built around two main axes, namely the Catholic faith as a principle of cohesion and the legitimation of the *imperium* through the revival of the classical roman legacy (*imitatio imperii*). After his coronation, Charlemagne felt he was the continuance of Augustus’ imperial lineage (*Imperator Augustus*) and he mirrored himself particularly on the model of the Roman Empire Christianised by Constantine I (272–337). Aware of the expansion of Christianity in the West, Charlemagne saw this as a good vehicle for the administrative and institutional reform of the empire. The emperor’s good relations with the Church in Rome, the guardian of the ancient culture, favoured the assumption of the classical legacy.

The culture of the Franks was inferior to that of other western peoples (Ireland, Saxon England, Longobard Italy or Visigoth Hispania). Their conquests brought the Franks into contact with these areas, which furnished men and books for the Carolingian *scriptoria* and schools. The *renovatio* was, to a great extent, the work of foreign intellectuals. Charlemagne included them in the *Schola palatina*, a centre for reform set up near Aachen after his second journey to Rome (781). Notable figures there included the Anglo-Saxon Alcuin of York (735–804), the Longobards Peter of Pisa (744–799) and Paul the Deacon (720–799), and Irishmen, Clement of Ireland (c.750–818) and Dungal of Bobbio (c.811–827/828) the Hispanic Theodulf of Orleans (c.750–821), and Claudius of Turin (?–c.827) in the times of Louis the Pious. Other incorporations were the

Franks, Adalard of Corbie (c.751–827), Angilbert of Saint-Riquier (c.750–814), and Einhard (or Eginhard, c.770–840).¹

The Carolingian intellectuals undertook the task of standardising the liturgy. Alcuin played an important role in replacing the Gallican rites with the Roman ones. The so-called *Missal* of Alcuin, based on the Gregorian sacramentary and other liturgical sources, was prescribed first as the missal of the Frankish church before spreading around the territories of the empire, so contributing to standardising the liturgy of the mass in the western Church. The *scriptoria* were dedicated to the grammatical and theological homologation of the holy books. There was no stable text of the *Vulgata* available, which, with time and various transmissions, had undergone textual dispersion and *variatio*. The *Vulgata* was revised (*recensio*) and *expositiones* or *interpretationes* of it were written. Alcuin's work on these matters has not survived. In contrast, we do know the work of revision and hermeneutics by Theodulf of Orleans (*Codex Memmianus*). The iconoclast exegesis of Claudius of Turin, promoted by Louis the Pious, was later condemned by the Pope. The main task of the *scriptoria* was to copy holy texts for the monastic or canonical foundations of the empire.

A precise grammatical instrument was essential to meet these challenges. The Franks, who spoke a Germanic dialects, had never been Romanised. In contrast, the Bible and its commentaries were only accessible in Latin. The efforts of the schools were concentrated on Latin. There was a need for a language and style of writing that tended towards the fluency and exactitude of classical Latin. A standard Latin was also essential to enable communication among the educated elites of the empire (vital in the administration). Unifying the script was the first step. The Carolingian minuscule, standardised in the monastery of Corbie (eighth-ninth centuries), was a revolution. Alcuin had a leading role in its creation and dissemination. It was applied first in the great monastic centres for the transcription of the Holy Scriptures. It was then taught in the episcopal and monastic schools. Finally, it reached the public administration.

The principles of the Carolingian *renovatio* called for spreading teaching as widely as possible. The intellectual and moral training of the clergy was essential for the reforms. They had to conduct the Roman liturgy correctly and fulfil tasks in the administration. Educational reform was based on the liberal arts. Alcuin established the *Trivium* and the *Quadrivium* as an educational programme, mainly orientated towards the interpretation of the holy texts. He inherited the legacy of another Anglo-Saxon, the Venerable Bede (673–735), whose work was a scholarly anthology. The *grammatica* was the indispensable piece in the system. The un-Romanised clergy in the Frankish kingdom had

1 Pierre Riché, *Écoles et enseignement dans le Haut Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1979).

serious problems to access it, as did those in the south of the empire, where Vulgar Latin was being sidelined by the Romance tongues. The grammars of the Late Antiquity (Aelius Donatus, fourth century) were for advanced studies and they required students to have a prior knowledge of Latin. On the other hand, these were applied grammars for commenting on written texts. Alcuin and Peter of Pisa renewed the grammatical studies.

2 Cultural Geography. Ecclesiastical Restoration

After the Frankish conquests from the Muslims, the ecclesiastical restoration was the basis for the spread of the Carolingian *renovatio* into Catalonia. The Frankish administration maintained the Visigoth ecclesiastical structure, and that, in turn, continued the civil organisation of the Late Roman Empire: bishoprics, dioceses and metropolitan capitals. That is why it is known as an ecclesiastical “restoration”. The reestablishment was gradual and followed the Frankish conquests in Roussillon (759), Pallars and Ribagorza (781), Girona (785), Urgell and Cerdanya (788) and Barcelona (801). There were some differences compared to the Visigoth organisation. Firstly, there was the disappearance of some bishoprics, like Empuries and Egara (Terrassa), which had not been resilient enough to survive the Arab occupation. Then new ones, like Pallars-Roda, that supplemented the collapse of Lleida, in Arab hands for centuries, were created. Finally, there was the substitution of the metropolitan capital of Tarragona, under Muslim rule, for Narbonne (until 1091). On being transferred to the archiepiscopal jurisdiction of Narbonne, the Catalan dioceses were integrated into the Frankish Church. This had important cultural repercussions. A Catalan-Narbonnese community grew, with a shared liturgy and conciliar doctrine, a single ambit of exchange of men and books, that also defined a joint Romance linguistic and cultural area.

With the restoration of the bishoprics, canonries were set up. In the ninth century, the centres associated with the cathedrals of Elne, Urgell, Girona, Barcelona, Vic and Roda de Ribagorza were founded,² followed in the tenth and eleventh centuries by the collegiate churches like Sant Vicenç de Cardona, Santa Maria de Manresa or Sant Pere d'Ager. All of them followed the Frankish dispositions. The inclusion in the Archdiocese of Narbonne and the Frankish origins of some of the first bishops favoured this. The numerous surviving copies of the Aachen Rule for Canons testify to this. Initially written by Chrodegang of Metz (712–766), it had been ratified by Charlemagne (Councils of Aachen,

2 Xavier Barral, *Les catedrals de Catalunya* (Barcelona, 1994).

789, and Mainz, 813), and later extended by Benedict of Aniane (c.750–821), a Goth (Witiza), originally from Septimania, son of the Count of Maguelonne. Louis the Pious promulgated the decree, *De institutione canonicorum* (Council of Aachen, 816), which extended the Rule throughout the empire. The Roman liturgy was imposed in Catalonia.

The monastic movement followed a similar and parallel process to the secular organisation.³ Direct contact developed with the foundations in Septimania, free since 759. This was promoted by Benedict of Aniane, at the head of the convents of Aniane (c.782), and Gellone (c.815). Numerous abbeys were founded or refounded under the new Benedictine Rule, which abolished earlier Visigoth rules (Saint-Thibery of Agde, Caunes, Montolieu, Lagrasse, Saint-Hilaire of Carcassonne, Psalmody, Saint-Polycarpe of Razès). Benedictine monasticism became a Frankish institution and, as such, crossed the Pyrenees.

The monastic centres spread across Catalonia following the Frankish conquests, later and less decisively than in Septimania. The earliest were set up in Roussillon and the Girona area. They were mainly the work of *hispani* and under the special protection of the Frankish monarchs, who granted them immunity. Sainte-Marie d'Arles, in Arles-sur-Tech, was the first stable foundation (785). At the start of the ninth century, they spread to the northwest (Urgell, Pallars, Ribagorça). Monastic life was only briefly interrupted during the Arab period. That explains why many of these centres were often built over earlier Visigoth establishments, or were founded according to the Visigoth norm of the monastic "pact", as in the case of Gerri (807), the most important and longest lasting monastery. However, neither Fructuosus of Tarragona, nor Isidore of Seville, patrons of the Visigoth monastic rules, were ever invoked. Other centres, like Alao (806) or Vilanova (848), later known as Lavaix, were episcopal foundations. This particular feature explains why the cultural life of the Upper Urgell, Pallars and Ribagorça was more conservative. In 1040, the monastery of Sant Sadurní de Noya was still an important reservoir of Visigoth culture, with a notable collection of works on spirituality. In Urgell, Bishop Felix fought the last battle in favour of Adoptionism.

The most important and active monasteries were created later. Their distinctive characteristics were that they were founded by the counts or benefited from county power and that they stopped demanding assets or privileges from the Frankish monarchs and resorted to Rome to confirm their statutes and obtain the immunity that freed them from being subject to the secular Church. Another trait was their location in border areas. That ensured them the best lands and benefactors, guarantees of their vitality. Four monasteries

3 Antoni Pladevall, *Els monestirs de Catalunya* (Barcelona, 1974).

stand out. Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa (878) arose from the transfer of Sant Andreu d'Eixalada (840–841), which was destroyed by a flood (878). It was under the protection of the counts of Cerdanya and had a time of splendour under Abbot Garí (965–998), a monk from Cluny. It was the first monastery to obtain a papal privilege of exemption (950). Santa Maria de Ripoll (880) owed its founding to Wilfred I the Hairy (840–897). The count won the lands from the Muslims, re-established the county of Osona-Manresa, entrusted the abbey with the repopulation of the valleys around Ripoll and granted it other possessions in Cerdanya, Montserrat, Bergueda, and consolidated the north of the Segre Valley. Ripoll grew extraordinarily over the following centuries, as evidenced by the successive consecrations (888, 935, 977 and 1032). The two great backers of the monastery were Abbot Arnulf (948–970), also bishop of Girona (954–970), and Abbot Oliba (1008–1047), abbot of Cuxa (1008–1047) and bishop of Vic (1018–1047). Ripoll was the pantheon of the counts. The monastery of Sant Joan de les Abadesses, founded around 885 by Wilfred I the Hairy, was the convent dedicated to the education of his daughter, Emma. Finally, the monastery of Sant Cugat del Valles was the most important foundation in the County of Barcelona. Restored shortly after the conquest of Barcelona (801), it had its great period of expansion under Abbot Guitard (1010–1053) and later, thanks to the privileges and donations of Ramon Berenguer III (1097–1131).

3 Culture: Circulation of Books, *scriptoria* and Schools⁴

The change of script was the sign of a new cultural tradition in Catalonia. The Carolingian miniscule replaced the Visigoth script. From the mid-ninth century, the codices from the northeastern area, which had come under the imperial orbit earlier, reveal a clear trend towards rounded shapes in the letters and abbreviations. In contrast, there was more reticence in the northwestern Pyrenean area (Ribagorza and Upper Urgell). The process of substitution was gradual all over the territory. Mixed writings, which combined forms and *ductus* from the two graphic systems, were common in the second half of the ninth century. At the end of the century, the Carolingian minuscule was the common form in the county *scriptorium* in Barcelona and the leading cathedrals and monasteries. The process of substitution ended around 925, although the

4 Anscari M. Mundó, *Obres completes. Vol. I. Catalunya 1, de la romanitat a la sobirania* (Barcelona, 1998); Michel Zimmermann, *Écrire et lire en Catalogne (IX^e–XII^e siècle)*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 2003).

County of Ribagorza showed some resistance until 1000. The area under Arab rule used the Visigoth script throughout the eleventh century.

The initial activity of the *scriptoria* was to transfer the Visigoth liturgy to the Roman, following both the unifying policies of the Frankish kings and the interest of the Papacy in eliminating Adoptionism, a particular Hispanic Christology that taught that Jesus was human and then became the *adoptive* Son of God. This theological position was defended by Bishop Felix of Urgell, and condemned by the Council of Frankfurt (794). The adoption of the new rites throughout the territory dates from 874/875. The renewal of the required equipment was favoured by the Rule of Benedict of Aniane, who had reduced the manual workload of the monks in favour of intellectual work. The rapid acceptance of the Carolingian script was another factor that accelerated this change. The workshops were dedicated to copying Benedictine statutes, breviaries, martyrologies, and Gregorian sacramentaries, as shown by the numerous surviving examples. They often spread together with the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great. After the destruction of Monte Cassino by the Longobards (581), the Rule of Benedict found shelter in Rome under Gregory the Great, who spread it through his own writings.

The Catalan libraries received authors and works from the Carolingian Renaissance, most related to liturgy and the institutional and legal standardisation of the Church. This was the case of the *De ecclesiasticis officiis* by Amalarius of Metz (?–c.850), the martyrology of Usuard (d.877), one of whose grammatical works was also spread, or the *De sacramento baptismi* by Leidrad (743/745–821), who had played a leading role in the removal of Adoptionism. Rabanus Maurus is known for his commentaries on the Scriptures (and spiritual treatises), while there are few references to the *De universo*, a work with encyclopaedic contents. Alcuin of York figures in the canonical community of Vic (*De virtutibus et vitiis liber*, and also *De magistro*). The treatise on the Eucharist by Paschasius Radbertus (c.792–865), *De corpore et sanguine Domini* (831–844), known as the *Paschasius*, the first doctrinal monograph on this theme, is the only known work of religious controversy. We also know his work on biblical exegesis (*Explanatio Paschasii et Gisleberti super lamentationes Jeremiae*). The musical treatises of Hucbald of Saint-Amand (c.840–c.930), like the *De armonia institutione*, are well documented. The most common work is the *Diadema monachorum* by Smaragdus (c.760–c.840), a compilation of the *Collectiones patrum* by Cassian and writings by Gregory the Great, a manual on the obligations and virtues of monastic life, orientated towards prayer and the spiritual life. Grammatical works by Smaragdus also appeared. In contrast, works on theological reflection or metaphysical speculation did not appear in the

libraries until the end of the eleventh century. This was the case of Dionysius the Areopagite or the commentaries by John Scotus Eriugena. The *Liber scintillarum* by Defensor (from the end of the eighth century), a florilegium of biblical and patristic sentences, also circulated.

From Visigoth culture, the legacy of Isidore of Seville is notable. His grammatical, moral, exegetic and encyclopaedic works are the most widely documented. They are frequently found in the form of a compendium, abridged or reduced, also in florilegia, and often anonymous. Isidore offers a sum of references for developing arguments and prefaces. His disciplinary (monastic) work is forgotten, likewise almost all his historical works. The Visigoth historiography disappeared from (or was rejected in?) Catalonia, quite the opposite of what happened in the west of the Iberian Peninsula, where it was the standard of political and social continuity. The evaluation of the impact of this legacy has generated divergent positions among the critics. The presence of the Isidorian corpus in the libraries does not necessarily imply a Gothic awareness. It was a privileged reserve of classical culture, a first-order encyclopaedic reference and a textbook. On the other hand, it is known that with the *hispani* fleeing from Arab domination, the work of Isidore of Seville reached Northern European centres, where it became a fundamental piece of the Carolingian Renaissance.

The Anglo-Saxon Bede has been widely present in libraries since 839. He appeared first as an authority on the exegesis of the Gospel. He then became a master of the liberal arts (grammar, music). His *Ars metrica* is the reference text for the production of local poetry while his geographical and mathematical work appeared later. His work is accessible, especially in fragments and incorporated into textbooks.

The chapter libraries are well documented from the beginning of the tenth century. In Elne, there were 35 codices on the death of Bishop Riculf (915). The Urgell cathedral had acquired around 200 codices by the end of the twelfth century, between liturgy, exegesis (with an almost complete commentary of the Bible), patristic (Augustine and Gregory) and a notable collection of classics. These resources were essentially used to cover the pastoral needs and administrative tasks of the centre. A similar collection is documented in the canonical community of Vic.⁵

5 Eduard Junyent, "La Biblioteca de la canónica de Vich en los siglos X i XI," *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens* 11 (1963), 136–45.

Santa Maria de Ripoll stands out among the monastic *scriptoria*⁶ for the volume of external donations, the number of works that were copied there to supply local churches, and its influence over the cultural life of the community. The work in Ripoll was mainly dedicated to copying liturgical texts. The Calendar (liturgical) of Ripoll deserves special mention. As well as the *libri de divinitate*, patristic texts, works on law and history, the *libri artium* are especially numerous (a quarter of the total): grammars (Aelius Donatus and Priscian), classical authors (Virgil, Horace, Terence, Avianus) and Late Antique writers (Macrobius and Boethius), the logical works of Aristotle, and others on arithmetic, music, surveying and medicine.

When Abbot Arnulf died (970), Ripoll had 66 codices. On the death of Seniofred (1008) there were 121, and when Oliba passed away (1047), 246. By number of volumes, Ripoll cannot be compared to the great libraries of Richeneau (500 books in 822) or Fulda (1,000 in the eleventh century). It is more its Arab scientific (and philosophic) contents that put it among the leading European centres. Its position in the borderlands, and thus places of exchanges, allowed them to know about these works, which were translated into Latin in the tenth and eleventh centuries, sometime in a literal version, others accurate reworkings through Latin intermediaries. Texts on the astrolabe, the water clock and the sundial stand out. These scientific sources drew Gerbert of Aurillac, the future Pope Sylvester II, to visit Catalonia and stay there for three years (967–970). He studied under Ató, bishop and archbishop of Vic (957–971), who had a deep knowledge of the arts of the *Quadrivium*. From Gerbert's correspondence, we know the names of the following translators. Seniofred Llobet, archdeacon of Barcelona cathedral (973–997), was the first scientific translator known by name in the Iberian Peninsula, Joseph Sapiens (Joseph Ispanus), identified with the Jewish doctor to Abd-al-Rahman III (912–961), Abu Jusuf (Joseph) Hasday ben Shaprut (c.915–990). Gerbert asked him for a treatise on decimal arithmetic in the line of the tradition begun by the Persian astronomer and mathematician al-Khwarizmi (c.780–c.850).

The permeability of the Catalan-Aragonese lands to Arab culture continued over the following centuries. After the fall of Saragossa (1118) to Alfonso I the Battler, king of Aragon (1104–1134), the excellent library built up by the Almoravid king, al-Mu'taman ibn Hūd (1081–1085), a great mathematician and poet, was moved to the monastery of Rueda de Jalón. There Hugh of Sanctalla found the texts he translated for Bishop Miguel of Tarazona (1119–1151). These works on alchemy (*Liber de secretis naturae*, *Tabula smaragdina*),

6 Maria Eugènia Ibarbauru, Rosa Alcoy, "L'escriptori de Santa Maria de Ripoll i els seus manuscrits," in *Catalunya Romànica*, ed. Antoni Pladevall, 24 vols. (Barcelona, 1987), 10: 276–334.

astrology, astronomy and geomancy, then spread around the Latin west. Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, reported that Herman of Carinthia (1138–1143) and Robert of Ketton (1141–1157) also used these sources.

The main monasteries and cathedrals had schools for training the clergy. These were linked to the *scriptoria*. The monk or clergyman who served as the archivist or librarian often held the post of *caput scholae*. The presence of many *libri artium* in the catalogue of a library was a clear sign of the scholarly orientation of the centre. This was the case in Ripoll, Urgell and Vic. The basis for grammatical studies was Donatus and Priscian, in all their varieties (*major*, *minor* and commentaries). Usuard's grammar, a practical work with the declinations and conjugations, entered by the Frankish route, as did the *Liber in partibus Donatus* (c.800–805) by Smaragdus. These reference works would be replaced in the thirteenth century with the *Doctrinale* (1209) by Alexander of Villedieu and the *Graecismus* (c.1212) by Eberhard of Béthune. The classical authors were well represented. They probably arrived via Carolingian copies, as the oldest conserved codices testify. However, local conservation or other ways of transmission cannot be ruled out. Virgil and Horace only supported the teaching of grammar. Considered questionable from a doctrinal point of view, they had little influence on the local poetry. Propertius (elegies) and especially Sedulius (d.858) were more highly valued. The *Carmen paschale*, an epic biblical poem, although in the Virgilian style, was the model of reference. The glossaries were part of the scholarly tools. There were many from Ripoll, both alphabetical and by author (Juvenal). Their influence reached those drafting acts and documents. The scribes borrowed rare words from them in their search for stylistic embellishment that sometimes bordered rhetorical mannerism.

The names of some of the leading masters are known to us. The notary and *magister* Arnau (first half of the eleventh century), famous for his "philosophic" knowledge, taught in Ripoll, as did master Oliba (not to be confused with Abbot Oliba), an expert on astronomy, the calculation of Easter and arithmetic. Ermemir Quintila (d.1080), who had had copies of works by Virgil, Priscian, Isidore and Alcuin made, taught in the circle of Bishop Ató in Vic. Towards the second half of the eleventh century, in a process common across Europe, the teaching centres moved to the cities. The school in the cathedral in Barcelona was the most important. Master Renall, active at the beginning of the twelfth century, stands out. This centre had long been orientated towards legal studies. At the start of the eleventh century, Bonsom, who ordered the compilation of *Liber iudicum popularis*, worked there. Also, there was Ponç Bonfill (c.990–c.1046), clergyman, teacher and judge, who has been linked to the legal texts that would later become the embryo of the *Usatici Barchinonae*.

4 New Cultural Itineraries

The disintegration of the Carolingian order and the emancipation of county power placed Catalonia on other cultural itineraries. This change accelerated throughout the eleventh century and transformed the intellectual landscape in the next century.

The counts and many monastic and ecclesiastic centres sought the support of the Papacy to disassociate themselves from the Frankish political and ecclesiastical order. The orientation towards Rome, the spread of the cult of Saint Peter and the pilgrimage to his grave, facilitated access to the Italian Peninsula. The early attention to the Gregorian reform movement in Catalonia is a sign of this change. The libraries held authors and works of Gregorian inspiration including the homiletic work and exegesis by Bruno of Segni (1045–1123), the rarer ones by Rangerius of Lucca (d.1112) and John of Fécamp (d.1079), or the musical treatises by Guido of Arezzo (991/992–c.1050). The stays of Romuald of Ravenna and Pietro Orseolo in Cuxa also show the prestige the Catalan abbeys had acquired in Italy.

There was a spread of the reformed Augustinian canonical movement, whose centre of expansion had been Saint-Ruf in Avignon (1039). Pope Urban II approved its norms and statutes (1088–1089). The Catalan communities of canons were refounded according to the Augustinian rule in the second half of the eleventh and throughout the twelfth century. This was also imposed on the newly-founded ones in New Catalonia, like Tortosa (1178). A privileged path for the circulation of books, particularly those on theology and mysticism from the school of Saint Victor, founded near Paris (1110), the reformed communities of canons were centres of production and diffusion of homiletic texts in the vernacular language. The *Homilies d'Organyà* was the first text in the Catalan language.⁷

Marian piety brought the Catalan abbeys and the Occitan sanctuaries closer to each other. This is shown by the pilgrimages and the testamentary bequests. Notre-Dame du Puy (Auvergne) was the centre for the spread of Marian literature (in Latin and the vernacular). In Sainte-Foy de Conques, the eponymous saint was invoked in the fight against the Saracens. It is probable that there we have to redirect one phase or another of the elaboration or diffusion of the *Cançó de Santa Fe* (*Sancta Fides*),⁸ one of the first texts in the Occitan-Catalan language (1054–1076), with the characteristics of a hagiographic poem and

7 *Homilies d'Organyà*, ed. Amadeu J. Soberanas, Andreu Rossinyol, Armand Puig (Barcelona, 2001); *Homilies de Tortosa*, ed. Josep Moran (Barcelona, 1990).

8 *La Chanson de Sainte Foy*, ed. Ernest Hoepffner, Prosper Alfarcic, 2 vols (Paris, 1926).

chanson de geste. The only surviving copy, with a markedly Catalan *scripta*, enables the circuit of the poem to be linked to the monasteries of Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa or Canigou. The worship of the saint is documented in Roussillon from the ninth century on, as shown by the anthroponymy of the region and the fact that her relics are venerated in Cuxa.

Cluny did not exert direct institutional influence over the Catalan centres. The Burgundian abbey opposed the plans of the Catalan county houses to expand into Occitania. At the end of the eleventh century, however, the counts of Barcelona linked some Catalan monasteries with Occitan abbeys reformed by Cluny: Moissac and Saint-Pons-de-Thomieres in Languedoc, and Saint-Victor of Marseilles in Provence. County power thus reinforced the Occitan political space. These centres, particularly Saint-Victor of Marseilles, contributed numerous codices.⁹ In the second quarter of the eleventh century, Ripoll established a privileged relationship with Fleury. It received manuscripts, but also especially models for poetic composition.

The advance of the conquest from the Muslims in the early decades of the twelfth century (area of Lleida and Tortosa) introduced the Cistercian movement into Catalonia. The white monks, from Grandselve (Gascony) and Fontfroide (Aude), founded the great abbeys of New Catalonia: Poblet (1150), Santes Creus (1160) and the convent of Vallbona de les Monges (1175). The Cistercians renewed the liturgy and spiritual literature. Poblet replaced Ripoll as the royal pantheon.

5 Local Production

5.1 *Hagiography*

The early hagiography has given us some lives of saints of the universal Church, the worship of whom must have entered by the Roman-Frankish route. These included a *vita* of Philip the Apostle, presented as the evangeliser of Gaul (ms. Ripoll, 42) and a story about the finding of the relics of Saint Michael on Monte Gargano in 536 (ms. Ripoll, 74). It is difficult to specify whether these texts were imported or produced in Catalonia. We have information about other lives, nowadays lost (*Vita S. Marcialis*, *Vita S. Nicholai*). The local saints resisted the Frankish conquest, as illustrated by a (fragmentary) *Passio Sancti Felicis* about Saint Felix (Feliu), martyr of Girona (ms. Barcelona, 193, Biblioteca de Catalunya), or the *Lectiones Cucufati martiris* (eleventh century) about the

9 Donatella Nebbiai-Dallaguarda, *La bibliothèque de l'abbaye Saint-Victor de Marseille, XI^e–XV^e siècle* (Paris, 2005).

martyrdom of Saint Cucuphas (Cugat), presented as *Barchinonensis urbis et patriae doctoris egregii*. An *Inventio corporis sancti Cucufati* (c.1079), about the saint's relics, is interpolated in a document from the cartulary of the monastery.¹⁰ We also have some *Lectiones in translatione corporis sancti Eulalie Barcinonensis* (c.877).¹¹ Some local saints crossed the Pyrenees, probably because Gaul did not have many martyrs of its own. The worship of Saint Felix was introduced into Narbonne in the sixth century, like the worship of Just, Eulalia or Vincent. In contrast, the *Translatio beati Stephani protomartiris* (ms. Ripoll, 40), from the first half of the eleventh century, under the authorship of the master Arnau (Arnallus scolasticus), which presents the transfer of the relics of Saint Stephen from Jerusalem to Constantinople, was probably imported. A *Conversio beate Afrae*, about Saint Afra, the prostitute converted to Christianity by Saint Narcissus, was written or interpolated by Oliba in a sermon about the patron saint of Girona.¹²

The Dux Pietro Orseolo participated in the plot that ended the life of Pietro IV Candiano. To atone for this crime, he moved to Cuxa, where he led a life of penitence and prayer until his death (977). Towards the end of the eleventh century, a monk wrote a *Vita beati Petri Urseoli*,¹³ aimed more at presenting Orseolo's life in the monastery than explaining the vicissitudes of his character.

The *vitae*, especially those dedicated to local bishops, grew in interest and force in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The *Vita sancti Ermengaudi episcopi Urgellensis* (c.1040)¹⁴ was written in Urgell Cathedral by Borrell (*scholasticus*). Bishop Ermengol of Urgell (1010–1035) promoted the building of the new cathedral, restored the canonical life there and encouraged the fight against the Saracens (he took Guissona in 1024). The worship of Saint Ermengol (1046) spread rapidly across Catalonia. The *vita* presents him as *pater patriae* and emphasises the strength of his faith. In Urgell, a *Vita sancti Odonis episcopi* (c.1133) was also written about Bishop Ot (1095–1122), a relative of the counts of

10 José Rius, ed., *Cartulario de Sant Cugat del Vallés*, 3 vols. (Barcelona, 1945), 1: 357–58.

11 Sebastián Puig y Puig, *Episcopologio de la sede barcinonense* (Barcelona, 1929), pp. 357–59.

12 Eduard Junyent, ed., *Diplomatari i escrits literaris de l'abat i bisbe Oliba* (Barcelona, 1992), pp. 355–59.

13 Luc d'Achery, Jean Mabillon, *Acta sanctorum ordinis sancti Benedicti*, 3 vols. (Venice, 1738), 3: 5847–60.

14 Cebrià Baraut, "Les fonts documentals i hagiogràfiques medievals de la vida i miracles de sant Ermengol, bisbe d'Urgell (1010–1035)," *Urgellia* 14 (1998–2001), 137–165; *Sant Ermengol, bisbe d'Urgell (1010–1035): Història, art, culte i devocions* (La Seu d'Urgell, 2010).

Pallars, Urgell and Barcelona. In 1133, his successor initiated public worship of him with a special mass on the anniversary of his death.¹⁵

The *Vita Sancti Olegarii* (c.1137) was written in Barcelona Cathedral by the grammarian Renall.¹⁶ The biographer's style, the historical importance of his subject and late character of the text combine in the quality and value of the work. Olegarius was a canon in Barcelona, then moved to Saint-Ruf in Avignon and became abbot (1109), and later bishop of Barcelona (1114–1137). Ramon Berenguer III entrusted him with repopulating Tarragona (1118) and he became the first archbishop of the restored Tarragona see (1119–1137), and papal legate to lead the fight against the Saracens in Spain (1123). He arbitrated between the counts of Barcelona and Toulouse in the conflicts over the Provençal inheritance. Olegarius also left a notable body of writing (epistles, sentences, sermons, responses to enquiries on canonical law), most unpublished.

Under Olegarius' episcopate, Canon Renall also wrote a *Passio S. Eulaliae Barchinonensis* (c.1116).¹⁷ Around 1138, Canon Elies wrote an *officium* and a *vita* of Bishop Ramon Guillem de Roda (1067–1126), of whom we also have another life.¹⁸ The fight against the Muslims, which linked the values of the faith with the political expansion, was the impulse behind the writing of these *vitae* of local bishops.

5.2 Historical Memory

There are few and marginal historical details from before the end of the tenth century. These include annotations on the margins of miscellaneous manuscripts, or lists of Gothic and Frankish kings that accompany copies of legal texts (*Liber iudicum*), the purpose of which was legal, not historical. The only notable contribution is a chronicle of the Frankish kings, from Clovis to Louis IV (481–939), with Latin and Arabic versions, that Bishop Gotmar II of Girona offered to Al-Ḥakam II in 940. Only the Arabic version has survived.¹⁹

Two events reveal the interest in conserving the historical memory and promoting historiographic activity. The first was the taking of Barcelona by Al-Manṣūr (985). The sacking and arson of the city meant a notable loss of

15 Jaime Villanueva, *Viage literario a las Iglesias de España*, 22 vols. (Madrid, 1830), 11: 187–94.

16 Martin Aurell, "Prédication, croisade et religion civique. Vie et miracles d'Oleguer (†1137), évêque de Barcelone," *Revue Mabillon* 10/71 (1999), 113–68; Josep Maria Martí Bonet, *Oleguer, servent de les esglésies de Barcelona i Tarragona* (Barcelona, 2003).

17 Enrique Flórez, *España sagrada*, 2nd ed., 52 vols. (Madrid, 1859), 29: 375–90.

18 Villanueva, *Viage literario* (1851), 15: 314–29.

19 Josep M. Millàs Vallicrosa, *Textos dels historiadors àrabs referents a la Catalunya carolíngia* (Barcelona, 1987), pp. 134–35.

documents, with the consequent legal problems, that led to a push to restore them. The other event was that when Hugh Capet was proclaimed king in 987, Count Borrell II of Barcelona (947–992) did not swear loyalty to the new Capet dynasty. This rupture, of great historical importance, encouraged the development of arguments to justify the new political “autonomy”.

An incipient historical awareness is clear in a polyform textual corpus: from inscriptions, epitaphs, obituaries, necrologies, mortuary rolls, heroic poetry, to acts of endowment of churches or diplomatic collections in general.

The epitaphs and funeral panegyrics of the counts or their children deserve special attention from both historical and literary standpoints. These documents were mainly written in the Monastery of Ripoll, the pantheon of the counts and cultural centre of reference, throughout the eleventh century and the first half of the twelfth. They were generally written in Leonine hexameters, showing the influence of Cluniac models and, by extension, integrating the production of the monastery into the European cultural circuits.

The following can be highlighted. The earliest one, a metric epitaph for Wilfred I *the Hairy* (d.897),²⁰ probably dates from the ninth century. After Bernard I *Taillefer*, Count of Besalu, drowned in the Rhone (d.1020), his brother, Abbot Oliba, dedicated the funeral eulogy *Iam sine fine Dei valeas plebs inclita* to him. This was from the rolls and mortuary encyclicals,²¹ like the one for Wilfred II of Cerdanya (d.1049), who died while a monk in Saint-Martin-du-Canigou. A common epitaph, *Splendor, forma, caro, virtus cum germine claro*, in Leonine hexameters with an internal rhyme, was dedicated to Bernard I *Taillefer* and his son William I *the Fat* of Besalu (d.1052).²² More ambitious was the funeral chant (*epicedion*), *Ad carmen populi flebile cuncti*, in memory of Count Ramon Borrell of Barcelona (d.1017), probably the work of Oliba.²³ It is an alphabetic poem, divided into twenty-three stanzas of four verses, each of which begins with a different letter in alphabetical order. Ramon Borrell II was not buried in Ripoll. Instead, his tomb is in the cloister of Barcelona Cathedral. This indicates that the poem was not composed to praise a benefactor of the monastery, but was rather conceived as a song of praise and admiration for the heroic virtues of the deceased. Ramon Borrell II was the first Catalan count to send expeditions against al-Andalus (an expedition to Cordoba, 1010). The poem is a succinct *vita* of the count with epic characteristics.

20 Lluís Nicolau d'Olwer, “L’escola poètica de Ripoll en els segles X–XII,” *Anuari de l’Institut d’Estudis Catalans* 6 (1915–1920), 27.

21 Junyent, *Diplomatari*, pp. 318–20.

22 Nicolau, “L’escola poètica,” p. 35.

23 Junyent, *Diplomatari*, pp. 301–04.

The *Disticha epitaphia comitum Rivipullo quiescentium* (1018)²⁴ by Oliba is a set of epitaphs for the counts Wilfred I the Hairy (d.898), founder of the monastery and Oliba's great-grandfather; Count Miró Bonfill (d.984) III of Cerdanya and II of Besalu (968–984) and Bishop of Girona (970–984), Oliba's uncle, and Miró II of Cerdanya (898–927) and I of Besalu (920–927), Oliba's grandfather, etc. The epitaphs were conceived to be engraved on sepulchres, and then grouped into a poem in praise of the family and the monastery, the pantheon of the counts. The reminiscences of Virgil and Sedulius were combined with the influence of Smaragdus and probably the couplets of Deacon Benedict (ninth century) in honour of the Carolingian sovereigns and transcribed in a collection of chapters conserved in Ripoll.

Strangely, no funeral poem in memory of Ramon Berenguer III (d.1131) has survived, only some verses, almost illegible, sculpted on his tomb. In contrast, Ramon Berenguer IV (1131–Borgo San Dalmazzo, 1162) deserves special consideration. The funeral song *Mentem meam ledit dolor* in trochaic rhythmic verse, a poem set to music and therefore probably sung, was devoted to him.²⁵ The funeral eulogy in prose dates from later (c.1194).²⁶ The first part is a brief biography of the count, who is (surprisingly!) given the title of *rex Aragonensis* and numerous courtly epithets (*strenuissimus, larguissimus, multum amabilis*). In a markedly epic tone, it emphasises the count's military campaigns and victories. The text seems to have been partly taken from the *Gesta comitum Barchinonensium* (chapter XVII), from which it borrows several sentences (*Ilerdam et Fragam uno die simul cepit*). It also alludes to the miracles that the count's remains performed in Italy and on the journey back to Ripoll. The final *lamentatio*, an adaptation of the lament for the death of Saint Jerome attributed to Eusebius, proposes the beatification of the count. The champion of the fight against the Muslims becomes the *defensor Ecclesiae*. There is another poem, *Fulgent nova per orbem gaudia*, in the manuscripts from Roda, dedicated to Ramon Berenguer IV. This was probably composed for one of the count's military triumphs.²⁷

24 Junyent, *Diplomatari*, pp. 304–07.

25 Nicolau, "L'escola poètica," pp. 36–38.

26 *Les Gesta comitum Barchinonensium (versió primitiva), la Brevis Historia i altres textos de Ripoll*, ed. Stefano M. Cingolani (Valencia, 2012), pp. 197–202.

27 Jesús Alturo, "De nuevo sobre el 'Carmen in Laudem Raimundi Berengarii IV' del manuscrito 31 de Roda ('olim' 8)," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 42 (2012), 469–78.

Outstanding among the six surviving mortuary rolls, all from the eleventh century and linked to Ripoll,²⁸ is the encyclical for the death of Abbot Oliba (d.1046),²⁹ which offers an idealised portrait of the abbot following the models of the biographies produced in Cluny.

In laudem basilicae et abbatum Rivipullensium, composed by Oliba shortly after 1032, is praise for the abbey through its abbots.³⁰ The *Brevis historia monasterii Rivipullensis* (1147) was probably a “controversial” text aimed at defending the rights of the abbey during the time when Ripoll had to submit to Marseilles.³¹ The epistle of the monk Garsias (c.1038), addressed to Oliba, reconstructs the history and initial period of the monastery of Cuxa.³² Other monastic centres wrote local or domestic chronicles (*Chronicon breue monasterii Canigonensis*), some unpublished, others appearing in ancient editions.

The historiographic activity itself began with the writing of annals. Ripoll was again the main producer and receiver. The oldest works written there are Easter annals (minor annals), insertions of events into tables for calculating Easter. The monastery also received *Annales regni Francorum* (major annals) and other pieces of Carolingian historiography, like the *Vita Karoli* by Einhard. The annals have reached us in varied states and strata, often late, which means notorious difficulties for dating and classifying them and studying their evolution. We arrange them by families.

The *rivipullense* family began with a brief series (*Annals de Cuixà*), drawn up in Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa in the times of Count Oliba I *Cabreta* of Cerdanya (968–988) and Abbot Garí. The series reached Ripoll at the end of the tenth century, where it was continued and added to the family of *Annals Rivipullenses*, made up of five series of closely linked annals: *Annals de Ripoll I* (= *Chronicon alterum Rivipullense*), *Annals de Ripoll II* (= *Chronicon Rivipullense* o *Rivipullense II*), *Annals de Roda* (= *Alterum chronicon Rotense*), *Annals de Tortosa II* (= *Chronicon Dertusense II*) and *Annals de Marsella* (= *Petita crònica de Marsella*). The family was completed with a brief series added at the end of the *Memoria renovata comitum et episcoporum Ripacurcensium*.³³ The mon-

28 Jean Dufour, “Les rouleaux et les encycliques mortuaires de Catalogne (1008–1102),” *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 20 (1977), 13–48.

29 Junyent, *Diplomatari*, pp. 341–55.

30 Junyent, *Diplomatari*, pp. 307–08.

31 *Les Gesta comitum*, pp. 169–80.

32 Junyent, *Diplomatari*, pp. 369–86; Anna Trias, “Epístola-sermón del monje Garsias de Cuixà,” *Anuario de Filología* 11–12 (1985–1986), 19–48.

33 *Els annals de la família rivipullense i les genealogies de Pallars-Ribagorça*, ed. Stefano Maria Cingolani (Valencia, 2012).

astery of Ripoll served for years as a nucleus of historiographic dissemination to other related centres (Roda de Ribagorça, Marseilles or Tortosa), thus the name the series is known by.

The lists of events furnish a schedule, but also especially a schedule of the political organisation that defined the Catalan counties in the historical memory. As an example, the *Annals de Ripoll I* marks the birth of Jesus Christ, some Roman emperors and a few Christian martyrs, the deaths of some notable people from the history of Christianity (Benedict of Nursia or Gregory the Great), crucial dates from the Carolingian dominion over Catalonia (conquests of Girona, 785, and Barcelona, 801). It also lists the Frankish kings and mentions a series of counts descended from Wilfred I the Hair. It defines a space and time on the basis of the idea of empire (Roman and Carolingian), over which it erects a local political (county) history. It goes directly from the Carolingian sovereigns to the Catalan counts (Barcelona, Besalu, Cerdanya, Urgell), who exercised hereditary power. The counts of Frankish origin, or those who obtained power by delegation from the Carolingian monarchs, are omitted. Nor is there any reference to the idea of *Hispania*.

Western Catalonia (Pallars and Ribagorça) produced another family of annals. The most significant was the *Memoria* by the monk Domènec d'Alaó about the origins of the counties of Pallars and Ribagorça, based on earlier legendary, documentary and historiographic sources, and which underwent various additions and extensions until 1238.³⁴

The *barchinonense* family was the latest. It probably dates from the later years of Ramon Berenguer IV's rule. The surviving embryonic basis is the brief *Cronicó de Sant Cugat* (1153–1162), which, however, reveals the existence of an earlier *barchinonense* (between 1149 and 1153). The so-called *Cronicó de Skokloster* (after 1149) also belongs to this family which continued into the thirteenth century with the *Majoricense* chronicle (c.1239).³⁵ Some series record the conquests by Ramon Berenguer III and Ramon Berenguer IV, which signalled the expansion of the County of Barcelona. The *barchinonense* series was written in an urban setting, no longer in the monastic environment. To a great extent, it was the work of the canons of Barcelona Cathedral, who, like Ponç d'Osor, also worked in the county chancellery. The series looks into the concept and limits of the term *Catalonia*.

The members of the army led by the Count Ramon Berenguer III of Barcelona that attacked Majorca in 1114 were described some years after from Pisa as *catalanenses*. The terms *Catalonia* and *Catalan* spread in the times of

34 *Els annals*, pp. 175–228.

35 Miquell Coll i Alentorn, *Historiografia* (Barcelona, 1991), pp. 65–92.

Ramon Berenguer IV. It was not until the reign of Alfonso the Chaste (1162–1196), that *Catalonia* came to designate the territories that either recognised the sovereignty of the Count of Barcelona or were ruled by him.

The 1180–1184 period marked a decisive turning point for the historiography, which adopted new, more complex, forms of expression that illustrate ideological changes and different political motivations. In 1180, the council in Tarragona approved a new system for dating documents. The previous system linked to the reign of the kings of France was abandoned and a new system was established dated from the year of the incarnation of Jesus Christ. Another important link of dependence on the kingdom of France disappeared.

The primitive version of the *Gesta comitum Barchinonensium*, written in the monastery of Ripoll, must be situated in these years.³⁶ The work is important for both its timing and the later evolution of the historiography. 1) For the change in the rhetorical model: the annals gave way to the narrative. 2) For the elaboration of a reference to historical “origins”. 3) Because the County of Barcelona gave shape to a “territory” (The Catalan counties incorporated into that of Barcelona plus the lands won from the Muslims in the military campaigns). 4) The political power of the Count of Barcelona emanated from the lineage, but was linked to the territory, to the new historical reality of *Catalonia*, documented a few years earlier.

The narrative presents the history of the Catalan counties starting with Wilfred of Arriaount, as mythical first count of Barcelona and father of Wilfred I the Hairy, and continuing down to Ramon Berenguer IV. The text is divided into three parts: founding legend, genealogies, and the reigns of Ramon Berenguer III and Ramon Berenguer IV. It is structured around a discourse that goes from the foundation of the *honor* down to the present, following the transmitters of power.

The founding legend tells how Wilfred of Arriaount, the half-invented predecessor, obtained the *honor* of Barcelona from the Frankish king through his own merits. An incident led the monarch to seize the count's son, Wilfred, and take him to the court in Flanders, where he was brought up. The young Wilfred made the Count of Flanders' daughter pregnant. He left secretly for Barcelona to recover his heritage and to be able to marry her. The tale, which adapts the legend of Baldwin Iron Arm, Count of Flanders, is aimed at defining a Carolingian time as a basis for the legitimacy of the “political” power of the County of Barcelona. The narrative does not extol Carolingian blood, but rather fixes the inaugural, but crucial, moment when there was a change from one system of delegation of power to another based on hereditary continuity.

36 *Les Gesta comitum.*

The genealogies in the second part show this hereditary transmission of the lineage of Barcelona, and extend this to the other counties (Besalu, Cerdanya and Urgell). This is political awareness of a supra-family entity. The genealogies down to Ramon Berenguer I (1035–1076) are brief, but notably more extensive for the later counts, with physical and moral portraits and brief accounts of their deeds. The writer not only has more information, but also perceives them as the builders of a new political reality. There is no mention of the counts of Pallars or Emporda, or, significantly, the kings of Aragon. The third part (the reigns of Ramon Berenguer III and Ramon Berenguer IV) presents the defence and expansion of the territory in the fight against the Saracens in a markedly epic tone.

The primitive version of the *Gesta comitum Barchinonensium* was extended in three successive stages (1204, 1214 and 1218–1219). The reigns of Alfonso the Chaste and Peter the Catholic and the minority of James I were added, and the *ante unionem* county period was revised. It was also later underwent chronological revisions and rearrangements, and stylistic corrections.

A contemporary of the primitive version of the *Gesta* is the *Liber feudorum maior*, the great cartulary organised by Ramon de Caldes (c.1192). This was the legal instrument that justified the right of the King Alfonso to his dominions. Both works were closely linked. Thus, it is highly likely that the *Gesta*, the first great book of dynastic memory and politics, followed Alfonso the Chaste's wishes and was commissioned by him.

5.3 *Singular and Extravagant Texts. Medieval Latin Poetry*

Dhuoda, the wife of Duke Bernard of Septimania, Count of Barcelona and Girona, addressed the *Libellus manualis* (c.841–843)³⁷ to her eldest son, William, who, at the age of fifteen, had been sent to the court in Aachen to complete his education. The text, whether written or dictated by Dhuoda or commissioned to a competent clergyman, was conceived as an educational guide for her son, so that the young prince could live a worthy Christian life far from her. The work, written in prose, with rhythmic poetry interleaved, is a *speculum principum*, which presents the prince's duties to God, the powerful or himself, but also shows the inner life of the lady (concern about the separation from her son and husband, economic hardship or illness). The sources of the theological and moral doctrine presented were the Scriptures, particularly the Psalms, the Fathers of the Church (Augustine and Gregory), and Carolingian authors like Alcuin or Rabanus Maurus.

37 Dhuoda, *Liber manualis: Handbook for her Warrior Son*, ed. and trans. Marcelle Thiébaux (Cambridge, Eng., 1998).

The manuscripts from Ripoll have conserved some important texts from the history of Medieval Latin poetry, although Catalan authorship cannot be claimed categorically.

The poem *Hierusalem laetare*³⁸ appears copied after the *Historia Hierosolymitana* by Raymond of Aguilers, chaplain to Raymond IV of Toulouse, who travelled on the First Crusade with the Provençals (1096–1099). It is followed by some homilies for the service celebrating the freeing of Jerusalem. It is completed by an epilogue, divided into five parts (eulogies for the Christians who went to the Holy Land; vituperation of the Jews; praise for the crusading knights; Christian happiness at the conquest of Jerusalem; *carmen canorum*) in iambic verse of the catalectic rhythmic dimeter type (flat verses with the accent in the sixth). The author was probably an eyewitness to the events. In any case, the presence of this textual corpus in Ripoll is significant for evaluating the interest of the monks in the crusading ideology, which, in turn, was redirected to the fight by the Counts of Barcelona against the Saracens in the Iberian Peninsula.

The *Carmen Campidoctoris* (c.1098)³⁹ was written to celebrate the marriage of Ramon Berenguer III and his first wife María Rodríguez, daughter of Ruy Díaz, El Cid. It was the first literary work dedicated to the hero, who was then still alive. It is written in stanzas of four verses (three hendecasyllables plus an adonic pentasyllable verse), which rhyme in the assonant (some in the consonant). The scheme, which emulates the Sapphic stanza, had been used in Carolingian epigraphic poetry. It also has similarities with the verse used by Boethius in the *Consolatio philosophiae*.

The poem is structured around three feats by El Cid: his legal duel with the Navarrese, Jimeno Garcés (1060), his victory over the Castilian nobleman, García Ordóñez (1080) and, with special attention, the war against the Saracens in Lleida and Almenar. There is no mention of the hero's youth, nor the problems of his exile, nor his campaigns far from Catalonia (in Vivar, Burgos or Cardeña). The author must have accessed El Cid's feats through oral sources, and may even have known him personally.

It is probable that the poem needs to be contextualised in the dissensions and conflicts between Berenguer Ramon II the Fratricide and Ramon Berenguer II the Towhead or *Cap d'Estopes* (stanza XXIII and following), which

38 John France, "An Unknown Account of the Capture of Jerusalem," *English Historical Review* 87 (1972), 771–83.

39 *Carmen Campidoctoris o Poema latino del Campeador*, ed. and trans. Alberto Montaner, Ángel Escobar (Madrid, 2001).

led to the former murdering the latter. As a result of this, Berenguer Ramon II was dethroned by a sector of the nobility, and his nephew, Ramon Berenguer III, was proclaimed Count of Barcelona (1097). By exalting the figure of El Cid, the author helped to persuade part of the nobility opposed to Berenguer Ramon II to favour the proclamation of Ramon Berenguer III.

The author added Latin epic notes to the poem. He quotes Homer (v. 11), through the *Ilias latina*, talking about the Trojan War (v. 127), recalling Paris or Hector (v. 126), or evoking Aeneas or Pyrrhus (v. 2). He knows Virgil and Horace through the medieval scholastic tradition. He also uses military language and is familiar with the life of the warrior (he may have participated personally in the campaigns in Lleida and Almenar).

The *Carmina Rivipullensia*⁴⁰ is the name given to the twenty pieces of amorous poetry, the only copy of which is conserved in a codex from Ripoll, although its origins and authorship have been disputed (Ripoll, Remiremont in Lorraine). The collection clearly shows the influence of Ovid's *Amores*, from which it borrows many themes and poetic motifs, like the dream of love, the god of love (Cupid) or the wound of love. The "Anonymous Lover" of Ripoll was also a good adaptor of the resources of the *ars poetica*, like the *laudes* (*descriptio pulcritudinis*), or genres like the love epistle or the *conflictus*. Certain metric rhythmic structures and some textual *similia* link the poems to compositions that appeared in Northern Italy during the eleventh century, including the *Versus Eporedienses*, attributed to Wido of Ivrea, or the *Foebus abierat* and the *Manerius*, probably produced in Fleury Abbey, with which Ripoll had relationships, as well as some Goliardic pieces collected in the *Carmina Burana*. The influence of the poetic school of Saint-Martial Abbey in Limoges is also notable. This was very active in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and documented in Ripoll. The *Carmina Rivipullensia* are integrated into the mainstream of European Medieval Latin lyric.

6 Troubadours

The origins of the Catalan counties in the *Gallia Narbonensis* had orientated the relations of Barcelona, Besalu, Urgell and Pallars with the other side of the Pyrenees for centuries. From the mid-tenth century, there was a policy of marriages that reinforced the links with the county and viscounty

40 *Carmina Rivipullensia. Cancionero de Ripoll*, ed. and trans. José-Luis Moralejo (Barcelona, 1986).

lineages of Languedoc and the Auvergne. The marriage of Ramon Borrell of Barcelona to Ermesinde of Carcassonne (991) consolidated a common framework of reference (political, economic, linguistic and cultural). With the acquisition of Carcassonne and Razès by Ramon Berenguer I and Almodis de la Marche (1067–1070), this policy took a turn towards expansion into the area of Languedoc and Provence. Ramon Berenguer III's marriage to Countess Douce (1112/1113) added the counties of Provence and Gévaudan, the viscounty of Carlat and various possessions in Rouergue. The Count of Barcelona thus controlled the Mediterranean coastal area from Salou to Nice. The incorporation of these new territories led to the conflict between Toulouse and Barcelona for control of lower Languedoc and the interior and littoral of Provence, which would last until 1198. The "Occitan expansion" (1067/1070–1198) was based on matrimonial alliances, military conquests, the submission to vassalage of independent lordships and urban communities, and the income that came from the opening of trade routes. It was also the space and time when Catalonia opened up to the poetry of the troubadours, the first secular and learned poetry, and in the vernacular (Occitan).

The troubadour poetry did not appear at the same time in all the Occitan territories. It spread from the westernmost areas (Poitou, Gascony) first to the Limousin and the Auvergne, then to Languedoc and, finally, to Provence. Thus, the fact that there is little information that relates troubadours with Catalonia in the times of Ramon Berenguer III and Ramon Berenguer IV is no surprise. Marcabru mentions Ramon Berenguer IV in *Empeaire, per mi mezeis* (1137–1138), in which he encouraged him to take part in the struggle against the Muslims, and in *Pax in nomine Domini* (1148–1149), where he praises him with the Templars. This Gascon troubadour must have visited Catalonia sporadically, as he recalled the court of Urgell in *Hueimais dei esser alegrans*. In contrast, Pèire d'Alvernha referred to the fame and indigence of the court of Ramon Berenguer IV in *Bel m'es, qui a son bon sen*. His view, driven by political animosity and gossip, is however indicative of the little attention these counts of Barcelona paid to the troubadours.

The situation changed radically during the reign of Alfonso the Chaste (1162–1196). On the death of Ramon Berenguer III of Provence (d.1166), King Alfonso inherited the area from his cousin and titled himself "Marquis of Provence". This was not unanimously accepted. Raymond V of Toulouse, in particular, distrusted so much power in the hands of one man (Count of Barcelona and King of Aragon) in an area that he also claimed. The long spells spent by Alfonso the Chaste in Occitan lands to settle his domains there meant the Catalan-Aragonese court entered into direct contact with troubadour literature.

Troubadour poetry was firstly linked to the lordly festivities. It was entertainment and amusement (*solatz*), and a display of the protector's extravagance and generosity (*largueza*). The magnificence of the social gathering and the lord's power to remunerate reinforced the social prestige of the court. The King of Aragon became one of the most important patrons of the time. Giraut de Bornelh, Folquet de Marselha, Arnaut de Maruelh, Pèire Raimon de Tolosa and especially Pèire Vidal, visited the Catalan court. Other, like Arnaut Daniel, praised the king from afar, drawn by the merit of his court. The troubadours built an ideal image of the king, his legitimate and positive sovereignty, but especially exalting his courtly and knightly values. The *potestas* was reinforced with the *auctoritas* the poetry transmitted. Alfonso the Chaste was himself a troubadour. There is an extant *canso* and a *tenso* with Giraut de Bornelh about the relations between love and power. King Alfonso has also passed into history with the nickname of the Troubadour.

In turn, the political and propagandistic power of this ideal image explains why those troubadours enemies of the king of Aragon, or in the service of hostile feudal causes, worked to distort it through the genre of the *sirventes*. The most scathing and harshest troubadour was the Limousin, Bertran de Born, together with Giraut del Luc.

The poets born in Catalonia perfectly naturally joined the troubadour phenomenon. It was the same linguistic and cultural space. It was only necessary to favour the contacts and that the consolidated poetic models exerted an influence and attraction in the most distant areas of the system. Berenguer de Palol is the earliest Catalan troubadour whose work has survived.⁴¹ He began his poetic career (c.1160) under the last proprietary counts of Roussillon. He addressed Gausfred III of Roussillon (d.1164), as *senher* ("lord"). Nine songs attributed to him with certainty have survived (and four others which are doubtful). All are on amorous themes, with a predominance of notes of sadness and nostalgia, and simple expression (*trobar leu*). We have the musical notation of eight compositions, which indicates that he must have excelled as a musician. He is the only Catalan troubadour whose melodies we know. Ponç de la Guàrdia (c.1140–c.1190), second son of the Saguàrdia family, a lineage from the valleys in the Ripolles, was part of King Alfonso's company of arms, with whom he took part in the expedition against Toulouse (1175–1176) and the siege of Cuenca (1177). Nine love songs have survived (some with problems of

41 Berenguer de Palol. *Edizione critica*, ed. Margheritta Beretta Spampinato (Modena, 1978).

attribution).⁴² His metrics are original and varied and his diction, somewhat refined. His compositions enjoyed a certain success in Provence.

With a corpus of at least 31 pieces, Guillem de Berguedà (c.1138–c.1196), eldest son of the Viscount of Bergueda, was an outstanding troubadour.⁴³ He stands out for the satirical compositions he addressed to his rivals. These were Pere de Berga, with whom he had territorial disagreements, Arnau de Preixens, bishop of Urgell, Ponç de Mataplana, who he was linked to by bonds of feudal dependence and Ramon Folc IV de Cardona, who he murdered (d.1175). He did grotesque caricatures of them, combining satirical motifs and slanderous techniques from the *ars poetria*, with a very personal voice (witty, acerbic, cynical). In the 1190s, he put his poetry to the service of the revolt against the king by a large part of the viscounty lineages (1190–1192). The grotesque caricatures gave way to the *sirventes* form, in the line of the model of Bertran de Born. He took aim at King Alfonso's policies: his transformation of the diocesan Peace and Truce of God into an instrument of royal administration, a lack of incursions into Muslim lands, promotion of second-rate officials to the detriment of the old nobility, etc.. He also composed *cansos*, *tensos* and a *planh* for the death of Ponç de Mataplana.

During the reign of Peter the Catholic (1196–1213), the influence of the house of Barcelona grew in Occitania. Peter was not the lord of Provence, which was inherited by his brother Alfonso. His marriage to Marie of Montpellier (1204) and the wedding of his sister, Eleanor, to Raymond VI of Toulouse (1204) extended the influence of Barcelona over Languedoc and the Toulouse area, and converted Peter into the great arbiter of Occitania. All the troubadours of the time, Aimeric de Peguilhan, Pistoleta, Aimeric de Sarlat, Guiraut de Calanson, Albertet, Guilhem Magret, Elias Fonsalada, and probably Uc de Saint Circ, Ademar lo Negre and Raimon de Miraval, enjoyed the king's patronage and dedicated compositions to him.

Guilhem Magret celebrated the king's coronation in Rome and presented him as a defender of Christendom (*Ma dompna-m ten pres*). Pèire de Bragairac wanted him to arbitrate in the Occitan conflicts. On the eve of Muret (1213), *Vai Hugonet*, *ses bistensa* encouraged him to support the Occitan *paratge*. Pons de Capduelh dedicated the important crusading song to him, *So c'òm plus vol e plus es voluntos*, urging him to defend Raymond VI of Toulouse.

42 István Frank, "Pons de la Guardia, troubadour catalan du XII^e siècle," *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 12 (1949), 229–327.

43 Martín de Riquer, ed., *Guillem de Berguedà*, 2 vols. (Poblet, 1971).

At Muret, the Catalan troubadour Huguet de Mataplana,⁴⁴ also a protector of troubadours and jongleurs, died from his wounds in the battle. He debated poetically with the troubadour Blacatz and the jongleur Reculaire. In *D'un sirventes m'ès pres talens*, against Raimon de Miraval, he defended the right of women to *trobar*. Seven compositions of undoubted authorship by Guillem de Cabestany from Roussillon have survived. He probably participated in the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa (1212).⁴⁵ He knew the most influential troubadours (Jaufré Rudel, Bernart de Ventadorn) and he argued with them about the *fin'amors*. He had a penchant for the decasyllable, difficult rhymes and unusual images, characteristics that would prevail in later Catalan poetry. *Lo doutz cossire*, assiduously copied in the songbooks and widely imitated, became an emblematic troubadour's song. Guillem de Cabestany has passed into literary history for his *vida* given by the *chansonniers*, an adaptation of the Legend of the Eaten Heart.

On the eve of Muret, Ramon Vidal de Besalú wrote the *Razos de trobar* (1199–1213),⁴⁶ the first vernacular grammar, aimed to those learning to be troubadours. The Occitan of the poetry, the language a secular society expressed itself in, was raised, by emulation of Latin, to the sphere of the *grammatica*. The language was a reference and symbol of a common historical, political and cultural space, where, beyond the strict limits of Catalonia, in the words of Albertet [de Sestairon] (c.1194–c.1221), the term *catalan* designated “Guascuenha e Proensa / e Lemozi, Alvernh'e Vianes”, the territories where the House of Barcelona had played a dominant role since the Carolingian age.

This shared area (the old Gothia or the South Frankland or Francia) disappeared with the death of Peter the Catholic on the battlefield at Muret. It was the end of a feudal project in a High Middle Ages pattern.

44 Martín de Riquer, “El trovador Huguet de Mataplana,” in *Studia Hispanica in honorem R. Lapesa*, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1972), 1: 455–94.

45 Montserrat Cots, “Las poesías del trovador Guillem de Cabestany,” *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 40 (1985–1986), 227–30.

46 John H. Marshall, ed., *The Razos de trobar of Raimon Vidal and associated texts* (London, 1972).

The Romanesque in the Mountains and on the Border

Xavier Barral-i-Altet

The Romanesque period in Catalonia was characterised by two conditioning factors related to geography and history. The situation of the Catalan counties on both sides of the Pyrenees defined the geography of the art that arose north and south of the mountains and meant that they played a role of connection, and transmission but never of separation. Elne, La Seu d'Urgell, Girona, Vic and naturally Barcelona were the great artistic centres. Generally, however, these great centres were where Gothic art led to the disappearance of the main vestiges of the Romanesque. The second geographic factor is that of the frontier, of an art that was deployed on the northern frontier of the Islamic world, which occupied the greater part of the Iberian Peninsula throughout this period.¹

-
- 1 For Catalan Romanesque architecture, the full bibliography and state of the main questions for each monument, site, set, city or district, is found in the corresponding section of the work *Catalunya romànica* (27 volumes) edited by the *Fundació Enciclopèdia Catalana* in Barcelona between 1984 and 1998. In a more general setting, the collection *Art de Catalunya Ars Cataloniae* (16 volumes) published in Barcelona, 1997–2003, and particularly the volumes about medieval architecture, sculpture, painting and monumental landscape. More recently: Jordi Camps, Xavier Dectot, eds., *Catalogne romane. Sculptures du Val de Boí* (Paris. Musée National du Moyen Age, septembre 2004-janvier 2005) (Paris, 2004); Francesca Español, Joaquín Yarza, *El romànic català* (Manresa, 2007); Manuel Castiñeiras, Jordi Camps, eds., *El romànic i la Mediterrània. Catalunya, Toulouse i Pisa, 1120–1180*. (Barcelona, Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, 29 febrer–18 maig 2008) (Barcelona, 2008); Pere Freixas, Jordi Camps, eds., *Els Comacini i l'arquitectura romànica a Catalunya* (Girona, 2010). For a historiographic overview, see: Xavier Barral-i-Altet, “Els estudis sobre l'art romànic de Catalunya,” in *Catalunya romànica. I. Introducció a l'estudi de l'art romànic català. Fons d'art romànic català del Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya* (Barcelona, 1994), pp. 169–88; Xavier Barral-i-Altet, *Josep Puig i Cadafalch-Escrits d'arquitectura, art i política* (Barcelona, 2003); Milagros Guardia, Imma Lorés, *El Pirineu romànic vist per Josep Gudiol i Emili Gandia* (Trempt, 2013). On the perception and use of the Romanesque architecture, and the art of the Early Medieval Ages in general, during the twentieth century: Xavier Barral i Altet, *L'art romànic català a debat* (Barcelona, 2009). Some recent monographic studies: Pere Beseran, Joan-Albert Adell, Albert Sierra, Albert Vilaró, *La catedral de la Seu d'Urgell* (Manresa, 2000); Imma Lorés, *El monestir de*

The continuity of the architectural structures from the Late Antiquity until the full Medieval Ages in religious and civil, urban and rural, contexts contributed to perpetuating local and traditional forms, a technical and stylistic continuity that the Romanesque religious architecture drew upon. The early Christian basilicas were often used until much later: examples of these include Barcelona, Tarragona, Terrassa, Empuries and Sant Cugat del Valles.

Sant Pere de Rodes (Barcelona, 2002); Francesc Xavier Altés, Josep Maria Camps, Montserrat Pagés, Josep de Calassanç Laplana, *La imatge de la Mare de Déu de Montserrat* (Barcelona, 2003); Marc Sureda, "La catedral de Girona, matèria històrica. Historiografia a l'entorn de la seu," *Annals de l'Institut d'Estudis Gironins* 45 (2004), 94–102; Marc Sureda, "Intervencions ològiques a la nau de la catedral de Girona," in *VIII Jornades d'arqueologia de les comarques gironines* (Roses, 2006), pp. 377–80; Gerardo Boto, "Topografía de los monasterios de la Marca de Hispania (ca.800–ca.1030)," in *Monjes y monasterios hispanos en la Alta Edad Media*, ed. José Angel García de Cortázar, Ramón Teja (Aguilar de Campoo, 2006); Xavier Barral-i-Altet, "Du Panthéon de Rome à la Rotonde de Vic: la transmission d'un modèle d'architecture mariale au début du XI siècle et la politique "romaine" de l'abbé-évêque Oliba," *Les cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 37 (2006), 63–75; Gerardo Boto, "Monasterios catalanes en el siglo XI. Los espacios eclesíasticos de Oliba," in *Monasteria et Territoria. Elites, edificación y territorio en el Mediterráneo medieval (siglos V–XI)*, eds. Jorge Lopez Quiroga, Artemio Manuel Martínez, Jorge Morín de Pablos (Oxford, 2007), pp. 281–319; Imma Lorés, *La seu vella i el turó* (Lleida, 2007); Nazareth Gallego Aguilera, *Santa Maria de Besalú. Arquitectura, poder i reforma (segles X–XII)* (Besalu, 2007); Milagros Guardia, Carles Mancho, eds., *Les fonts de la Pintura Romànica catalana* (Barcelona, 2008); Imma Lorés, Carles Mancho, "Hec domus est sancta quam fecit domnus Oliva: Santa Maria de Ripoll," *Les cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 40 (2009), 205–19; Gemma Garcia, Antonio Moro, Francesc Tuset, *La Seu episcopal d'Egara, arqueologia d'un conjunt cristià del segle IV al IX* (Tarragona, 2009); Xavier Barral-i-Altet, "Culture visuelle et réflexion architecturale au début du XI siècle: Les voyages de l'abbé-évêque Oliba. 1^{ère} partie: Les premiers voyages avant l'itinéraire vers Rome," *Les cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 40 (2009), 177–96; Xavier Barral-i-Altet, "Culture visuelle et réflexion architecturale au début du XI siècle: Les voyages de l'abbé-évêque Oliba. 2^e partie: Les voyages à Rome et leurs conséquences," *Les cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 41 (2010), 212–26; Joan Duran-Porta, "The Lombard Masters as a 'deus ex machina' in Catalan First Romanesque," *Arte Lombarda* 156 (2009), 99–119; Salvador Alimbau, Antoni Llagostera, Elies Rogent, Jordi Rogent, *Pantocràtor de Ripoll. Portada romànica del monestir de Santa Maria* (Ripoll, 2009); Eduardo Carrero, "La Seu d'Urgell, el último conjunto de iglesias. Liturgia, paisaje urbano y arquitectura," *Anuario de Estudios medievales* 40 (2010), 251–91; Marta Serrano, Esther Lozano, *Els capitells historiatats del claustre de la catedral de Tarragona* (Tarragona, 2010); Xavier Barral-i-Altet, "Religious architecture during the Romanesque period in Catalonia (11th–13th centuries): Assessment and critical notes," *Catalan Historical Review* 4 (2011), 27–51; Manuel Castiñeiras, *El tapís de la creació* (Girona, 2011); Montserrat Pagés, *Pintura mural sagrada i profana, del romànic al primer gòtic* (Barcelona, 2012); Carles Mancho, *La peinture murale du haut Moyen Age en Catalogne (IX–X^e siècle)* (Turnhout, 2013).

We call Early Medieval and then pre-Romanesque architecture that which covers the period between the Late Antiquity and the truly Romanesque Middle Ages; an art whose roots lie in the creative expansion of the architectural forms of the early Christian epoch and that prepared and led towards the monumental Romanesque forms. The surviving structures in Catalonia enable the reality of pre-Romanesque architecture to be situated. However, the surviving religious architecture from the Early Medieval period in Catalonia is often the simplest, which benefited from the persistence of practical building methods in a rural context that became habitual, like the *opus spicatum* or the vault built over a provisional arch of reeds. Dating many of these small buildings is not easy given the lack of information about the architecture from the documentary point of view. We often use the acts of consecration as a known date, although the date of consecration does not necessarily indicate the completion of the works. We often use the dates of acts of consecration as benchmarks, although they do not necessarily indicate the completion of the works in question. Traditionally, the act of consecration of the church of Santa Maria in La Seu d'Urgell on November 1st 839 by Bishop Sisebutus, with the consent of the Emperor Louis the Pious and Count Seniofred or Sunifred I of Cerdanya-Urgell has been cited, because this document mentions the parishes of the bishopric in the different regions (Urgell, Cerdanya, Bergueda, Pallars and Ribagorça), without information about their affiliation or the date of their building as such. Nevertheless, we now know that the document is a forgery written towards the end of the tenth century.²

Among the buildings from the transition between the Antiquity and the Middle Ages, the one that has generated most debate is the old episcopal see of Egara, nowadays Terrassa. In the mid-fifth century, the bishopric of Egara was developing independently from the one in Barcelona, and still existed as such during the seventh century. The latest information we have from the ancient epoch is about Bishop Joan, known between 683 and 693. In 1017, a group of personalities gathered in the presence of the Count of Barcelona, Ramon Borrell, and his bishop in the church of Santa Maria, perhaps to consecrate the churches again after the invasions. The building of Santa Maria was again consecrated in 1112 and Sant Pere, a century later. The main basilica, Santa Maria, has three naves separated by columns and capitals in which the three initial apses were replaced by a single apse that is square on the outside and semicircular inside. Some remains in the central nave with a funeral crypt have been identified and it has been proposed that the baptistery was located at the foot

2 Antoni Pladevall, *La documentació i l'art medieval* (Barcelona, 1998), pp. 23–31.

of the building. Regarding Sant Miquel, an external corridor with tombs would confirm the use of the building for funerals and burials.

From the ninth century, and especially during the tenth century, a pre-Romanesque art developed, one that anticipated and paved the way for the later Romanesque style. The surviving pre-Romanesque churches are generally small with a single nave, a square or polygonal apse on the east side linked to the body of the church by a triumphal arch. The arches often have almost a horseshoe shape that recalls Islamic and Mozarab art but is linked to a local building technique. The infrastructure of this art has to be sought in earlier constructions. Pre-Romanesque art in Catalonia perpetuated artistic customs from the Late Antiquity and also adopted the changes that derived from the new social and economic structures that spread around the country.

The pre-Romanesque urban and even rural religious buildings were often progressively replaced by Romanesque buildings. This hinders our knowledge what the great monuments and cathedrals built during the Early Middle Ages were, except through the known documents. There is little surviving information or buildings from the ninth century, but we do know that many of them were in poor conditions and were repaired in the tenth century, the case of Elne cathedral, or like the cathedrals of La Seu d'Urgell and Vic, were rebuilt during the early Romanesque epoch. During the ninth and tenth centuries, this building boom also affected the monasteries like Ripoll (935), Serrateix (940), Sant Pere de les Puelles in Barcelona (945), Santa Cecília de Montserrat (957), Sant Benet del Bages (972) and Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa (953). The latter shows us what the great abbeys and cathedrals of tenth-century Catalonia could have been like, dominated by rectangular naves, often three, always with wooden roofs. The apse, smaller and covered with a vault, presented, in the older epoch, the form elevated on the inside and square on the outside, but with time, plans would appear that were also elevated on the outside (Sant Quirze de Pedret) until reaching the semicircle (Sant Andreu de Sureda). The transept could vary from being higher than the nave (Canapost or Sant Pere de Terrassa) to lower (Sant Genís les Fonts or Sant Andreu de Sureda).

At the end of the tenth century and during the first half of the eleventh, Catalan architecture benefited from the economic growth, development of the rural economy and commercial production all of which stimulated the development of the medieval cities, still protected within their late Roman walls. As evidence of these evolution, there were large changes in the built landscape of Catalonia from the year 1000 on as new cathedrals and numerous parish churches, monasteries (not only in rural but also urban settings) and frontier fortifications were built, and old abbeys were rebuilt and refurbished. This

building boom reflected this new state of wealth and demographic growth in the landscape and the geography. The existence of strong architectural activity in Catalonia during the eleventh century, the urge to renew and modernise the edifices, is patent in the acts of consecration of monasteries like Ripoll and Cuxa, important examples and representative of the time, that hosted an intense building activity in those years. This was the environment where what would later be known as early Romanesque art was born and developed, moving between the inherited local building traditions and a greater openness to an expanding Europe.

This cultural renaissance is perceptible, on the monastic level, in places like Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa, under Abbot Garí, or the cities with the grand new cathedrals (Vic, Girona and Barcelona). In the monasteries, the policy of Cluny of grouping various abbeys under a single abbot made the renovation more effective. The great prelates of the year 1000 backed an active architectural policy and the commissioning of sumptuary works. However, the direct link between Cluny and Catalonia had fewer direct effects than in other places and few buildings were erected, with the exception of Sant Pere de Casserres or, depending on Moissac, Sant Pere in Camprodon and Sainte-Marie d'Arles. The panorama of relations of Catalonia with the exterior was completed with pilgrimages, especially to Rome and Jerusalem, but also, although less important, to Saint James of Compostela, the city of Le Puy, Sainte Foy de Conques or Saint Martin in Tours. The international relations had artistic repercussions and favoured intellectual contacts like announcing the death of a famous person during the journeys; when the mortuary rolls of the bishop and abbot Oliba, Count Wilfred or Bernard I de Besalu reached Aachen or Maastrich.

The framework of these international relations that explain the artistic tendencies includes contacts beyond the country's southern frontier with the world of the Caliphate. The consequence of these relations was the presence of artistic objects from southern, Islamic, origins in Catalonia. An important reference point was also the relations the county soon established with Rome. Journeys to seek privileges multiplied. An example is the one by Abbot Garí of Cuxa in 950 to obtain a bull of exemption for this monastery. The journeys gave direct knowledge of the artistic situation in the Italian centres. During the early years of the eleventh century, the monumental nature of the new churches with small ashlar and barrel vaults, like Sant'Abbondio in Como, was found in the innovative Lombardy. In general, the relations between Italy and Catalonia benefited from both being cultures in the Mediterranean geographic area with a classical inheritance and wide reach.

In the theoretical field, the early southern Romanesque art formed a geographic unit that stretched from Moldova and the Balkans to the north of the

Iberian Peninsula, passing through the south of France and reaching the north of Europe from the centre and north of Italy, through Provence, Catalonia and the valleys of the Rhone and the Saone. In all these regions, during the first half of the eleventh century, we find a style of architecture typified by building with small well-organised ashlar and a decoration characterised by the presence of arches incorporated into the walls or external vertical mural strips. In this period, we find Lombard prelates, like Guillem de Volpiano, who governed abbeys in both Normandy, and Burgundy or Italy. In Catalonia, in parallel to the patronage of small religious communities situated at strategic points, we also have great Benedictine centres with a well-structured work of evangelisation and colonisation of lands that went hand in hand with a planned process of architectural renovation.

Among the main surviving monastic churches is Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa. It had been favoured, with the abbot Oliba, by the extension works that had transformed and extended its chevet and added the towers on the ends of the transept. At the end of the tenth century, the plan of the church in Cuxa followed that of the basilica with three naves, the central one longer and twice as wide as the side aisles, with a very pronounced transept and a chevet with five very deep apses. The main one was square, while the lateral ones, two on each side of the high altar, were closed in semicircles. The three naves, the transverse nave and the main apse probably all had wooden roofs and the lateral naves with vaults. In general, despite the presence of the transverse nave, a unitary, basilican, spatial conception dominated, with a sense of continuity of the naves. This was a sequence rooted in the Roman world also present in the building techniques and the elevated form of the arches, and that configured a classical style architecture previous to the one that would arrive from the north of Italy at the beginning of the eleventh century. This is the building that, with transformations, we see nowadays.

The basilica of Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa is a perfect example of the link between two epochs: the pre-Romanesque and the Romanesque. During the first third of the eleventh century, the building housed early Romanesque art forms in the area of the apses. According to the sermon by the monk Garcies (Garsias) written c.1038 (or in any case around 1040–1060), and that offers us a great deal of data about the history of the monastery, Oliba's architectural reforms were carried out within a full and coherent iconographic and decorative programme, thus illustrating the high cultural level reached in Cuxa, given the correspondences of each element with the exegesis of the holy books. Among the main novelties of this monastery were the subterranean chapel of the Marededeu del Pessebre, with an annular vault that recalled the architectural tradition seen in numerous late Romanesque mausoleums; over the

crypt there was a basilica dedicated to the Trinity. To the importance of Cuxa in the history of art, we must add the action of the man who was its abbot from 1008, Oliba, one of most significant personalities in the rise of Catalonia in the eleventh century, and around whom the renovation revolved. Within the framework of Benedictine monasticism, Oliba exercised a key role in the dynamics of Catalan Romanesque art. Also Ripoll, partially reformed by abbot Oliba, work that finished in 1032 and that affected the chevet, very characteristic of the early Romanesque; a basilica perhaps of five naves, heavily restored in the nineteenth century.

The best-known architectural phases in the churches in Cuxa and Ripoll are very close chronologically. The pre-Romanesque basilicas were consecrated in 974 and 977 respectively, and it is unlikely that the builders of these two great works consecrated three years apart were not observing each other while the work was progressing. The two early Romanesque basilicas, respectively consecrated in 1040 and 1032, were surely also the subjects of great debates especially as they had the same model. The decision to rebuild two buildings that were then little more than fifty years old was taken by the same man, Abbot Oliba, who, on the other hand, after becoming bishop of Vic, would not take long to take an analogous decision to rebuild and consecrate the cathedral of Sant Pere in 1038 despite the existence of an earlier episcopal complex that was still being used in 1017. In Ripoll, the current state of the research does not allow us to say whether the basilica of 1032 conserves anything from the structure of the earlier one. The problem is about how the extension was done, in other words, to what extent to which the existing structures were used.

Abbot Oliba (if we continue to think that was who took the decisions about architectural symbolism) would have decided to change from five apses (although we do not know if this was the number of apses in pre-Romanesque Ripoll) to seven, aligning them with the transept, which has been interpreted as a reflection of a clear desire for unity and a programme to reproduce in some way the plan of the chevet of the most prestigious monument of western Christianity: the basilica of Saint Peter's in Rome. The architecture promoted by Oliba was a specific example of the gaze towards Rome that obsessed builders in the Romanesque epoch. Oliba had been to Rome in person at least twice when he was still only an abbot, in 1011 and 1016. After becoming bishop of Vic, he surely returned to Rome more than once. In the abbey in Ripoll, around 1032, Oliba decided have a construction built that was inspired in the choir of the most symbolic temple of Roman Christianity: the basilica of Saint Peter. Six years later, in Vic, he had a circular church built dedicated to the Virgin Mary. With this, around 1038, he wanted to recall directly, the famous circular building that, after having been the prestigious Roman Pantheon, became a church

that pope Boniface IV had dedicated to the Mother of God and all the Saints on the 13th of May 609 with the name of Santa Maria ad Martyres. Oliba probably lacked the economic means to transport from Rome all the old material necessary to build his prestigious basilicas in Ripoll and Vic. Intelligently, for economic, but also probably ideological reasons, he used the local building methods, materials and master builders, serving a Roman idea and policy, which was expressed in the architectonic forms.

In the setting of the early southern Romanesque art, the role of the Lombard masters was special. Recall the historiographic use that has been made, a century later, of a contract dated in 1175 to cover the temple and other constructions in the cathedral of La Seu d'Urgell by a master called Ramon, known as Lambard. However, the tendency nowadays is to see "lambard" as a synonym for builder. One of the most emblematic examples of the early Romanesque is the collegiate of Cardona. According to the documentation, the primitive church of Sant Vicenç was founded in 981. It was part of a canonical complex inside the enclosure of Cardona Castle. The church has three naves with a transept at the eastern end with three semicircular apses. The central one is preceded by a wide presbytery, covered with a dome, that, seen from outside, seems to form a separate architectural block. The naves are divided into three bays, the middle one square, and a shorter one to the west, completed by an atrium on the ground floor. Inside, this configures an elevated choir, that served as a tribune for the castle's inhabitants, and that could be reached from the atrium or from inside the church up two spiral staircases at the northwest and southwest corners of the building. These stairs could have been part of twin towers on the western façade.

The central nave is covered by a barrel vault reinforced with transverse arches, while the covering of the side aisles is with groin vaults, apart from the western partial part between pillars that has a barrel vault. Then, the atrium or narthex is covered by five groin vaults, and the transept, by a barrel vault. Perhaps the most spectacular covering is that of the dome, which rises over four squinches. The presbytery, covered with a barrel vault, and the central apse, with quarter sphere vault, are decorated with niches cut into the wall, separated by half columns. All the presbytery and the apses are raised above the level of the church, to enable the crypt to fit underneath. This lowered space was where the relics of the martyrs were worshipped and the crypt of Sant Vicenç is a beautiful example with traits that can be dated from the eleventh century. The crypt is covered with groin vaults that rest progressively attached on the wall. The six columns are crowned by capitals, which go from square at the base of the arches to the circular in the shaft of the column, which shows the artistic aim of organic treatment of the forms.

The episcopal complexes, with two or even three churches and a baptistery, dominate the religious architecture of the cities from the Early Middle Ages. The main early Romanesque cathedrals were the three great buildings in Girona, Vic and Barcelona. During the Early Middle Ages, Barcelona was the most prestigious city in Catalonia, and was full of ancient monuments and an urbanism that continued the legacy of the late roman period. What little we know of the Romanesque cathedral consecrated in 1058 is some impostos nowadays on display in the Museum of the History of the City and the National Museum of Art of Catalonia in Barcelona. In Vic, there is still the crypt and the elegant bell tower abutting the new building as proof of how magnificent the cathedral must have been then.

Until a few years ago, the cathedral of Santa Maria in La Seu d'Urgell was the only example that enabled us to see what the Romanesque epoch episcopal complexes in Catalonia were like. In the Early Medieval Age, the main church was dedicated to Saint Mary, and the other two to Saint Michael (*Sant Miquel*) and Saint Peter (*Sant Pere*) and Saint Andrew (*Sant Andreu*). There was also a church dedicated to Saint Eulalia. After 1000, the church of Sant Miquel was again consecrated in 1035, as were Saint Peter and Saint Mary in 1040, after being fully refurbished. The works continued throughout the eleventh century, as shown by the surviving documents. The current building in La Seu d'Urgell is, however, a later building resulting from diverse episcopal and lay contributions. The contract that one Ramon, called Lambard, signed with the cathedral chapter in 1175 is a document of special importance that specified that this builder had to finish the work in seven years with the roof of all the building faithfully and without tricks and build both bell towers. Before the end of the century, the building had been completely covered, and work was advancing on the bell towers, but these would not be finished because of the halt to work in 1195 due to the conflict between the bishop and the viscount of Castellbo, who attacked the town and the cathedral. The cathedral in La Seu d'Urgell documents a general tendency in medieval religious architecture that progressively unified the place of worship and the churches in a single place.

Until a few years ago, Girona Cathedral was not well known for the periods prior to the Gothic. The period encompassing the Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages had not left identifiable physical traces and the following architectural phase, that of the eleventh-century cathedral (begun around 1010) is nowadays becoming known archaeologically. The cathedral consecrated in 1038 had a massive body to the west that we know about thanks to excavations and liturgical texts. It was symmetrical in form, with a central body as wide as the nave flanked by two almost square lateral bodies. This was a monumental complex that acted as an entrance tower, perhaps with two levels. The building

had a single nave, 11.5 metres in width on the inside and less than 20 metres high. It had a transept with two not very prominent arms and a little-known chevet but which as in Vic, is supposed to be made up of a single apse. In Vic, the transept was straight and the lateral apses were square, not very deep and integrated into the walls. Another important contribution from recent years is the excavations in front of the basilica of Sant Pere that have rediscovered the round church dedicated to Saint Mary, that Oliba consecrated in 1038 in a place where no earlier building of Christian worship had been found except for a necropolis. It was small building, 10.5 metres in diameter with an apse, that was rebuilt and extended in the twelfth century, promoted by Guillem Bofill from 1140, with an internal diameter of 25 metres and a small-format central crypt situated in the apse of the earlier basilica.

There are very few surviving examples of sculpture from the eleventh century and, in general, these are highly integrated into the architecture. From the first half of the eleventh century, with the capitals in Ripoll as antecedents, the surviving examples are eminently architectural, from monasteries and episcopal sees. They are worked in bevel and flat relief and their formal characteristics look to the past more than forwards. In the area of Roussillon, with a notable presence of the human figure, we find the lintel of Saint-Genis-des-Fontaines, a reference point given the date inscribed in the stone. It is a depiction of the *Maiestas Domini* cut in a flat style, without modelling and with formal characteristics that seem to place it as the heir in this century of the models of the Late Antiquity. This unique monument is complemented, also in Roussillon, with the façade of Sant Andreu de Sureda (Saint-Andre-de-Sorede), where a timid modelling is perceived in this tendency to replace the deep relief with a superficial cut with bevel. We should remember that remains of stucco have been found in Sant Sadurni de Noya with plant motifs similar to those of the Roussillon group; vestiges of a technique of decoration that was very widespread in the Middle Ages.

In the Emporda, the basilica of the monastery of Sant Pere de Rodes is one of the monuments that, beyond the architecture, has most focussed the controversies over chronology among art historians regarding monumental sculpture. The sculpted elements corresponding to the eleventh century are the capitals and cymatia inside the church that constitute the support for the triumphal arch, those of the arches that link the transept with the nave and on the arches that separate the central nave from the side aisles. Broadly speaking, the capitals are high quality, which helps to verify the presence of a good team of masons working in Catalan lands, and range from Corinthian to interlaced compositions, often with the presence of plant components, with bevelled cut.

In Catalonia, and all over medieval Romanesque and Gothic Europe, religious art was not the main element in the geographic landscape of monumental buildings, as the cities, with their streets, houses and palaces, the castles and fortifications, residences of all kinds and farm buildings, infrastructure and the utilitarian architecture in general dominated the landscape, at least in quantity, more than churches, although a larger proportion of the latter have tended to survive. For Catalonia, the eleventh century was a moment of economic prosperity that soon led to a significant rise in population and, consequently, reconstruction at all levels. This period was no brusque change from the previous century, but rather saw the gradual incorporation of the innovations that appeared. This was the time, as we have seen, when the first examples of sculpted ornamentation, previously rather scarce, appeared on religious buildings and gradually gained ground in the artistic production of the early twelfth century. During the second half of the eleventh century, the great works that had begun before 1050 were finished, and the process of renovation and reconstruction of ecclesiastic and monastic buildings that had characterised what is still called early Romanesque art continued.

Also in the second half of the eleventh century, the monastic orders, especially the canonical ones, began to expand in Catalonia beyond the great moment of Benedictine monasticism. The indisputable basis for this phenomenon, which began especially in the monastery of Santa Maria in Vilabertran, was the canonical reform of Saint Ruf of Avignon. Saint Olegarius, who had been its prior, promoted the reform in Catalonia when he became bishop of Barcelona, and when re-establishing the metropolitan of Tarragona. The fact that many parishes were reconverted into canonicals or priories undoubtedly favoured the renovation of the architecture.

This profusion continued during the twelfth century, when new religious orders that would build their own edifices moved into Catalonia. In 1110, the order of the Hospital arrived, followed in 1130 and 1150 by orders of the Temple and the Holy Sepulchre. The master builders who had worked in Catalonia in the early decades of the eleventh century in the renovation and reconstruction of the great sees had established a school and continued working, either on the continuation of these works, or on the reform of other churches that had previously not undergone this process. This reconstruction movement spread from the counties in the eastern part of the territories to the Pyrenean areas, and then to the western part of the country, to the lands recently conquered from the Muslims. In some cases, this renovation meant building from scratch, demolishing the earlier structures, but, on other occasions, the existing building was only partly modified.

From the first trials in the first half of the eleventh century, a typology of building with a basilican floor plan had been taking form. This had one or three naves, the central nave covered with barrel vaults, and half-barrel vaults over the side aisles. The model of a chevet of three apses with a transept open to a single nave was increasingly less frequent, although some late examples were built, like the church of the monastery of Sant Joan de les Abadesses. The pillars, which were usually rectangular, gradually evolved towards a cruciform shape, and received the decorative arcades of the apses and the vaults through attached little columns. The transverse naves were more or less evident. Blind arches were the main decorative element of the external aspect of the building, especially of the apses, but these gave way to attached columns and corbels under saw-tooth friezes. The bell towers also maintained the earlier style, but became increasingly svelte.

Thus, the country opened up to new lands, ones that had to be Christianised and reactivated economically and socially. The territory conquered from the Muslims was a virgin area for the building of cathedrals and monasteries, churches and chapels, or for the conversion of old mosques, as in the case of the Seu Vella in Lleida. To all this architectural effervescence, we must also add the great ecclesiastic renovation and reform movement of the end of the eleventh century, coming mainly from France and Italy, that led to the establishment of closer or looser links with monasteries abroad. Later, in the mid-twelfth century, what has been called the second Romanesque arrived. This was when the sculptural art began to make a deep mark, especially on the façades, doorways and tympanums of the basilicas and most notable urban and rural residences.

The medieval church cannot be understood without the presence of colour on its walls. It was from the end of the eleventh century and until well into the 12th that the ornamental work with a deep, large-scale iconography became an inextricable part of the new way of understanding and explaining the world. The decoration of the Christian temples, both inside and out, was still the message that the Church as an entity that organised the social life of the time wanted to transmit to the faithful. The figurative set depicted on the Romanesque façades was, in short, the synthesis of the Christian doctrine and how the Church conceived the world order.

All this logically implied very elaborate work in both thought and material execution. Moreover, if we add the fact that the great works of Romanesque architecture included hundreds and thousands of painted and decorated capitals, there is no doubt that this required planning the architecture and its decoration in a way that was very carefully thought out and elaborated.

Once the main iconographic lines had been defined by the person who had to conceive them, this evidently required that all the work of cutting and sculpting the stone and decorating the religious building had to be organised in the quarries and workshops and thus, had to be done independently from the building work. As soon as the building was finished, this became an integral part of it.

It must be emphasised that the Late Romanesque reached Catalonia in the full Gothic period. The Romanesque architecture between the middle and end of the twelfth century, in both Catalonia and other places, was characterised by the great sculpted façades that followed a strict architectural composition. All together, the façade of the church of the Monastery of Santa Maria in Ripoll is perhaps one of the most significant examples of this obstinacy for Rome; but not any Rome, rather the Rome of the Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages, the papal Rome of the imperial coronations, of the records and artistic grandeur. The early Christian basilicas and their iconography, the style of the sarcophagi, the monumentality of the triumphal arches of the Late Antiquity were aspects that the artists of the Romanesque mirrored and that have been preserved in the façades. The training of Romanesque artists must have emphasised observation of the works of the fourth century artisans and artists of marble. Thus, it should come as no surprise that the political obsession behind the iconographic programme displayed on the façade of Ripoll was dominated by the desire for triumph, of religious, military and spiritual victory, by the obsession for that distant world that was reflected in many elements of the iconography of the façades, of the doorways and tympanums. Between the spiritual and temporal, the Romanesque façade translated the language of the Church and political power, justifying these, imposing and defining them.

The twelfth-century façade we see today in Ripoll, built on the one from the eleventh century, and that had pictorial decoration, can exemplify an idea that is hidden behind many Romanesque façades and is visible in the same architecture as the frontispiece, which imitates the forms of the Roman triumphal arch almost perfectly. As a reflection of the power that used them, these structures responded to the express desire to insist on the triumphal idea that is also visible in large tympanums, like the one in Conques, for example. This is all linked to the idea of victory over death, of Resurrection, which is repeated directly or indirectly so many times on the façades built during the twelfth century.

However, beyond the idea of the triumph of Christ over physical death, of Resurrection, Ripoll offers an architecture on the facade that conserves original elements that are not always easy to find in all buildings from the same epoch, like the division of the faced into three levels, typical of the ancient triumphal arches, the little columns in the angle or other formal elements like

the socle. In Ripoll, emphasis must also be placed on the upper frieze that has depictions of heaven, the beyond, of the blessed, and two middle levels, that of the great personages and that of the epic and biblical stories, here depicted continuously. On the lower part, the figurations tie into the everyday earthly world, the land lived and suffered, in a contrast full of power and serenity.

Another lesson the façade of Ripoll offers us is the importance of its iconographic programme, presided over by the depiction of the divinity, who dominates and organises the rest. Although the imagery sculpted on the façades always revolves around scenes from the Bible in various hagiographic and profane cycles, it also includes figures inspired in floral decorations and the collections from the Bestiaries. Regarding the former, there are abundant scenes from the lives of well known figures from the popular imaginary, like the lives of the Peter and Paul, Cain and Abel, or the stories of Jonas or Daniel that we see, for example, on the façade in Ripoll, motifs that, evidently, reflected the Church's religious ideas.

More than any other, the façade in Ripoll expresses the ideas of culture and power. Power, for everything stated above, and culture, because it presents the best summary of the two inseparable components of life at that time: the religious element and the lay, profane element. On one hand, it presents the personifications of the months of the year with their agricultural activities and the everyday life of the peasants, beside diverse scenes that show the preoccupation of the time with astronomy, geology, natural history or geography, for example (with the diverse visions of the physical world that they then had), on the other hand, remember that the religious depictions of the two Testaments, the Old and the New, also has to have a notable, privileged, place in that iconographic path that is both salvation and the ordered view of the world. Thus, among others, the twenty-two blessed ones appear, including the apostles and the prophets, as well as the symbols of the evangelists, some scenes from Exodus and the Book of Kings and, logically, in the centre, the figure of God in majesty surrounded by four angels and the twenty-four elders of the Apocalypse. The hierarchy power is expressed in is very clearly portrayed. Thus, it is no surprise that the figure that dominates the images is that of God, the divine majesty, who is shown blessing.

The city of Vic and its Romanesque cathedral were another important centre that received the spread of the sculpture workshops of Roussillon on the other side of the Pyrenees, especially through the sculpture of Ripoll, from where some sculptors and their working methods of spread to the Plain or Vic and where they settled to work on the cathedral. Numerous scattered fragments, with figures of apostles and prophets, show that the sculptural activity in Vic was concentrated on the façades of the main basilica of Sant Pere and

the round church of Santa Maria, which was in front of it. The twelfth-century doorway to the cathedral of Sant Pere in Vic was added to the church from the previous century and with the results of the excavations and the descriptions found, it seems that it was similar to the monumental façade in Ripoll, not only for the size of the work, but also for the formal composition that recalled the triumphal arches of classical architecture. From the surviving fragments, it seems that the iconographic programme was centred on the image of the Divine Majesty surrounded by angels, although it is not sure that this occupied the tympanum. All this leads us to think there was a depiction of the Last Supper on the lintel of the door, which also included reliefs of the apostles and prophets.

At the start of the twelfth century, at the same time as a notable development of the sculptural processes that enriched the façades of the churches, doorways and tympanums, the historiated cloister began to appear in monasteries and cathedrals. As the century went by, the sculptural art reflected on the capitals of the cloisters became characterised by a continuing story on a set of capitals, and a renovation of the formal values provoked by the contacts with Northern Italy or Southern France.

The cloister in Sant Cugat del Valles is an outstanding example of this tendency and a display of the different cycles based on the holy sources. At the end of the twelfth century, the cloister of the monastery was built in the same place as the earlier one, from the eleventh century, but that had no sculptures. The outline of galleries was the same, except the south wing, that had to be moved back, given that the church built in the twelfth century was slightly wider than its predecessor from the previous century. The outer walls of the old cloister were reused and are the ones we seen nowadays. There are two doors: a Gothic one on the southwest, and the other, at the level of the first bay of the basilica, from the late thirteenth century. Having the two doors facilitated movement between the church and the cloister area. This was almost square with a fountain in the centre. The galleries of the cloister are divided into three equal parts by two pillars, marked on the outside by stepped buttresses. Each section is made up of four pairs of red marble columns, with semicircular arches resting on them. The ceiling is made up of barrel vaults and the intersections between two vaults have cylindrical nerves on the edges.

The sculpted ornamentation on the forty-four capitals reflects a well-planned overall iconographic programme that develops continuously like a narrative frieze with decorative intervals. From the start, and at first glance, a great variety of subjects appear, ranging from scenes from the Old and New Testaments, passing through floral stylisations and wickerwork, to a large

number of real and legendary animals, like winged lions, basilisks or centaurs, to end with series referring to trades and professions. However, a more detailed analysis of the sculptural work on the capitals allows us to state that the decoration of the cloister was done in two phases. In first place, the sculpting started with the north, east and west galleries and later continued with the southern wing. In the first stage, the decorations are not historiated, but are vegetation with twisted stalks, palm leaves and motifs of the bestiary. It seems to be the work of sculptors from Girona who began the construction of the cloister 1190. From that time, we must highlight an inscription on one of the capitals right at the north end of the east wing, which shows a sculptor working. The activity in Arnau Cadell's workshop in Sant Cugat seems to have lasted from shortly before 1190 until 1207 and corresponds to documents left by Guillem de Claramunt in 1190. The existence of this signature must be seen in the context of the social recognition the sculptors enjoyed and the esteem they lavished on their works. In Sant Cugat, the person who signed the name of the team leaves us doubting whether Arnau Cadell was the head of a team of sculptors or the real master of works in the cloister.

The painting of murals and on wood done during the eleventh and twelfth centuries has become almost a symbol of Romanesque art. The pictorial decoration inside and outside the churches was very abundant and filled the buildings with colour. Among the best known are the paintings from Sant Climent and Santa Maria in Taull, considered masterpieces of Catalan Romanesque art. At the start of the twentieth century, the Romanesque mural paintings in small churches in the Pyrenees (Barruera, Vall de Boi) were in a poor state. They were saved and restored, and nowadays make up a unique set that can be admired in the National Museum of Art of Catalonia in Barcelona and the museums in Vic and Solsona, among others. In the church of Sant Climent in Taull, the paintings occupy the central apse and the left apsidiole. The internal part of the apse presents the seated figure in a mandorla of the Pantocrator, in the centre, presiding over the entire basilica. At his feet, we see the symbols of the evangelists, confined in medallions and placed symmetrically on either side; to the right, there is a seraph and a cherub. On the lower part there is the Virgin and the apostles: Thomas, Bartholomew, John the Evangelist, James and perhaps Philip. In front of this apse, there is a double triumphal arch, which is also decorated. The closest presents God's right hand with which he blesses the men; and the major arch that gives onto the nave is presided over by the Agnus Dei with seven eyes, as described in the Apocalypse. To its left, the parable of Lazarus and Epulon unfolds. Despite the interest and quality of these paintings, bear in mind that the most important sets are in the major monuments,

the great monasteries and the cathedrals in Barcelona, Girona, Vic or La Seu d'Urgell.

Scriptoria and libraries, sheltered in ecclesiastic or lay complexes, precisely in the epoch of the formation of a political and national identity, became the two key props for the cultural structure of the incipient Catalonia. In Old Catalonia, three areas appeared as cultural poles and centres for expansion for the artistic production of books. These were the episcopate of Urgell and its area of influence in Cerdanya, Pallars and Ribagorza, the Barcelona-Girona line with the see of Vic, and an area between Elne and Cuxa.

In this setting, the library of the monastery of Ripoll was undoubtedly the most important in Catalonia (without forgetting the very rich contents of the library of Vic Cathedral) and one of the most notable in the European cultural setting of the epoch. That is such that, according to an inventory from 1047, shortly after the death of the person who had been the main promoter, Abbot Oliba, a total of 245 codices are listed, a significant number, even in the European framework. Among the works from this important scriptorium, mention must be made of those that have been considered masterworks in the art of illuminating manuscripts in Catalonia: these include the Bible currently conserved in the Vatican Apostolic Library and the one from the monastery of Sant Pere de Rodes, kept in the National Library in Paris. The so-called Rodes Bible is comprised of four large volumes, written in three columns with Carolingian script. Its formulations show the existence of various hands and a greater number of variants both in the text and the illustrations, as well as a longer time to complete this. The Bible of Ripoll, (previously called *de Farfa* because of its alleged origin in this Italian monastery), is incomplete, with a single volume and an iconographic cycle that culminates with the New Testament. An illuminator would seem to have worked on both Bibles in a period between the end of the tenth century and 1050. In general, his production is characterised by a rich and narrative sense, by the ability to portray the characters in varied positions and postures, and by the concretion and details of the scenario where the action takes place, which confers individuality and historical character to each scene depicted. The historical and dynamic language, and perfect and tidy technique have been considered the culmination of the tradition of the ninth-century Carolingian miniature. The process of creating these bibles generally took a long time, with the incorporation of other craftsmen, at least three types of them, in a general line that would embrace from the second half of the eleventh century until the beginning of the following century. A second hand, for example, in the third volume of the Bible called *de Rodes*, would bring us closer to formulations we could consider more Romanesque,

with a clearer systematisation and synthetism of the images and scenes, that give them a more rigid and geometric sense. Gradually, the slow elaboration of the Catalan miniature reached the full Romanesque formulations, with more stereotypical forms and a reduction in the figurations and scenography to mere lines or decorative elements. This was basically the trajectory taken by the twelfth century Catalan miniature, while still referring to the connection of the latter with the formulae developed in part of the painting on wood.

When choosing a key work, an exceptional one among the surviving pieces of Romanesque art in Catalonia, I would like to propose placing our attention on the tapestry of the Creation in the Girona Cathedral. This was made during the last quarter of the eleventh century or the first of the following. Together with the Bayeux tapestry in Normandy, it is one of the few surviving large-format Romanesque pieces in Europe that reflect the production of embroidered fabrics. It is not clear what its function in the cathedral was, although it has traditionally been thought that it enriched the altar or the sides of the choir. Regarding the origin and its presence in the see, it initially seems probable that it was there from a very early date, perhaps even from its fabrication, although it is first mentioned on the occasion of the visit by the Emperor Charles on the 25th of January 1538. It was discovered at the end of the nineteenth century, damaged, and soon awakened the interest of scholars given its singular nature.

The embroidery is known locally as the Tapestry of the Creation, the subject that, at first sight, seems to be the focus of the iconography. However, an in-depth analysis points more towards an idea of the salvation, with the eternal contemplation, paradise, the Pantocrator, a Christ creator and organiser of the cosmos. The structure of the composition is a central circle within a square. The centre of the circle is filled by the Pantocrator, around which the scenes of the creation radiate in eight sectors, presided over by the evocation of the Holy Spirit on the upper part. In the spaces between the circle and the square, the four cardinal winds are depicted as genii with wings flying over a wineskin and blowing two horns. The whole composition is framed by borders, among which, on the badly damaged lower one, one can make out the history of the invention of the Cross. Finally, the two sides (one badly damaged) and the top have a series of boxes where the artist depicted the months of the year and the four seasons, presided over by the personification of the year in the central part of the upper stretch. The origins of the composition are classic, with many parallelisms with the mosaic pavements. Depictions like the winds, the year, the four seasons, the months, the rivers of Paradise and the scenes of the invention of the Cross, are, however, very well-documented elements of medieval iconography. It is a grand cosmic and

physical view of the world linked to religious elements. One of the iconographic parallels of the Girona tapestry is the mosaic pavement in San Salvatore in Turin, or the one on the dome of the Genesis in San Marco in Venice, from the early thirteenth century.

Going back to the religious architecture, in this case the latest Romanesque, together with the expansion of the Cistercians, the most notable in thirteenth century in Catalonia was the works on the Seu Vella in Lleida and the cathedral in Tarragona. However, the functional architecture of the Cistercian order had arrived, and from near the mid-twelfth century, this had begun to spread in Catalonia with the founding of great monasteries like Poblet (1149), Santes Creus (1160), or Vallbona de les Monges (1157). The functionality that had to preside the Cistercian buildings led to the development of new concepts of distribution of the architectural spaces and support of the roofs, using new technical solutions like the pointed arch. The Cistercian order played an essential role in defining a very characterised early Gothic, and contributed to Catalan architecture not only new technological solutions for the construction and support of the buildings, like the use of the pointed arch and the ribbed vault, but also, and especially, new ways of conceiving and structuring the architectural space. In this sense, the specific architectural elements were nothing more than the logical result of the fact that giving a determined shape to the building in function of necessities that were also very precise. If a monastery needed to create a unitary place for meetings (a chapter house, the naves of the church or the cellar), new architectural resources that enabled this had to be found. The Cistercian architecture was, above all else, functional, and thus able to develop a series of technical solutions, some of which would very clearly continue in the Gothic period.

In Catalonia, Romanesque architecture had a very late life and lasted until well into the thirteenth century. The type of architecture based on the synthesis between a Romanesque structural tradition and new architectural elements from the Gothic that had dominated the north of France from the 1145s spread mainly through the construction of parish churches in rural settings with very varied structural solutions. In general, thirteenth-century Catalan religious architecture is marked by the traditional substrate achieved during the second half of the twelfth century, for both the spatial and structural conception of the building and that is related to the visual aspect of the architecture itself. The type of floor plan did not vary while the use of pointed forms became generalised in the elevation of the churches, both in the arches and in the pointed barrel vaults. The only alteration to an architecture that continued the path drawn out from the previous century was often the introduction of differentiating elements from the ornamental point of view. In fact, structurally, the switch from the semicircular barrel vault to the pointed barrel vault

meant no substantial changes. On the other hand, in the thirteenth century, the pointed vault was not an innovative element if we take into account that it is found in the churches like Santa Maria de Colera, built in the early decades of the twelfth century. The most habitual plan was rectangular with a semicircular or plane apse, although the plan with a Latin cross and, more rarely, the basilican floor plan, were also used.

The sees in Lleida and Tarragona are the two great works of the thirteenth-century architecture, and represent the change from a fully Romanesque architecture, the typological schemes of which had been configured in the eleventh century, to an architecture that was beginning to use the Gothic language. This belonging to two different worlds was a consequence not only of the fact that building lasted until the fourteenth century, but also because at a time when the new technical solutions spread by the Cistercians were well known, the builders opted for an old typology, but one that was strongly consolidated and with clear results. They also share characteristics, such as (and especially), their unity, despite the possible variations in their construction and the combination of a Romanesque architectural substrate and elements that could be considered Gothic. On the other hand, we cannot forget that they became dynamising centres, not only for new constructions, but also as important sculpture workshops.

From what the surviving documents from 1167 show, the building of the new cathedral in Tarragona began at the end of the twelfth century, and the apse was finished by around 1184. The new building was consecrated in the first third of the thirteenth century, which indicates at least that the works were progressing well. As it was at the highest point of the old city centre, where the Roman temple and the provincial forum had stood, the plan of the building had to be adapted to a limited space, and that conditioned its shape, especially regarding the cloister. The church follows the habitual model of a basilica in a Latin cross shape, with three naves and a well-defined transept, like in Lleida, that is most elevated than the naves. The transverse nave is made up of three semicircular stepped apses, with deep presbyteries, notable among which is the central one, wider and deeper than the ones that correspond to the side naves. However, the arms of the transverse nave are not symmetrical due to the cloister abutting the north side, nor does the apsidiole on that side have the same proportions as its counterpart. The naves are covered with ribbed vaults with moulded ribs, and the cruciform pillars that hold these up have the habitual attached columns, here in pairs, that are the prolongation of the arches of the vaults.

The main nave in Tarragona Cathedral is higher than all the earlier examples in Catalonia. However, if the proportions can be considered Gothic, the concept of distribution of the volumes still corresponds to the Romanesque world, despite the size of the space. For example, it seems that a stepped

chevet with five apses was initially envisaged, but which the presence of the cloister prevented from being built, so that the plan of all the area of the transverse nave and the presbytery was changed. In contrast, the cruciform pillars indicate that the intention was probably to cover the naves with ribbed vaults from the start. Another exceptional element in Catalan Late Romanesque religious architecture is the large number of windows in the central apse, three on the lower level and seven on the upper. Despite their pointed shape, these windows still show an old kind of shape. On the other hand, the octagonal dome, which was built around the mid-thirteenth century, is also covered with ribbed vaults and supported by angular squinches, and is very similar to the one in Sant Cugat.

The same typology was used for the cloister in Tarragona as is found in the Cistercian abbeys from the late twelfth century, like Santa Maria de Poblet or Vallbona de les Monges. This is the type made up of four galleries, covered with ribbed vaults. The arcades that run all round the perimeter are on two levels: on the upper, as well as a frieze with polylobate elements, there are six large pointed blind arches with two rose windows or portholes at the central vertex. Inside these great arches, and conforming the lower level, there are groups of three rounded arches on double little columns.

In Lleida, there is the very original case of the Christian occupation of frontier areas that had been occupied by Muslims for a long time. The city of Lleida was conquered from the Muslims in 1149, and as a consequence of that, Bishop Guillem Pere de Ravidats consecrated the main mosque, which had been built in 832, to Saint Mary. There have been various hypotheses about the location of this first temple. It has been identified with the chapel of the king's castle or the Suda, or very close to the north wing of the cloister of the current cathedral, and on the same site, but smaller in size. It probably occupied part of the terrains where the new basilica was built from 1203 on. During the twelfth century, the intention was to build a new cathedral. This work began in 1203 with the left wing of the transept and continuing with the apsidioles of the right wing of the transept as far as the doorway of the Annunciation, finished around the 1215. Bishop Guillem de Montcada consecrated the new see in Lleida on the 31st of October 1278. The short time it took to build the Seu Vella in Lleida (1203–1278) seems to imply a very unitary building programme, with very few modifications. Two very distinct stages can be seen: the first, from the Romanesque epoch, up to under the roof, and the second, that was the re-adaptation of the Romanesque structure to be able to bear the Gothic vaults, the whole is balanced, proportioned, harmonic and homogenous. The hypothesis of a change of approach to the structure of the roof has been backed up by the archaeological interventions that have shown that the columns at the ends of the transept, the first part that was built, were already envisaged from

the foundations, a fact that leads us to think that ribbed vaults could have been planned from the start, instead of the barrel vault, as was thought.

Thus, the Seu Vella in Lleida represents the maturity of the Catalan Romanesque architecture, at a late moment, combining the earlier formulations with the new contributions with great coherence, without this breaking the unity of the project. At the end of twelfth century and beginning of the 13th, the West witnessed a unique artistic paradox in the history of art. Effectively, the revolution of a new style, the Gothic, had been underway for half a century in the north of France, while, to the south, on the Mediterranean, but also in other regions of Europe, a traditional style, the Romanesque, was undergoing a renaissance, a new life, not because of a lack of knowledge of the Gothic from the regions around Paris, but rather for the will of the promoters of those works. In Catalonia, the occupation or reconquest of the wide southern lands would continue and perpetuate the most splendid moments of art in Catalonia, the expansion of the Gothic to the south and the Mediterranean.

Territory, Power and Institutions in the Crown of Aragon

Flocel Sabaté

Between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, the Crown of Aragon appeared in a specific territory where all stakeholders —sovereign, nobles, bourgeoisie— built an identity that was reflected in an institutional structure which was, in turn, an adaptation to this specific Mediterranean context of the ideas on social and political cohesion circulating around Europe at that time.

1 The Territorial Construction

In the early twelfth century, the relation between the trading cities from Barcelona to Rome was close enough for them to enter into an alliance to conquer the Muslim-held island of Majorca in 1114. This success was short-lived, as the Almoravids reconquered the island for the Muslims the following year, but long enough for a *Liber Maiolichinus* to be written in Pisa as a reminder of the prowess of the Count of Barcelona, who was defined as a *Catalanicus heros*, accompanied *cum catalanensi*.¹ This Pisan chronicle is the earliest to reflect that the various counties in the northeast of the Iberian Peninsula were perceived as being close enough to each other socially, economically and culturally to merit a common coronym, Catalonia. The greatest power was held by the Count of Barcelona, who was also count of Girona and Osona and, in the same twelfth century, he absorbed the counties of Besalu (1111), Cerdanya-Berga (1117), Roussillon (1172) and Pallars Jussa (1192). All that remained outside his jurisdiction were the counties of Pallars Sobira, Empuries and Urgell, although they were under his orbit, especially the latter two. Moreover, under the terms of his marriage in 1137, the Count of Barcelona came to rule over the Kingdom of Aragon, with the royal title added to that of count of Barcelona in 1162. Aragon had until then been a small mountain kingdom and had incorporated Huesca, at the feet of the Pyrenees in 1096, but which then underwent

1 Carlo Calisse, ed., *Liber Maiolichinus de gestis Pisanorum illustribus* (Rome, 1904), pp. 27, 83, 116 and 123.

a spectacular expansion southward over Muslim lands in the twelfth century. The most northerly Muslim capital, Saragossa, was conquered in 1118 and in 1171, it added the royal city of Teruel, next to the mountains that separated Aragon from the Muslim coast. Thus, Catalonia and Aragon had become united and grew in the twelfth century, under the same sovereign from before the middle of the century. However, this unification process happened quite separately: there was a clear differentiation between the Aragonese and Catalan nobles, the specific urban dynamics and legal formulae were different in each territory.

In itself, this shows that the dynasty was not strong enough to impose unity and that the each respective societies did so in its own territory. In this context, there were no guarantees that the dynastic union between Aragon and Catalonia would last: various feudal agreements signed with Occitanian lords in the second half of the twelfth century specified that these links would be maintained with the person who ruled Barcelona, implying that this person, in the future, may not have coincided with the king of Aragon.²

The strong cohesion of the respective societies strengthened the nobles and bourgeoisie against the sovereign, who failed in his attempts to establish unified fiscal and jurisdictional power over all the territories, despite using the discourses of Romanist pre-eminence. Catalonia was a jurisdictional mosaic, the result of its origin as a sum of various counties in the ninth century, the advance over the frontier in the tenth and the feudalisation of the eleventh. In Aragon in the early thirteenth century, the old system of *tenencias* (holdings) led to tense feudal relation between the nobles and the monarchy. Roman law assisted both sides: *in alodio vel fevo* became a central discussion, because the nobles understood that the sovereign had no power in the places they held alodially and not as fiefs of the king. In fact, the same grace of God that upheld the king, also upheld the nobles: “*al molt amat et honrat et noble seyer en Jacme per la gràcia de Déu rey d’Aragó, de mi en Ramon de Cardona, per la gràcia de Déu vescomte de Cardona*”.³ Then, the vigour of the towns and cities reinforced a strong urban elite who immediately claimed to represent their own cities and towns. They all argued their position before the monarch. In 1225, the latter confirmed the *furs* (or charters) of the cities of Saragossa and Jaca while he

2 Pere Benito, Pilar Sendra, Carles Vela, “Corpus documental,” in *Tractats i negociacions diplomàtiques de Catalunya i de la Corona catalanoaragonesa a l’edat mitjana. I.1. Tractats i negociacions diplomàtiques amb Occitània, França i els estats italians 1067–1213*, ed. Maria Teresa Ferrer, Manuel Riu (Barcelona, 2009), pp. 358, 375 and 402 (docs. 80, 89 and 108).

3 “to the highly beloved and honoured and noble Lord James by the grace of God King of Aragon, from me Ramon de Cardona, by the grace of God Viscount of Cardona”. Francesc Carrerras Candi, *Miscelanea històrica catalana*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1906), 2: 494.

was being held by the nobles in the castle of Saragossa, and the following year, Aragonese nobles and cities were in agreement, putting pressure on, and even retaining, the king, for example.

In that context, the preparations for the conquest of Majorca, which began with the convoking of the Catalan Parliament or Courts in 1228, combined the appetites of the Catalan nobility and churchmen who participated in the sharing of the island, the city people who contributed finance and the sovereign, who knew the strategic position of the islands.⁴ The latter also wanted his full jurisdiction to be recognised to the extent that in 1230, James I titled himself *rex Maioricarum*. Ideological support came in 1229 when Gregory IX designated this mission as a crusade and once the conquest was underway, the Aragonese barons were invited to participate. The City of Majorca was besieged and then underwent a savage assault. The booty seized was auctioned, the city was divided into four sectors and the island was shared out in territorial lots. The surviving documentation about this distribution and, more recently, the recovery of the notarial records of the conquest,⁵ show the profound changes that took place on the island. The fate of the native population depended on their posture during the conquest. Stripped of their property, in general they were auctioned or submitted to varying degrees of enslavement, some serving on the land, others working in the urban areas. As in Catalonia at the time,⁶ Muslim slaves could earn their freedom by paying their owner progressive payments called *talles*. Many were baptised, other were not, which increased the presence of free Muslims a decade after the conquest. Many of these Muslims were not natives of the island but freedmen from the flourishing slave trade, especially from maritime privateering, and which would be continue throughout the medieval centuries.⁷ Part of the business included the right to *mostalafía*, with which a Muslim could return to his or her homeland.

The new settlers were of varied origin: Aragonese, some Castilians, Navarrese, Portuguese, Italians. However, the majority were from Catalonia. Many of these were from rural areas with which they initially maintained links and where

4 Robert Vinas, "La piraterie musulmane et les conquêtes de Majorque par les chrétiens: raison ou prétexte? Razzias, piraterie et passations de pouvoir autour de Majorque du XII^e au XIII^e siècle," in *Les ports et la navigation en Méditerranée au Moyen âge*, eds. Ghislaine Fabre, Daniel Le Blèves, Denis Menjot (Montpellier, 2009), pp. 287–93.

5 Maria Carme Coll, *El llibre Manual de Pere Romeu, notari public de Mallorca (1239–1243)*, PhD Dissertation (Palma of Majorca, 2012).

6 Flocel Sabaté, "Gli schiavi davanti alla giustizia nella Catalogna bassomedievale," in *Schiavitù e servaggio nell'economia europea secc. XI–XVIII*, ed. Simonetta Cavaciocchi (Florence, 2014), pp. 392–94.

7 Antoni Mas, *Esclaus i catalans. Esclavitud i segregació a Mallorca durant els segles XIV i XV* (Palma of Majorca, 2005), pp. 27–87.

they still held some property, while displaying a middle social level. Others belonged to bourgeois circles, which made it easy for them to form a ruling elite in the City of Majorca with members of leading Catalan families, especially from Barcelona, like the Tugores, Espanyols or Burguets. In 1235, the collective municipal organ acted as a *comuni et universitati Civitatis Maioricarum*. Majorca immediately became an important port of call, which stimulated not only Barcelonan and Provençal interests but also attraction for, and agreement with, the Pisans and Genoese. Meanwhile, in the countryside, while irrigated agriculture continued, a large part of the previous hydraulic infrastructure was lost, and the old rice and cotton fields gave way to vines, olives and cereal, of which the island became an important exporter.

However, James I did not achieve the royal dominance he expected as sovereign: in 1231, to reinforce the royal position in Catalonia, he had to cede Majorca feudally to Peter of Portugal, in exchange for the rights the latter held in the County of Urgell. The new lord acted with full jurisdictional power and even negotiated internationally, placing the island under papal protection in 1233 and establishing agreements with Genoa and Ifriqiyah. The island returned to the royal fold between 1244 and 1254, and finally, in 1256, James I bequeathed the government of the island to his son of the same name. Ibiza was not even conquered by the king, although the nobles involved respected royal sovereignty. In 1235, it was seized by Peter of Portugal, the Count of Roussillon and the archbishop elect of Tarragona, Guillem de Montgrí, who divided up the salt pans and the lands. In 1236, they emitted the *carta de franqueses*, a charter that granted fiscal benefits to new settlers. Meanwhile, Minorca remained under Muslim vassalage from 1231, until it was seized by Alfonso the Liberal in 1287 with a pact that led to a great auctioning of its assets and of its inhabitants as slaves.⁸

The islands, together with Montpellier and the Counties of Roussillon and Cerdanya, with their capital in Perpignan, were awarded to James I's namesake second son through his will in 1276, as the Kingdom of Majorca. The territorial dispersion and especially the subsidiary regime imposed by the sovereigns of the Crown of Aragon limited the viability of the kingdom,⁹ despite the

8 Jaime Sastre, "Notas sobre la población musulmana de Menorca (1287)," in *Les Illes Orientals d'Al-Andalus i les seves relacions amb Sharq Al-Andalus, Magrib i Europa cristiana* (ss. VIII–XIII), ed. Guillem Rosselló-Bordoy (Palma of Majorca, 1979), pp. 145–61; Jaime Sastre, "Breves notas sobre el saqueo de Menorca tras la conquista de Alfonso III (1287)," *Meloussa* 2 (1991), 49–58.

9 Antoni Riera, "El regne de Mallorca en el context internacional de la primera meitat del segle XIV," in *Homenatge a la memòria del prof. Dr. Emilio Sáez. Aplec d'estudis dels seus deixebles i col·laboradors* (Barcelona, 1989), p. 49.

good balance between the industrial power of the continental parts and the participation of the islands in international trade, with good relations with the Genoese and Pisans. It was finally recaptured by Peter the Ceremonious (1344–1349).¹⁰

Starting in 1232, the east of the Iberian Peninsula was conquered, also with papal support (Crusading Bull of 1237) and combining the interests of all the Aragonese and Catalan social agents. In 1238, the city of Valencia was conquered and in 1244, the Treaty of Almizra with Castile set the kingdom's border on the Mountains of Xixona. The distribution of the land attracted a varied population, but with a dominance of Catalans who made up between 60% and 90% of the inhabitants, depending on the area, followed by Aragonese (between 10% and 35%, although they were the majority on the areas bordering Aragon).¹¹ The Muslims lost their leaders and were forced into *morerias* (Moorish ghettos) and with ever fewer rights due to the Christian migratory pressure. That explains the revolts of 1247–1248, 1266, 1268 and 1276, that ended with the Moorish population concentrated on the land to serve the Christian owners and culturally shut in on itself. In fact, the returns from the land were put to the service of the urban market. The city of Valencia, with its own municipal government from 1245, became the capital of the area. In 1239, James I defined this as his kingdom of Valencia, with its own legal code, the *Costums* from 1238 and *furs* from 1271, and holding its own Parliament or Courts from 1261 on. In reality, the monarch was unable to avoid the growth of baronial power, to the extent that by the start of the fourteenth century, two thirds of the Kingdom of Valencia fell outside royal jurisdiction.

Various Occitanian troubadours, with a mix of hope, desperation and reproaches, insisted on remembering King James who, having defeated the feeble Muslims to the south, returned to defend what belonged to him north of the Pyrenees. These troubadours included Guillem de Montanhagol: “*S’eras lo reys non desreya (d’Aragon), trop fai d’estinensa, / e.l coms cui Tolzans s’autrya, / qu’ueymais non an plus revinensa; quar si l’us l’autre non ampara, / major saut penran encara / francès ses temença*”.¹² Still in 1241, James I tried to reach an agreement with Count Raymond VII of Toulouse and Henry III of England, but

10 David Abulafia, *A Mediterranean emporium. The Catalan kingdom of Majorca* (Cambridge, Eng., 1994).

11 Enric Guinot, *Els fundadors del regne de València* (Valencia, 1999).

12 “The abstinence of the king of Aragon will be excessive if he does not attack now, and the same could be said for everybody depending on the so-called Touloussan, because they will lose their salvation, given that whether ones do not protect each other, the French people will take a major leap forward”. Martín de Riquer, *Los trovadores. Historia literaria y textos*, 3 vols. (Barcelona, 1975), 3: 1430.

in vain. In 1243, the Treaty of Lorris linked Toulouse definitively to the French monarchy and, in 1244, French troops crushed the last remnants of Catharism at Montsegur and seized the last southern castles in 1255. Louis IX's two brothers entered into marriages that were decisive territorially. In 1246, Charles married the heiress to Provence and 1249, Alfonso was betrothed to the heiress of Toulouse. In 1258, James I ceded any possible right to Provence to the French king's wife and the same year, the Treaty of Corbeil set the French frontier on the borders of Roussillon, the Conflent and the Cerdanya.¹³

In the Peninsula, in 1264, James I had invaded the Kingdom of Murcia, south of Valencia, but did so to help to put down the Muslim revolt against his son-in-law, Alfonso X, king of Castile but despite significant numbers of Catalans having settled there, he returned the domain to Castile. However, in 1296 James II reclaimed and invaded Murcia, and this ended with the sentences of Torrelles in 1304 and Elche in 1305, that split off the eastern part of the kingdom, which became part of Valencia as *territori della Xixona* with its capital in Oriola.

In contrast, the attention commercial interests remained focussed on the north of Africa, especially with the Hafsids of Ifriqiyah (Tunisia), clearly a Catalan financial centre from 1240, but also from the following decade, with the Abdalwadites of Tlemcen, using troops and diplomacy against Castile in 1260 and against Louis IX's crusade in 1270. In 1291, the Treaty of Monteagudo set the River Muluya as the limit of areas of influence: to the west, with Morocco, for Castile, and to the east, with Tlemcen and Ifriqiyah, for the Crown of Aragon.

The Catalan trade with Ifriqiyah linked in with Sicily, the two places already having notable commercial and diplomatic links. In 1262, Peter, James I's heir, married Constance, daughter of Manfred, Frederick II's heir. When Manfred died at the Battle of Benevento in 1266, he left Sicily free for the Count of Provence, Charles of Anjou with papal support.¹⁴ After succeeding his father to the Crown of Aragon in 1276, Peter the Great entered into the Sicilian theatre, while also taking care of international diplomacy,¹⁵ and, after a year of preparation, in 1282, he was offered the crown by the islanders who had revolted against the French. In accepting this crown, he was seeking glory for himself,¹⁶

13 Christian Guilleré, "Le traité de Corbeil (11 mai 1258)," in *Le traité de Corbeil (11 mai 1258). Actes des journées d'études de Paris-Corbeil (14 et 15 mai 2008)* (Clamecy, 2009), pp. 293–340.

14 Claude Carozzi, "La victoire de Bénévent et la légitimité de Charles d'Anjou," in *Guerre, pouvoir et noblesse au Moyen Âge. Mélanges en l'honneur de Philippe Contamine*, eds. Jacques Paviot, Jacques Verger (Paris, 2000), pp. 138–45.

15 Attila Barány, "The English Relations of Charles II of Sicily and Maria of Hungary," in *Diplomacy in the Countries of the Angevin dynasty in the thirteenth-fourteenth Centuries*, eds. Zoltán Kordé, István Petrovics (Rome, 2010), pp. 64–69.

16 José Ruiz Domenec "¿Por qué la conquista de Sicilia?: Una lectura receptiva de Desclot?," in *XI Congresso di Storia della Corona d'Aragona sull tema la società mediterranea all'epoca*

although well aware that he was becoming involved in disputes between the Sicilian nobles and the rise of urban power (with some cities that were strong enough by mid century to want to be ruled “*more civitatum Lombardie et Tusciae*”) and where there was no lack of awareness of shared interests against the French.¹⁷ Moreover, in the international scene, this placed him squarely on the Ghibelline side against the Guelphs represented by Charles of Anjou and thus running the risk of finding himself excommunicated and with a papal interdiction. These together led to the French invasion of Catalonia in 1285, an intervention that involved the different groups in Catalonia and Aragon. Leading nobles who had accompanied the king were rewarded with castles, land and positions on the island. These were mainly for the second sons of Aragonese and especially Catalan lineages like the Alagon, Torres, Queralt, Sarrià, Bellpuig, Cartellà and Tallac families. On the other hand, Catalan trade benefited ostensibly. There had already been a presence on the island at least since 1238 and from 1257, there was a significant Catalan colony in Messina, and a lesser presence in Palermo, but this then grew, especially as a stopover on the routes to Africa and the Orient,¹⁸ with island of Malta also included, together with Gozzo. These segments of the population, both bourgeoisie and nobility, found a place in the Sicilian social structure.¹⁹

In fact, the Tyrrhenian was a sea of tension. At the end of the thirteenth century, trade and privateering highlighted the importance of Majorca and Sicily, with a mixture of Catalan, Genoese and Pisan interests, and showing the importance of Sardinian ports as bases. In this context, thanks to the Treaty of Anagni in 1295, the Pope Boniface VIII lifted the excommunication from the Aragonese king (the following year James was designated “*Sancta Romae Ecclesie vexillarius, ammiratus et capitaneus generalis*”) and in 1297 the kingdom of Sardinia and Corsica was created, thus returning to the enfeoffment of Sardinia that James I had requested from the Pope Clement IV for his son in 1267. In exchange, Sicily was to be ruled over by a secondary branch of the

del Vespro (Palermo-Erice-Trapani, 1982), eds. Francesco Giunta, Pietro Corrao, 4 vols. (Palermo, 1984), 4: 161–78.

17 François Bérenger, “‘Moranu li Franchiski!’ Les Vêpres siciliennes et leur traitement à travers les siècles,” in *Le massacre, objet d’histoire*, ed. David El Kenz (Paris, 2005), pp. 140–55.

18 Carme Batlle, “Les relacions entre Barcelona i Sicília a la segona meitat del segle XIII,” in *XI Congresso di Storia della Corona d’Aragona sull tema la società mediterranea all’epoca del Vespro* (Palermo-Erice-Trapani, 1982), eds. Francesco Giunta, Pietro Corrao, 4 vols. (Palermo, 1984), 4: 147–85.

19 Vincenzo d’Alessandro, “Dinamiche socio-politiche e apparati di potere. La Sicilia,” in *Le Italie del tardo medioevo*, ed. Sergio Gensini (Pisa, 1990), pp. 80–81.

dynasty, something that was not accepted on the island until the Treaty of Caltabellotta in 1302.

This meant that there were three Catalan royal houses: Aragon, Majorca and Sicily. These were, in the chronicler Ramon Muntaner's word, "*la mata de jonc*" ("the bunch of reeds"). The Crown of Aragon adhered strictly to the unity of Aragon, Valencia and Catalonia, with Majorca, as defined in 1319, assuming its indivisibility: "*quicumque sit rex Aragonum inde etiam sit rex regni Valentiae et comes Barchinone*".²⁰ The Catalan-Aragonese sovereign was the *cap i major* of the different houses within the same dynasty, which, if they acted jointly and harmoniously, could not be pulled up, like the simile of the bunch of reeds used by Muntaner.²¹

It was precisely this joint sovereignty of Aragon and Sicily that was invoked by the Almogavars who went to the east, initially serving the Byzantine Empire, but who ended up creating the duchies of Athens in 1311 and Neopatras in 1319. They were referred to as the "Catalan Company", and developed feudal structures, formed municipal councils, discriminated against the Greeks and protected Catalan and Sicilian commercial interests.²² Under the Sicilian realm and retaken by Aragon in 1379, Athens and Neopatras were lost in 1388 and 1391 respectively as the crown was unable to help them against other companies of arms.

The conquest of Sardinia took a whole century, beginning in the early decades of the fourteenth century with Genoese privateering, followed by the invasion of 1323 aimed at ending the Pisan presence and continuing with the various agreements and clashes with such barons as the Doria and Malaspina and communes or councils like the one in Sassari and that culminated in spectacular Catalan defeats in Aidu de Turdu in 1347 and Sassari in 1349. The Aragonese sovereigns had always enjoyed the support of the Arboreas, but in 1353, the latter not only changed sides but also came to head a Sardinian movement that rejected Catalan interference. The Arboreas ruled over the island during the second half of the century, and in 1364 and 1378, requested the royal title to Sardinia and Corsica from the Pope when the Catalan presence was restricted

20 Bienvenido Oliver, *La nación y la realeza en los estados de la Corona de Aragón* (Madrid, 1884), p. 38.

21 Ramon Muntaner, "Crònica," *Les quatre grans cròniques*, ed. Ferran Soldevila (Barcelona, 1983), pp. 933–34 [chapter CCXCII].

22 David Jacoby, "L'état catalan en Grèce: société et institutions politiques," in *Els catalans a la Mediterrània Oriental a l'edat mitjana*, ed. Maria Teresa Ferrer (Barcelona, 2003), pp. 79–101.

to such cities as Cagliari, Alghero or Longosardo as strategic ports and trading centres.²³

All this tension was accompanied by the growing conflict with Genoa, and in 1350, this led the Crown of Aragon to enter into the war between Genoa and Venice which saw a series of privateering attacks, mediations and permanent tension during the second half of the fourteenth century and beginning of the fifteenth. All this was mixed with the problem of piracy, especially by Muslims, whose effects even reached the coasts of Valencia and Southern Catalonia.

The death of Frederick III of Sicily in 1377 encouraged Peter the Ceremonious began to manoeuvre on the island. From 1392, this led to the action of the Martini (Martin the Younger who acquired legitimacy by marrying Mary, Frederick III's daughter, and his father, Martin the Elder, brother of John I of Aragon) and a very tense scenario, with nobles defending great baronial power, divided cities and a forceful royal strategy that included the beheading of Andrea Chiaramonte for *lese majeste* in 1392, the approach of the bourgeoisie and the building of a new *nobiltà cívica*.²⁴ Although the pacification of 1397 broke down the following year with the second aristocratic revolt,²⁵ the path was marked towards "*al ripristino dell'autorità della corona, allà rivitalizzazione degli uffici centrali, allà ricomposizione di un autonomo spazio demaniale*",²⁶ in a context of a strong growth of municipal power.²⁷

When Martin the Elder received the Crown of Aragon in 1396, Martin the Younger remained as king of Sicily and heir to the throne of Aragon. As such, in 1408 he intervened in Sardinia, where he won a resounding victory the following year at Sanluri. However, his immediate death from malaria left the Crown of Aragon without an heir, which favoured the entry of a new Castilian dynasty in 1412, under Ferdinand I. The new king worked to retain all the Mediterranean domains: holding Sicily although Martin I had awarded it to Martin the Younger's illegitimate son, Frederick, and renewing the papal concessions over Corsica and Sardinia. His son, Alfonso the Magnanimous, finally

23 Luciano Gallinari, *Les Judicats sardes: Un modèle de souveraineté médiévale?*, PhD Dissertation (Paris, 2009), pp. 220–372.

24 "civic nobility". Enrico Pispina, *Medioevo meridionale* (Messina, 1994), p. 160.

25 Pietro Corrao, "Per una storia di potere feudale nell'area madonita in età aragonese," in *Potere religioso e potere temporale a Cefalù nel Medioevo. Atti dell'Convegno Internazionale (Cefalù, 7–8 aprile 1984)* (Cefalù, 1985), p. 88.

26 "the restoration of the authority of the crown, the revitalisation of the central office, the recomposition of an autonomous state-owned space". E. Igor Mineo, *Nobiltà di stato. Famiglie e identità aristocratiche nel tardo medioevo. La Sicilia* (Rome, 2001), p. 254.

27 Fabrizio Titone, *Governments of the 'universitates'. Urban Communities of Sicily in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Turnhout, 2009), pp. 93–214.

managed to subjugate Sardinia in 1420. In fact, the institutional and social physiognomy of the island changed totally, with the introduction of feudal and municipal formulae, institutions based on a Catalan model, and intense Catalan colonisation. In contrast, the taking of Corsica was much more complicated, and led to a direct confrontation with Genoa that mixed humiliations for the Magnanimous, like the defeat at Ponza in 1435, with his growing interference in the fragmented Genoese mercantile aristocracy.²⁸

Starting in 1432, Alfonso attempted to conquer Naples, and finally did so in 1442. Adding Naples to his possessions meant he ruled a realm from the Tyrrhenian to the Adriatic and stretching over half the Italian Peninsula. From then on, the Magnanimous was not only one of the key players on the Italian stage but he also resided there permanently, never returning to the Iberian Peninsula. The conquest of Naples was not a marginal event, as traditional Catalan historiography continued to repeat until much too recently.²⁹ The sovereign being right in the middle of the Mediterranean meant intervention in Italy, receptivity to the humanistic tendencies, economic power through trade in wool, grain and control of shipping,³⁰ sensitivity to the prophecies that identified him as the defender of Christianity against the Turk and a gaze that fell on the other shore of the Adriatic. Alfonso ostentatiously displayed his territorial gains: on the keystones of the Great Hall he had built in Castelnuovo in Naples, there were the arms of Aragon, Naples, Durazzo (for Albania) and Jerusalem.³¹ Carlo II Tocco in 1437 and Leonardo III Tocco in 1452 were proud to receive recognition of Alfonso the Magnanimous for their domains in the Despotate of Arta, including the possessions in Epirus and around Corfu, and the family rights in different places in Greece. This really meant economic, cultural and institutional influence over this region from Naples,

28 Giancarlo Sorgia, *Sardenya i Còrsega des de la infeudació fins a Alfons 'el Magnànim'* (Barcelona, 1968), pp. 42–61.

29 “*La conquesta del regne de Nàpols va quedar, així, com un fet aïllat, desconnectat de l'època bona i de la història de la gran expansió*” (“The conquest of the Kingdom of Naples was as an isolated fact, disconnected from the good times and the history of the great expansion”). Mercè Aventín, Josep Maria Salrach, *Història medieval de Catalunya* (Barcelona, 1998), p. 159.

30 Coral Cuadrada, *La Mediterrània, cruïlla de mercaders (segles XIII–XV)* (Barcelona, 2001), p. 303.

31 Amadeo Serra, “‘È cosa catalana’. La Gran Sala de Castelnuovo en el contexto mediterráneo,” in *XVI Congresso Internazionale di Storia della Corona d'Aragona. La Corona d'Aragona ai tempi di Alfonso il Magnanimo*, eds. Guido d'Agostino, Giulia Buffardi, 2 vols. (Naples, 2000), 1: 1796.

which lasted until the Ottomans invasion in 1479.³² Fearing both the Turks and the Venetians, in 1444, the voivode of Bosnia, Stefan Vukcic, paid homage to the Magnanimous and declared allegiance, after which the king called for the return of the duchies of Athens and Neopatras. However, he was not in a strong enough position to accept the kingdom of Hungary when this was offered to him by the regent John Huyadi in 1447 against the Turks. This was followed by the Turkish victory in Kosovo the following year. Nevertheless, in 1451 Ramon d'Ortafa arrived in Albania and installed himself as viceroy in Kruje. There, he received the support of leaders like Scandenberg who trusted him to protect them from the Turks, minted money and displayed a theoretical title to Greece and Sclavonia. Momčilo Spremic' stated that the Oriental policy of the Magnanimous "*fu un misto di idee dei crociati e di mire alla creazione di un impero mediterraneo*".³³ The papal concession of the small island of Kastellorizo of the coast of Anatolia in 1450, until then a Hospitaller stronghold, was part of the preparation of the defence of Christianity against the Turks. However, although Kastellorizo would remain linked to Naples until 1522, it played no significant role. The Catalan commercial presence on the Adriatic coast and Eastern Mediterranean was coherent with this scenario and even contradictory, because Alfonso did not always pay heed to Barcelonan commercial interests in his military interventions, like those begun between 1449 and 1453 in Egypt and Syria, or when he interceded between the Turks and Cypriots.

On his death in 1458, Alfonso was succeeded in Naples by Ferrante or Ferdinand I, his illegitimate son, while the rest of Crown went to his brother, John II. When the latter's son, Ferdinand the Catholic, retook Naples by force in 1502, it was in a new context, that of the Hispanic monarchy that arose in 1479 from the union of the crowns of Aragon and Castile.

2 The Social Structure

The basic territorial structure of Catalonia was feudal in origin. The smallest jurisdictional unit was the bounded castle, a kind of district ruled from a castle and from which income was extracted by a pyramid of lieutenants (*castlans*) with the holder of the castle at its peak. The domains and rights of the lordships

32 Nada Zečević, *The Tocco of the Greek Realm. Nobility, Power and Migration in Latin Greece (14th-15th centuries)* (Sarajevo, 2014), pp. 116–30.

33 "it was a mix between the crusader ideals and the will for the creation of a Mediterranean Empire". Momčilo Spremic', "Alfonso il Magnanimo e la sua politica nei Balcani," in *XVI Congresso Internazionale di Storia della Corona d'Aragona. La Corona d'Aragona ai tempi di Alfonso il Magnanimo*, eds. Guido D'Agostino, Giulia Buffardi (Naples, 2000), p. 750.

the castles came under were very varied, especially because the autonomy that the Carolingian counties had achieved in the ninth century, the expansion over the frontier between the tenth and twelfth centuries and the establishment of feudalism in the twelfth century, had generated widespread fragmentation. Thanks to the territorial domains, nobles and barons could maintain the power to apply pressure that, in the second half of the twelfth century, with no further scope for advancing over the frontier, provoked significant discussions between rights and incomes, with attacks and predations on other domains.³⁴ This context, which coincided with the emergence of the urban centres and efforts to assert the monarchy, meant measures of protection for the peasantry, like their link to the land.³⁵ Feudalism also defined the castral districts of Aragon, especially with the spread of the new feudal forms in the twelfth century, which meant that a relation initially based on the extension of simple holdings obtained from the sovereign changed into the complex feudal system in the early thirteenth century.³⁶

It was not disorder but rather a feudal order. Thus, it had its values — solidarity, faith, honour and shame³⁷ — and intimidatory violence was part of it: “*los cavallers han privilegi de guerrear los uns ab los altres*”,³⁸ duly regulated, as with the Usatges of the County of Barcelona in Catalonia.³⁹ Simultaneously, in Aragon, the position of the nobility was codified, especially after 1247, with the Vidal Mayor or Fueros de Aragon,⁴⁰ which graded the nobles and barons just when the lineages were becoming entrenched not only under biological and legal criteria, but also ethical, under a Christian prism: “*los cavallers deuen haver en si IIII virtuts principals (...): saviesa, fortaleza, temprança et justicia*”.⁴¹

Roman law envisaged various degrees of domain that could be duly claimed by the great spread of jurists, even ones specialised in assisting the monarch,

34 Pere Benito, “Els ‘clamores’ de Sant Cugat contra el fill de Gran Senescal i altres episodis de terrorisme nobiliari (1161–1162),” *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 30/2 (2000), 854–86.

35 Paul Freedman, *Els orígens de la servitud pagesa a la Catalunya Medieval* (Vic, 1993), pp. 122–25.

36 Carlos Laliena, “La formazione dello stato feudale aragonese prima e dopo l’unificazione del 1137. Una desposta storiografica,” *Medioevo. Saggi e Rassegne* 25 (2003), 25–26.

37 Thomas N. Bisson, *Tormented voices. Power, Crisis and Humanity in Rural Catalonia 1140–1200* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998), 116–38.

38 “the knights have the privilege to fight against each other”. Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d’Aragó, Cancelleria, Papeles por incorporar, Cervera, f. gr.

39 Juan Bastardas, *Usatges de Barcelona. El Codi a mitjan segle XII* (Barcelona, 1991).

40 *Vidal Mayor*, ed. Gunnar Tilander (Lund, 1956).

41 “the knights must have 4 principal virtues (...): wisdom, strength, temperance and justice”. Pròsper de Bofarull, *Procesos de las antiguas cortes y parlamentos de Cataluña, Aragón y Valencia*, 8 vols. (Barcelona, 1850), 6: 36.

the municipalities or the barons.⁴² The help of jurists was necessary because the system of wealth was complicated, based as it was on everyone accumulating rights and incomes, often with widely-spread assets, and also often rights to a same property but with different levels of possession. The reiterated disputes included aggression against the adversary's lands and people. When "*lo castell de Besora fou envaït per Guerau de Puig-tornès qui entrà sos termes en cavalcada*"⁴³ in 1235, this was no more than an episode in this dynamic of private wars, in line with the legal concatenation under feudal formulae: reasons for discrepancies over assets, rights or jurisdiction, presentation of tort, challenges and clashes because of the rejection of the rights demanded, establishment of truces and, finally, agreement reached, generally through covenants or arbitrary sentences.

According to the Romanist discourse and with the backing of the *usatge* of Barcelona, *Simili modo*, the king could take advantage of these situations to attempt to impose his sovereignty by acting as the arbitrator. However, overwhelmed by the greater power of the nobles, he often found himself the victim of the same practices. Between 1220 and 1223, in a dispute with Nuno Sanç, Guillem de Montcada did not hesitate to attacking important royal towns, as he understood that the monarch had favoured his adversary. Depending on the rights under dispute, these relations changed: in 1248, the Viscount of Cardona and Pere de Berga united against the king, from whom they withdrew their allegiance. However, in 1252, with other interests in play, they clashed with each other. Thus, the nobles playing the same game also withdrew their allegiance to the sovereign, accusing him of having failed to fulfil various feudal obligations, either denying help or protection, not repaying debts or trying to impose demands they considered excessive. Very forcefully, a large part of the nobles and barons of Catalonia presented *deseiximents* or withdrawal of loyalty to the sovereign in 1259, 1274, 1276, 1278 and 1280. These were acts agreed between the nobles, who even held meetings to conspire, but in line with the feudal rules, they presented this individually: each of the barons addressed the monarch, reproached him for a specific case of failure to meet his obligations as lord and withdrawing their allegiance. Rather than wanting to break with the sovereign or change him, their intention was to force him into an agreement favourable to the interests of the barons. In 1278 and 1280, Peter the Great refused to negotiate and preferred to force the nobles to submit with the help of friendly

42 Gérard Giordanengo, "Les feudistes (XII^e–XV^e s.)," in *El Dret Comú i Catalunya. Actes del IIⁿ Simposi Internacional (Barcelona 31 maig-1 juny de 1991)*, ed. Aquilino Iglesia (Barcelona, 1992), pp. 67–139.

43 "the castle of Besora was invaded by Guerau de Puig-tornès who rode into its limits". Carreras, *Miscelanea històrica catalana*, 2: 461.

barons and municipal militia within the legality based on the so-called *usatge* of “Princeps Namque”. The situation reached a head with the arrest in Balaguer of some of the country’s leading nobles, including the counts of Pallars, Urgell and Foix.⁴⁴

In Aragon, the nobles had also been drawing closer to each other, often in disagreement with the monarch, from whom they demanded greater participation in decision-making, which they tried to justify through the tradition of the origins of the country, as they explicitly stated in 1265. The consideration that the expansion into Majorca and Valencia had generated few gains for the Aragonese nobility increased this tension, and this came to a head with Peter the Great’s campaign in Sicily.

In fact, if Peter the Great’s military victory in Catalonia in 1280 led to expectations that royal patrimony would increase at the expense of the defeated barons, the Sicilian crisis led to a totally different scenario. Peter required the support of all the nobles to face the coming French invasion that derived from the papal excommunication. In 1283, nobles and cities in Aragon coincided in their complaints about a king who they blamed for fiscal and military demands and his urge to interfere in municipal development.⁴⁵ Similarly, in Catalonia, urban authorities and barons came together to resist the pressure from the king.⁴⁶ He only managed to obtain the necessary support by accepting the demands of both the nobles and the towns and cities. The recognition of the notable powers of the municipal government also spread the following year to towns in Valencia,⁴⁷ and was added to the acceptance of the full jurisdiction of all the barons who alleged that they had enjoyed this over their domains. The royal officials could not even enter in the domains under the jurisdiction of other lords,⁴⁸ with all

44 Flocel Sabaté, “El poder soberano en la Cataluña bajomedieval: definición y ruptura,” in *Coups d’État à la fin du Moyen Âge? Aux fondements du pouvoir politique en Europe occidentale*, eds. François Foronda, Jean-Philippe Genet, José Manuel Nieto Soria (Madrid, 2005), pp. 483–98.

45 Carlos Laliena, “La adhesión de las ciudades a la unión: poder real y conflictividad social en Aragón a fines del XIII,” *Aragón en la Edad Media* 8 (1989), 399–413.

46 José Luis Martín, *Economía y sociedad en los reinos hispánicos de la baja edad media*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1983), 1: 239–54.

47 Enric Guinot, “Sobre la génesis del modelo político de la Corona de Aragón en el siglo XIII: Pactismo, Corona y Municipios,” *Res publica* 17 (2007), 170–74.

48 In 1283, the Parliament or Courts of Barcelona placed very clear words in the king’s mouth: “*volumus et ordinamus quod vicarii, procuradores aut alii oficiales quicumque sagiones seu bastonarii nostri non intrent amodo civitates villas, castra seu civitatum villarum aut castrorum terminos vel alia quacumque forum loca Catalonie que non sint nostra pro querimoniis, faticis, pignorationibus sive executionibus faciendis aut alia quacumque occasione causa sui*

that meant for the limitation of supreme royal power and the king's ability to raise taxes.

The Aragonese nobles continued united against the monarchs, and this led to open tensions like those of 1347–1348 with the support of the leading municipalities in Aragon and Valencia. In Catalonia at the start of the fourteenth century, when the Viscount of Cardona withdrew his allegiance to the king, the latter besieged Montfalcó Murallat. In a similar fashion, the king's son had to take Orpi by force in 1321 and, now king, he had to act against the castle of Odena in 1335. Throughout the century, the royal forces had to be mobilised, as in 1364 against the County of Osona or 1385 against the County of Empúries. However, in the fourteenth century, the tensions were mainly channelled through the meetings of the Parliament or Courts, held in Catalonia, Aragon and Valencia and also jointly after the Courts of Monzon in 1289.

Participation in the Courts was initially a sign of compliance with the monarch. Examples in the thirteenth century include James I imposing this on the Viscount of Cardona and Peter the Great on the Count of Urgell. In the opposite sense, in 1302, when James II summoned the Viscount of Castellbo to the Parliament or Courts in Barcelona *sicut alii barones Cathalonie*, the noble refused to do so arguing that there were no precedents of jurisdictional submission.⁴⁹ However, this weakness of the monarch converted the parliament into a place of pressures. This had been evident in the thirteenth century, but became absolutely explicit in fourteenth century, when Peter the Ceremonious required extraordinary funds to cover the different challenges he faced, and in practice, he only called Courts when he was forced to do so to demand financial help,⁵⁰ which he obtained after the corresponding negotiations.⁵¹ In this setting, the nobles had a common posture, warning against the power of the towns and shielding their jurisdictional powers as best as they could. The king recognised their full powers, even to the extent, in the Parliament or Courts held in Tarragona in 1370, of agreeing to share responsibilities with everyone who enjoyed the “*regiment de gents*”, in referring to “*tot Rey e tot Princip e tot senyor o tot hom a qui és comanat regiment de gents*”.⁵²

offici”. *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de Aragón, Valencia y Principado de Cataluña*. *Cortes de Cataluña*, 27 vols. (Madrid, 1896), 1: 143.

49 Charles Baudon de Mony, *Relations politiques des Comtes de Foix avec la Catalogne jusqu'au commencement du XIV^e siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1896), 1: 281.

50 Ramon d'Abadal, *Pere el Cerimoniós i els inicis de la decadència política de Catalunya* (Barcelona, 1987), pp. 254–79.

51 Manuel Sánchez, Pere Ortí, *Corts, parlaments i fiscalitat a Catalunya: els capítols del donatiu (1288–1384)* (Barcelona, 1997).

52 “every King and every Prince and every lord and everyone who has government over people”. *Cortes de los antiguos reinos* (1900), 3: 47.

The representative of royal towns and cities sat in these Courts and they had taken over the so-called *braç reial* ("Royal Arm"), which, despite its name, did not serve to transmit the royal will but was more a way for the bourgeoisie under royal jurisdiction to impose their will.

Despite the long debated doubts about the origin of the urban capital and the historiographic distrust towards rural investment by the urban elites, the documentation about Barcelona from the end of the eleventh century, or the new cities like Lleida seized from the Muslims in the mid-twelfth century, shines much clearer light on this. From the earliest times, real businessmen stand out. They used capital from varied origins to invest in all kinds of profitable businesses, notable among which were the acquisition of rural land and property speculation, especially taking advantage of the parallel growth of the cities. From an early stage, this generated both an urban elite and close links between the town and the region. This elite assumed a representativeness both internally, with arbitration and attention to such aspects as town planning, and externally, addressing the corresponding lord in the name of the town, for both common and private affairs.⁵³ The municipal governments recognised around the end of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries were adaptations of this reality by sovereigns who thus ensured dialogue on such aspects as taxation and defence. The king, always in need of credit, soon approached the urban elites, and, in fact, leading burghers from Barcelona and Lleida helped to organise the royal finances in this period.⁵⁴

The municipal groups based themselves on the notion of *universitas*, backed by the Romanist *ius gentium*.⁵⁵ This gave them a collective outlook that made them attractive, because the inhabitants of the towns thus represented benefited from fiscal and legal advantages and protection for their economic and social activities negotiated by their governments, from which they could receive legal and even armed support. The links between the region and urban investments, in a radius proportional to the power of the town, meant overlaps with the jurisdictional fragmentation. This led to impediments on the complaints derived from breaches of contract and even to protection for criminals in other jurisdictions. The municipal governments organised the population into increasingly well-armed urban militias to pursue criminals, or what was

53 Flocel Sabaté, *Història de Lleida*. 2. *Alta edat mitjana* (Lleida, 2003), pp. 355–66; Flocel Sabaté, "Barcelona. The building of a territorial and ideological capital," (*Viator*, forthcoming).

54 Thomas N. Bisson, *Fiscal accounts of Catalonia under the early count-kings (1151–1213)*, 2 vols. (Berkeley, 1984) 1: 104–21.

55 Walter Ullmann, "The Medieval Theory of Legal and Illegal Organisations," *Law Quarterly Review* 60 (1944), 288–89.

considered denial of justice in neighbouring jurisdictions. Thus, under the guise of protecting the rights of their people, the municipal governments deployed significant armed power, capable of forcing neighbouring barons into submission. In 1258, Barcelona was mobilised against the neighbouring barony of Cervello.⁵⁶ James I benefited from a similar posture by the towns of Western Catalonia in his confrontation with the Count of Urgell in 1276. Thus, it comes as no surprise that in his chronicle, he stated that the inhabitants of the cities “*són gent que Déus ama més que no fa als cavallers*”.⁵⁷

Joint action, the invocation of the common good and the discourse of protection for the populations have led to a historiographic idealisation of a municipal movement that would be harmonised and sensitised with the common good of not only the city but also the country.⁵⁸ The reality was quite different: inside each town and city there were different levels of fissures, which everywhere led to the same result: a very high level of social tension.⁵⁹ The tension was first and foremost between the groups who held power and the emerging ones who wished to take part in it. This encouraged various municipal reforms during the thirteenth century, and these gradually led to a tripartite representation in function of the economic power of the different trades (*mans major, mitjana i menor*). However, the seizure of power by the upper groups renewed tensions, especially concerning the distribution of the tax burden.⁶⁰ These confrontations were mixed with the group or band solidarity. These divided all towns into two bands or sides who offered protection to all their members grouped by anthropological links, by awarding “*ajuda e valença*” to “*amici et parenti*” while considering that “*amicus inimici, inimicus est*”.⁶¹ These bands involved all the estates, including the ecclesiastic and baronial sectors. Moreover, their presence in the towns and cities generated new tensions, as they benefited from the advantages of the city while trying to avoid paying tax

56 Flocel Sabaté, *El sometent a la Catalunya medieval* (Barcelona, 2007), pp. 79–80.

57 “are people who God loves more than he does the knights”. Jaume I, “Crònica,” *Les Quatre grans cròniques*, ed. Ferran Soldevila (Barcelona, 1983), p. 173 [chapter CDXCVIII].

58 Jaume Vicens Vives, *Els Trastàmars (segle XV)* (Barcelona, 1988), p. 32.

59 Flocel Sabaté, “Oligarchies and Social Fractures in the Cities of Late Medieval Catalonia,” in *Oligarchy and Patronage in Late Medieval Spanish Urban Society*, ed. María Asenjo-González (Turnhout, 2009), pp. 1–27.

60 Flocel Sabaté, “L’augment de l’exigència fiscal en els municipis catalans al segle XIV: elements de pressió i de resposta,” in *Col·loqui Corona, Municipis i Fiscalitat a la Baixa Edat Mitjana*, eds. Manuel Sánchez, Antoni Furió (Lleida, 1995), pp. 437–58.

61 Flocel Sabaté, “Les factions dans la vie urbaine de la Catalogne du XIV^e siècle,” in *Histoire et Archéologie des terres catalanes au Moyen Âge*, ed. Philippe Sénac (Perpignan, 1995), pp. 339–65.

on the basis that they belonged to these estates. Finally, the unity of society based on a realist Christianity led to a rise in fear of the punishment that could come from God due to the tolerance of the inassimilable minorities. This led to tighter restrictions on the Muslim minorities, who lived in Moorish quarters in Southern Catalonia and Valencia. However, even more notable was the worsening of relations with the Jewish minority. Accusations of supposed hatred of Christ were made against the Jews and there was a growth in hostility towards their economic power and social position.⁶²

By the end of the twelfth and start of the thirteenth centuries, the members of the urban elites were adding the notion of profit to their mindsets, as shown by the misgivings regarding *lucrum* displayed in their wills.⁶³ In the thirteenth century, Ramon Llull still distrusted the profits of the merchants and artisans, and advised them that, after having covered their debts to their children, they should make donations to the poor and end their lives in religious institutions, “*perquè orde de religió és de major sanctedat que no és l'orde matrimoni*”.⁶⁴ In marked contrast, a century later, Francesc Eiximenis dedicated great eulogies to the merchants and the wealth they generated. Referring to them, he had no doubt that “*nostre Senyor Déu los fa misericòrdia especial en mort e en vida per lo gran profit que fan a la cosa pública*”.⁶⁵ Certainly, encouraging profits and wealth of the subjects had become encrusted among the obligations of the sovereigns,⁶⁶ as Peter the Ceremonious stated in the Parliament or Courts in Monzon in 1362: “*als prínceps e a la cosa pública sia profitós que ls habitants et domiciliats dins los regnes e terres e principats d'aquells sien habundants en riqueses e en grans quantitats de monedes*”.⁶⁷ The municipal governments shared this opinion, sure that the help the public treasury required could only

62 Flocel Sabaté, “Les sources catalanes concernant l'ordre et le désordre,” in *Chrétiens et juifs au Moyen Âge: Sources pour la recherche d'une relation permanente*, eds. Flocel Sabaté, Claude Denjean (Lleida, 2006), pp. 91–136.

63 Flocel Sabaté, “El naixement medieval d'una identitat urbana i burgesa,” in *L'Edat Mitjana. Món real i espai imaginari*, ed. Flocel Sabaté (Catarroja-Barcelona, 2012), pp. 113–14.

64 “because the order of religion is of greater sanctity than the matrimonial order”. Ramon Llull, *Llibre d'Evast e Blanquerna*, ed. Maria Josepa Gallofré (Barcelona, 1982), p. 31.

65 “our Lord God is especially merciful with them in death and in life for the great profit they do for the public thing”. Francesc Eiximenis, *Dotzè del Crestià*, chapter CCCLXXXIX; *Lo Crestià (Selecció)*, ed. Albert Hauf (Barcelona, 1983), pp. 223–24.

66 Alain Boureau, *La religion de l'état* (Paris, 2006), pp. 266–70.

67 “for the princes and the public thing it is profitable that the inhabitants and those domiciliated in the kingdoms and lands are wealthy and have great quantities of coins”. José Maria Pons Guri, ed., *Actas de las cortes generales de la Corona de Aragón de 1362–63* (Madrid, 1982), p. 72.

be met adequately if the population owned enough capital, as stated by the representatives of Balaguer in 1376: “*com sie gran interès de la cosa pública que-ls singulars per sufragi e ajuda dels quals és sosteguda, mantenguda e exalçada sien ríchs e abmidats en béns temporals. Car per lo contrari com són emprobrits, la cosa pública pereix e decau*”.⁶⁸

The public thing and the common good thus required the wealth of their urban elites. This was the Christian market economy defined at the time, especially by Franciscan writers,⁶⁹ and that was spread around the Crown of Aragon by the famous author, Francesc Eiximenis. He insisted that, in line with the Aristotelian model, among the licit systems of government, the best was not the simple monarchy nor the aristocracy but rather the government of the people, as in German and notably, Italian cities: “*com se fa uy en Ytàlia*”.⁷⁰ This idealised view of the cities of Italy became a means of transmitting an attitude towards wealth, a civic sense of urban life and, notably, participative political positions, in accordance with the ideas that authors like Marsilius of Padua, Bartolus de Saxoferrato or Baldo de Ubaldis had been promoting since the thirteenth and into the fourteenth centuries.⁷¹ Very significantly, when the municipal governments negotiated the requested financial help with the king, they expressed that their concern was *el general* or *la terra*, while extending their preoccupation for the common good.⁷² Thus, a municipalist leadership of the estates was gradually imposed, and this marked a clear duality between the king and the land.⁷³ The network of urban capitals, as pyramids for the transmission of information and positioning, became pre-eminent, with notable weight for the three capitals: Saragossa, Valencia and Barcelona. These

68 “The public thing required that the inhabitants are wealthy and have goods, because it is supported by their contributions. Nevertheless, on the contrary if they are impoverished, the public thing perishes and decays”. Dolors Domingo, ed., *Pergamins de Privilegis de la ciutat de Balaguer* (Lleida, 1997), p. 138.

69 Giacomo Todeschini, *Richesse franciscaine. De la pauvreté volontaire à la société de marché* (Bologna, 2004).

70 “as they do in Italy”. Francesc Eiximenis, *Dotzè llibre del Crestià*, chapter DCIII; *Dotzè llibre del Crestià. Segona part*, ed. Curt Wittlin, 2 vols. (Girona, 1986), 1: 315.

71 Flocel Sabaté, “La civiltà comunale del medioevo nella storiografia spagnola: affinità e divergente,” in *La civiltà comunale italiana nella storiografia internazionale*, ed. Andrea Zorzi (Florence, 2008), pp. 117–39.

72 Élodie Lecuppre-Desjardin, Anne-Laure Van Bruaene, eds., *De Bono Communi. The Discourse and Practise of the Common Good in the European City (13th–16th c.)* (Turnhout, 2010).

73 Flocel Sabaté, “L’idéal politique et la nation catalane: la terre, le roi et le mythe des origines,” in *La légitimité implicite*, ed. Jean-Philippe Genet, 2 vols. (Paris, 2015), 2: 113–36.

claimed a leading position that had to include their recognition in protocol near the king and the power to handle information for the other capitals.⁷⁴ This was not, however, accepted willingly and contributed to testing the real strength of the respective forces in the Crown.⁷⁵

Such authors as Alain Boureau have emphasised the influence of the Franciscan spiritualists like Olivi in Italy, Provence and Catalonia in defining contractual ecclesiology between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. This contributed powerfully to dualist political formulations⁷⁶ that, moreover, perfectly matched the political situation marked by a weak king who required the help of the estates presented as representatives of the land. Certainly, the Franciscan spiritualists wielded great influence in the three royal houses (Aragon, Majorca and Sicily),⁷⁷ feeding the prophecies that confirmed the divine destinies of the house of Aragon in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.⁷⁸ In reality, the Church justified the prevailing worldview, with all that implied.⁷⁹ The preachers reminded the people of how dangerous it was to provoke divine wrath by tolerating those who disrupted the order designed by God, beginning with the infidels: “*que·ls juheus o moros estiguen en apartat, no entre christians; ne sostengats metges infels ne comprar d'ells virtualles e que esteguen tanquats e murats, car no havem major enemichs*”, as the famous friar Vincent Ferrer preached fierily.⁸⁰ Religion had to be, in any case, the reference for all the estates (“*offici de cavayler és mantenir e deffendre la sacta fe cathòlica*”,

74 Flocel Sabaté, “La mort du roi en Catalogne: de l'événement biologique au fait historique,” in *Faire l'événement au Moyen Âge*, eds. Claude Carozzi, Huguette Taviani-Carozzi (Aix-en-Provence, 2007), pp. 158–59.

75 Flocel Sabaté, “La organización central de la Corona de Aragón cismarina,” in *La Corona de Aragón en el centro de su historia 1208–1458. La Monarquía aragonesa y los reinos de la Corona*, ed. José Angel Sesma (Saragossa, 2010), pp. 412–15.

76 Alain Boureau, “Pierre de Jean Olivi et l'émergence d'une théorie contractuelle de la royauté au XIII^e siècle,” in *Représentation, pouvoir et royauté à la fin du Moyen Âge*, ed. Joël Blanchard (Paris, 1995), pp. 173–75.

77 José Maria Pou, *Visionarios, beguinos y fraticelos catalanes (siglos XIII–XV)* (Madrid, 1991); Francesco Santi, *Arnau de Vilanova. L'obra espiritual* (Valencia, 1987).

78 Martin Aurell, “Eschatologie, spiritualité et politique dans la confédération catalano-aragonaise (1282–1412),” in *Fin du monde et singes des temps. Visionnaires et prophètes en France méridionale (fin XIII^e–début XV^e siècle)*, ed. Marie-Humbert Vicaire (Toulouse, 1992), pp. 191–235.

79 Flocel Sabaté, *Vivir y sentir en la Edad Media. El mundo visto con ojos medievales* (Madrid, 2011), pp. 51–53.

80 “that the Jews or Moors should be separated, not among Christians; not have unfaithful physician nor buy virtuals from them and that they be closed off and walled in, as we have no greater enemies”. Vicent Ferrer, *Sermons*, ed. Gret Schib, 4 vols. (Barcelona, 1975), 3: 14.

as Ramon Llull wrote⁸¹) and the existence of the lords themselves depended ultimately in the divine will that charged them with defending and maintaining order, because attempting to apply justice without the legitimate lords went “*contra Deum et iustitiam*”, as the bishop of Vic stressed in 1345.⁸²

The Church was at the same time an estate headed by churchmen and their dependents and made up of a host of ecclesiastical institutions that, except in the case of the mendicants, controlled a host of assets and domains, many with full jurisdiction. In the discussion, promotion and defence of these domains, the Church had specific legislation, the *Constitutiones sacri concilii Tarrachone*, compiled from 1229 on, which it applied to the population with a very effective weapon, namely ex-communication and interdiction, that could inflict serious eternal consequences, especially when the sacraments were refused at death's door. From this position, the Church shared proximity to the monarch and also strong jurisdictional tensions, which were felt very intensely in the territory.⁸³

However, both the Church and the municipal powers accepted that there should be lords to apply defence and justice. This was explicitly justified in 1357 in Valls:

per ço són possats los senyors per les ciutats, per les viles e per los castells e ls són dades les rendes per tal que deffenen los lurs sotmesos e façen justícia dels malsfaytós, car hivaç seria espatgat lo món si los uns se podien pendre venjança dels altres que no sperasen senyor qui u fes.⁸⁴

While still holding this position, the king had to attempt to generate arguments and a discourse with enough support to exalt his position among the rising estates. Beyond invoking the general jurisdiction, which should endorse the supreme position of the monarch in accordance with the Romanist doctrine,⁸⁵

81 “the work of a knight is to maintain and defend the holy Catholic faith”. Ramon Llull, *Llibre de l'orde de cavalleria* (Barcelona, 1988), p. 173.

82 Tàrraga, Arxiu Comarcal de l'Urgell, pergami 1345.

83 Flocel Sabaté, “L'Església secular catalana al segle XIV: la conflictiva relació social,” *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 28 (1998), 775–84.

84 “This is the reason why there are lords for the cities, for the towns and for the castles, and why they receive taxes: because they defend their subjects and do justice over the evildoers, given that the world becomes immediately wrong when ones could take revenge on others, without waiting for the lord to do it”. Valls, Arxiu Comarcal de l'Alt Camp, pergamins, num. 84.

85 Flocel Sabaté, “Discurs i estratègies del poder reial a Catalunya al segle XIV,” *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 25 (1995), 617–35.

he also articulated the justification of his own dynasty within divine plans⁸⁶ and sought endorsements in its origins that could counteract the rise of the estates and the power of the barons. In 1353, Peter the Ceremonious ordered a search for the original document to enable him to reinforce his power in line with the terms under which it had been granted: “*nos vullam haver certificació de la donació feta al primer comte de Barchinona del dit comptat e del nom del rey de França que li dona, ne si era rey ho emperador e de les condicions en la dita donació contengudes e de lo calendari de aquella*”.⁸⁷

All this, however, should be articulated around specific institutional formulae that emerged precisely from the real state of power.

3 The Institutions of Government

The institutions the Crown was governed by are important and reveal the real state of power. This is especially so if we bear in mind that the Crown was a set of territories each united around its own society, where the different groups of power worked to assert their recognition. In this setting, the sovereign first needed to strengthen his own space and domain. In the last third of the twelfth century, the monarchs struggled to define and consolidate their domains, produce discourses that reaffirmed their position over the other lords, equip themselves with instruments and institutions to clarify and maintain the financial and jurisdictional bases in the territory and consolidate a court in their own service. The Romanist formulae facilitated agreements with the different holders of power, while enabling appropriate institutional development that allowed the judicial system and forms of government to be regulated, as in the thirteenth century.

The clarification of royal circles began with the reorganisation of the royal household. As shown by the ordinations of Peter the Great in the 1270s and culminating in 1337 with the Palatines laws of James III for Majorca, and which Peter the Ceremonious adapted as ordinations for the Crown of Aragon in

86 Flocel Sabaté, “L’invisibilità del re e la visibilità della dinastia nella Corona d’Aragona,” in *Il principe invisibile*, eds. Lucia Bertolini, Arturo Calzona, Glauco Maria Cantarella, Stefano Caroti (Turnhout, 2015), pp. 37–41.

87 “we wish to have certification of the donation given to the first count of Barcelona of said county and of the name of the king of France who gave it to him, or is he was king or emperor and of the conditions contained in said donation and of the calendar of that”. Antoni Rubió i Lluch, *Documents per l’història de la cultura catalana mig-aval*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1908), 1: 163.

1344, this was very complex. The king's service defined over two hundred assistants duly regulated by the steward and the chamberlain. At the same time, these norms defined an area of proximity to, and trust in, the sovereign, so there were increasing numbers of *domestici regis* and even *familiari nostro*, not because they fulfilled any specific function but rather as a social distinction that meant a specific legal status that was only really for the members of close royal circles.

Given that decision making was centred on the monarch, he had to begin by defining his own framework of work, as Alfonso the Liberal did in 1286: "*que cada dilluns sia lo senyor Rey en públic per oir totes demandes. Item que ls dimarts e ls divendres sia en consell los matins et a aquels dies se determinen los fets seus e els altres de la terra*".⁸⁸ What he especially needed were good counsellors. In 1289, the same king regretted some of his earlier decisions because "*non habuerimus consiliarios nobis et terre nostre utiles*";⁸⁹ although some years before, he had organised their work, "*que los consellers sien cada dia una vegada en conseyl en casa del senyor Rey*".⁹⁰ In fact, the importance of the monarch's closest circles explains the permanent pressure to form part of, or even to control access to it, as the Aragonese nobles reiterated in 1283 or as the Parliament or Courts sought from 1419. In any case, it was a setting for high civil servants, relatives, barons and influential churchmen, which protected the taking of possession of the monarch, who could always state that he had acted with "*grande y solemne consello*". However, once consolidated as an organ of government, the royal council became an entity with its characteristics and autonomy of action. It emitted reports on its own, such as to warn the governor of Majorca regarding the approach of enemy Genoese vessels or to inform the royal municipalities about the death of the King Alfonso the Magnanimous in 1458. In its autonomy, the royal council could be accused of poor government, as on the death of John I, in 1396, when the royal council that aided him while alive was repeatedly accused of abuses and corruption: "*la terra, sentint-se agreujada dels consellers qui eren estats seus, a consell dels quals en sa vida havia fets actes*

88 "that every Monday the King shall be in public to here all demands; and every Tuesday and Friday shall meet in council during the morning, dealing with the matters of him and of the land". Francesc Carreras, "Redreç de la reyal casa: ordenaments de Pere 'lo gran' e Anfós 'lo Lliberal'", *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras* year 9, 5/35 (1909), 105–06.

89 Ferran Valls Taberner, "Els sobrenoms dels reis Anfós II i Anfós III," *Estudis Universitaris Catalans* 9 (1915–1916), 103.

90 "that the counsellors be every day in council in the house of the lord the King". Carreras, "Redreç de la reyal casa," pp. 105–06.

injuts contra la terra, en tant que si aquell rey hagués més viscut, haguera mesa la dita terra a total destrucció".⁹¹

The best defence against any arbitrariness consisted in the concessions from the sovereign being well informed but also that these were well recorded. This was defined in 1288:

que.l senior rey no atorg a negú donació de seent menys de conseyls per zo que no pusca esser enganat e que orden que qualque persona vuila aver d.él donació o gràcia de seent o de gran quantitat de movent quie la deman per escrit ab lo qual escrit lo sènior rey aut son acort farà sa resposta.⁹²

Thus, a well-organised chancellery was required and this came about with the introduction of paper, which became known with the conquest of Valencia, and especially with knowledge of the administration of Sicily. These two elements favoured improvements in the organisation of the chancellery under Peter the Great and especially Alfonso the Liberal and his brother James II between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. This led to the definition of the functions and tasks of the chancellery, the creation of offices run by civil servants and the implanting of a system for classifying the archives that held all the documentation processed by the chancellery. By the start of the fourteenth century, there was a well-established royal archive in Barcelona, which was given its own specific legislation in 1384.⁹³

Peter the Great adopted the Sicilian model to organise the posts in the Crown of Aragon with which to manage and administer the royal treasury and incomes: the treasurer to centralise the different taxes and the expenses of the treasury; the general auditor (*mestre racional*) to control and audit the officials and the general bailiff to attend to the incomes from around the territory. In the 1290s, James II, also coming from Sicily, consolidated this structure, with

91 "the land, feeling aggrieved by the former consellers of the king, on whose advice in his life he had done unfair acts against the land, to the extent that, had that king lived longer, he would have led said land to total destruction". Vicent Josep Escartí, "El m. 212 de la BUV i les cròniques de Joan I, Martí l'Humà i Ferran I," *Caplletra* 15 (1993), 43.

92 "that our lord the king does not grant any donation to anyone without advice, to avoid being tricked and that anyone who wants to have a donation or grace from the king, involving important quantities, should request them in writing, to which writing our lord the king, once agreement is reached, shall give a response". Carreras, "Redreç de la reyal casa," pp. 105–06.

93 Rafael Conde, Delgado de Molina, *Les primeres ordinacions de l'Arxiu Reial de Barcelona* (Madrid, 1993).

the first two posts unified for all the Crown and the general bailiff adapted to each territory (Catalonia, Valencia and Aragon), to which there are added the royal procurators in the Kingdom of Majorca. On Sardinia, the same post was sometimes known as administrator of incomes and on others, general bailiff.⁹⁴ Beyond the attention to extracting territorial income, the general bailiffs organised sectorial inspections. Then, in the fourteenth century, the treasury prepared dossiers that were used by the governors or the king himself to demand remissions from certain territories, with power for the treasurer endorsed by John I in 1388 when he accepted that the treasurer could do "*composicions e remissions de qualsevol fets pertanyents al dit senyor e a la sua cort exceptat de mort*".⁹⁵ The post of the general auditor generated a great deal of activity because he had to audit all the accounts presented by all Crown officials who handled money, such as all the territorial jurisdictional officials.⁹⁶

From the thirteenth century, the monarch appointed high delegates to represent him in certain territories or during his absences. This became stabilised, especially after 1309, with the procurator general, defined as governor general after 1363, a post filled by the heir to the throne, which infused it with a more protocollary aspect. That is why the regional governors stand out. These were for Aragon, Valencia, Catalonia, the counties of Roussillon and Cerdanya and each of the Balearic Islands (Majorca, Minorca, Ibiza), as well as Sardinia, which was sometimes, as Martin I ordered in 1401, divided into two parts centred on Cagliari and Longudoro. As well as their political representation, each of these governors headed a specific and well-structured court⁹⁷ with a high impact on the territory.⁹⁸

The spread of Romanist formulae in the twelfth century homogenised the practice of the judicial systems, because all the courts of justice, both baronial

94 Carla Ferrante, "L'istituzione del bailo generale nel regno di Sardegna (1391–1401)," in *XV Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón (Jaca, 20–25 de septiembre de 1993). El poder real en la Corona de Aragón*, ed. Isabel Falcón (Saragossa, 1996), 1/3: 95–109; Alessandra Cioppi, "I registri di Jordi di Planella 'Batlle general' di Sardegna. Note sull'amministrazione di un ufficiale regio alla fine del XIV secolo," in *La Corona catalanoaragonesa i el seu entorn mediterrani a la baixa edat mitjana*, eds. Maria Teresa Ferrer, Josefina Mutgé, Manuel Sánchez (Barcelona, 2005), pp. 23–63.

95 "compositions and remissions of any facts belonging to said lord and his court except of death". Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Reial Patrimoni, Mestre Racional, reg. 386, fol. 9r.

96 Tomàs de Montagut, *El mestre racional a la Corona d'Aragó (1283–1419)* (Barcelona, 1987).

97 José Vicente Cabezero, *La curia de la procuración. Estructura de una magistratura medieval valenciana* (Alicante, 1998).

98 Flocel Sabaté, "La governació al Principat de Catalunya i als comtats de Rosselló i Cerdanya," *Anales de la Universidad de Alicante* 12 (1999), 21–62.

and royal, came to ensure the same guarantees, guided by jurists trained in the *Studia Generalia* (universities).⁹⁹ The districts of the royal officials overlapped the areas of baronial jurisdiction. In 1301, James II defined the network of royal vicaries (*vegueries*) over all Catalonia, although at the same time, he had to respect the numerous baronial powers.¹⁰⁰ In Valencia, jurisdictional action was linked to the procurations and later to the general governments,¹⁰¹ as in the Balearic Isles,¹⁰² while in Aragon efforts were made to implant a division into districts based on the officials known as *sobrejunteros*. On the ground, *merinos* and *justicias* applied the jurisdiction, as the vicars did in Catalonia, alongside the bailiffs empowered with looking after the royal incomes and rights.¹⁰³

Although the jurisdictional officials came under the respective holder of the jurisdiction, in practice, the local authorities exerted a great deal of influence, sometimes presenting the candidate and always putting pressure to guide this official's actions. Thus, in 1388, on entering into dispute with the vicar as the king's representative, Girona town council did not hesitate to reproach him that "*vos sots veguer a suplicació e requeriment de la ciutat*".¹⁰⁴ The person in charge of the jurisdictional district was thus seen as being more closely linked to the town where he was based than to the holder of the jurisdiction. Thus, in medium sized towns in dispute with the capital of the demarcation, the powers of an official like the vicar had to be transferred to the local subvicars (*sotsvegues*) or the bailiffs. Moreover, representatives of the municipal governments in places like Barcelona, Lleida or Tortosa had retained the power to exercise as juries in judicial processes. The efforts of cities and towns like Girona and Perpignan to retain the appeals courts for the region of influence were based on their municipal pre-eminence. The difficulties for independent action in towns that accumulated tension and fragmentation through the bands meant that the first step to solving this was to appoint external jurisdictional

99 Flocel Sabaté, "Justice, juridiction et pouvoir dans la Catalogne du bas Moyen Âge," in *Un Moyen Âge pour aujourd'hui*, eds. Julie Claustre, Olivier Mattéoni, Nicolas Offenstadt (Paris, 2010), pp. 278–82.

100 Flocel Sabaté, "La division territorial de Catalunya: les vegueries," in *Història, Política, Societat i Cultura dels Països Catalans*, 12 vols. (Barcelona, 1996), 3: 304–05.

101 José Vicente Cabezero, *Poder público y administración territorial en el reino de Valencia 1239–1348. El oficio de la procuración* (Valencia, 1998).

102 Pau Cateura, "La gobernación del reino de Mallorca," *Anales de la Universidad de Alicante* 12 (1999), 79–111.

103 Flocel Sabaté, "Corona de Aragón," in *La época medieval: administración y gobierno* (Tres Cantos, 2003), pp. 389–409.

104 "You are vicar thanks to the request and cure of the city". Girona, Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Girona, L.1.2.1, lligall 6, llibre 3, f. 17v.

officials. At the end of the fourteenth and the early fifteenth centuries, King Martin opted clearly for viceroys, designated expressly in places with special tensions.¹⁰⁵

In all cases, these local ways were part of a strong process of regionalisation, which meant that each territory became united within itself and separately from the others. In 1277, the king had to specify that on his progresses, knights should only accompany him in the territory they belonged to (Aragon, Catalonia, Valencia), without entering any other.¹⁰⁶ The central administration moved towards regionalisation. While James I had to designate a master of the royal house for his household in the Kingdom of Valencia in 1265, this measure became general in the fourteenth century. In 1387, John I established three vice-chancellors, intended to correspond to Aragon, Valencia and Catalonia, and took care that these were headed by natives of the region, as the Aragonese Parliament or Courts called for in 1461. The centralised posts followed this, beginning with the emblematic general auditor (*mestre racional*). As well as a specific one for Sardinia from 1356, he had stores in Valencia from 1393 where he retained all documents referring to Valencia, and a permanent delegate in the latter kingdom from 1410 on, who was recognised as a *mestre racional* in 1419, in a line that continued similarly in Aragon, Majorca and Sardinia. The storage of documentation was also allowed regionally, with an archive for Sardinia created in Cagliari in 1332,¹⁰⁷ a petition in 1348, extended in 1461, for Aragonese documentation to be deposited in Saragossa, and, as has also been mentioned, for Valencia in 1417, where two years later, the king referred to the "*arxiu del nostre reyal de València*".¹⁰⁸ In fact, the circles closest to the monarch were also regionalised: the royal council that accompanied the king was complemented, in a very clearly defined way in the fifteenth century under the Magnanimous, who lived in Italy, by royal councils in the capitals of each of the three

105 Flocel Sabaté, "Regnat de Martí I: el govern del territori i els bàndols," in *Martí l'humà. El darrer rei de la dinastia de Barcelona (1396–1410). L'interregne i el Compromís de Casp*, ed. Maria Teresa Ferrer (Barcelona, 2015), pp. 99–114.

106 Carreras, "Redreç de la reyal casa," p. 104.

107 Gabriella Olla Repetto, "La política archivística di Alfonso IV d'Aragona," in *XI Congresso di Storia della Corona d'Aragona sull tema la società mediterranea all'epoca del Vespro* (Palermo-Erice-Trapani, 1982), ed. Francesco Giunta, Pietro Corrao, 4 vols. (Palermo, 1984), 3: 461–79.

108 Carlos López, *Patrimonio regio y orígenes del Maestre Racional del Reino de Valencia* (Valencia, 1998), pp. 31–51.

territories: Valencia, Saragossa and Barcelona,¹⁰⁹ and also in Sardinia.¹¹⁰ The high judicial power that belonged to the king, and the Audience generated around him,¹¹¹ was very centred on Catalonia because similar work in Valencia was done by the court of jurists around the government and, in Aragon, by the so-called justice of the realm.

This regionalisation corresponded with a full assumption of regional identities. The discussion from the later decades of the thirteenth and throughout the fourteenth century about establishing the limits between Aragon and Catalonia was, as James II recognised, a problem between *los aragoneses* and *los cathalans*¹¹² and, in the General Courts, all the Aragonese estates protested in 1348 and 1371, when they considered that Aragon was being harmed, as did the Catalans when talking about defending territory they considered Catalan, leading to clashes between Aragonese and Catalans, like those in the General Courts of 1384.¹¹³

In 1363, with strong Castilian forces invading Aragon, the king called the General Courts to Monzon. It was agreed that the collection of the financial assistance the king requested and was granted would be managed by the estates organised in Diputations (*diputacions*) set up in Catalonia, Valencia and Aragon. This led to state taxation, with powers over the whole of each territory, something the king had never achieved.¹¹⁴ Moreover, setting up customs barriers between the three territories emphasised the individualised treatment of each.¹¹⁵ The extension of the fiscal needs and the immediate assumption of

109 Carlos López, "Notas en torno al consejo real de Valencia entre la Guerra de Castilla y la conquista de Nápoles (1429–1449)," in *XV Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón* (Jaca, 20–25 de septiembre de 1993). *El poder real en la Corona de Aragón*, ed. Isabel Falcón, 2 vols. (Saragossa, 1996), 1/2: 260–74.

110 Ana Maria Oliva, "Il consiglio regio nel regno de Sardegna. Prime ricerche" in *La Corona catalanoaragonesa i el seu entorn mediterrani a la baixa edat mitjana*, eds. Maria Teresa Ferrer, Josefina Mutgé, Manuel Sanchez (Barcelona, 2005), pp. 205–38.

111 Maria Teresa Tatjer Prat, *La audiencia real en la Corona de Aragón. Orígen y primera etapa de su actuación (s. XIII y XIV)* (Barcelona, 2009).

112 Angeles Masià de Ros, "La cuestión de los límites entre Aragón y Cataluña. Ribagorza y Fraga en tiempos de Jaime II," *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buena Letras de Barcelona* 21 (1948), 176.

113 Flocel Sabaté, "Changement de frontières et perception de l'altérité en Catalogne (XII^e–XIV^e siècles)," in *Annexer? Les déplacements de frontières à la fin du Moyen Âge*, eds. Stéphan Péquignot, Pierre Savy (Rennes, 2016), pp. 36–37.

114 Manuel Sánchez, *El naixement de la fiscalitat d'Estat a Catalunya (segles XII–XIV)* (Vic, 1995), pp. 129–34.

115 José Ángel Sesma, "La fijación de fronteras económicas entre los estados de la Corona de Aragón," *Aragón en la edad media* 5 (1983), 141–63.

political functions converted the Diputations into permanent delegations of the parliaments. They immediately took over the representation of their territories: "*l'offici de la Diputació representàs tot lo regne*", as was said in Valencia in 1409.¹¹⁶ In fact, convinced of their own identity, the representatives of Catalonia, Aragon and Valencia argued about who should be pre-eminent in both the titles and in acts of protocol.¹¹⁷

Assuming this representativeness, the territories claimed that they had to guide the Crown, as the representatives of Barcelona did on orientating the succession on the death of John I in 1396. They did so again in 1410. When no candidate of consensus was found on the death of Martin the Humane, they oriented the succession towards a great gathering of the representatives of the three territories, Catalonia, Aragon and Valencia. This was the same power that the representatives of Catalonia considered themselves to hold in 1462, when they dismissed the king for not having respected the agreements with the land, leading to a civil war that was really about sovereignty, whether this belonged to the people or the king.

This was no more than an adaptation of the typical *souveraineté partagée* of the Middle Ages that would clash with different political models in the modern centuries.¹¹⁸ However, having reached this point, it was also a way of leaving the Middle Ages with internally united territories, while showing the inability to unite the Crown of Aragon as a whole and of articulating the notion of the state above its sovereign. Thus, when this became part of the Hispanic monarchy in 1479, the king preferred to live far away and deal separately with the territories of the Crown of Aragon, while the discourses of representativeness from their elites could be ignored by a king who, with greater resources, no longer depended on the estates in the territories of the old Crown of Aragon.¹¹⁹

116 "the office of the Diputation represents all the kingdom". Maria Rosa Muñoz, *Orígenes de la Generalidad Valenciana* (Valencia, 1987), p. 401.

117 Flocel Sabaté, "El compromiso de Caspe: ¿Ruptura dinástica o modelo de estado?," in *Ruptura i legitimitació dinàstica a l'edat mitjana*, ed. Flocel Sabaté (Lleida, 2015), pp. 289–90.

118 Diego Quagliani, "La souveraineté partagée au Moyen Âge," in *Le Gouvernement mixte. De l'idéal politique au monstre constitutionnel en Europe (XIII^e–XVII^e siècle)*, ed. Marie Gaille-Nikodimov (Saint-Etienne, 2005), pp. 15–24.

119 Miguel Pérez Latre, "Pervivència i dissolució. La Corona d'Aragó en temps de Felip I (II)," in *Història de la Corona d'Aragó*, ed. Ernest Belenguier (Barcelona, 2007), pp. 214–18; Jesús Lalinde, "La disolución de la Corona de Aragón en la monarquía hispana o católica (sec. XVI a XVIII)," in *XIV Congresso di Storia della Corona d'Aragona. La Corona d'Aragona in Italia (secc. XIII–XVI)*, ed. Maria Giuseppina Meloni, Olivetta Schena, 5 vols. (Sassari, 1993), 1/1: 155–76.

The Beginnings of Urban Manufacturing and Long Distance Trade

Antoni Riera

Roughly between 1060 and 1280, a limited group of armed landowners imposed their order in Western Europe to the detriment of the lower rural social strata and public powers. This seigniorial order, which was based on a radical legal and economic inequality between people, would soon be proved to be quite effective, dynamic and innovative. It allowed population growth, a transformation in family structure and the mechanisms in framework of the workforce, economic development, a new model of state, progress in science and technology, and a change in food system. All these changes also took place in the original lands of the Crown of Aragon although, because of its peripheral character and the fact of bordering on al-Andalus, they occurred on a peculiar timeline and dynamic somewhat different to those of the regions situated north of the Corbieres. Taking into account that the rural structures show continuity with the feudal stages of the central Middle Ages, this study is focussed on the three most representative sectors of urban economics: textile manufacture, shipbuilding and long-distance trade.

1 The Contribution of Agricultural Growth to the Rise in Manufacturing and Trade

In a still profoundly rural world like Europe in the year 1000, decisive transformations were triggered in the country. It was in the rural world where the first signs of a shift in tendency were recorded, where a long stage of economic expansion was set off. Since the second third of the eleventh century, land clearing advanced at different paces all around. Feudal society —as explained in a previous chapter— rotated around agricultural production by peasants, who, besides looking after their own needs, had to give part of their harvest to the owners of the land they worked. The idea behind the system consisted of stimulating peasant families efficiently so they would obtain more resources from their plots of land than they needed to survive, with continuity of production and the payment of seigniorial taxes. All of this encouraged tenants to work harder in order to obtain a surplus they could exchange at local markets.

However, this widely extended effort would come up against technical or human limits which not everyone could overcome. Thus, feudal structures generated considerable commercial possibilities. The surplus that was not consumed by the lords, as well as the eventual surpluses obtained by the more active or better-equipped producing families, fuelled the market in exchange. The trading of farm and coarse manufactured products, initially focused on rural markets, soon stimulated regional routes, accelerated the circulation of money in the countryside and activated the urban artisans. In a second stage, the system went beyond the small regional settings and allowed interregional, and even international, relationships to develop.

The demographic growth, the boost in agricultural production and the recovery of trade provided cities and towns with more foodstuffs, raw material and a young workforce. Urban growth was sustained by the human and economic surplus from the nearby rural areas, not distant markets which, in contrast with Henri Pirenne's opinion, did not play a triggering role, just a contributing one. Gradually, and at different rates depending on the region, the urban functions of the transformation and exchange of products took the place of political and religious functions, which had been basic during the Early Middle Ages. However, the development of trade and manufacture is not sufficient to explain the process of urbanisation. Legal, political and cultural elements also intervened in the rise of the cities. Trade and manufacturing could only be successful where individual mobility, property or freedom of contract were unrestricted, where credit was tolerated. Modes of association and administration, status different to those in the countryside were required. These could only be applied by people with a mentality more dynamic than that of the lords and peasants.

This growth lasted until shortly after 1250, when the tilling of new lands everywhere stopped, as practically all arable land usable with the current technology was already being worked. After more than two centuries of farming, the thinnest and most arid soils had become unproductive. The chronic deficit in compost, the little power of ploughing tools and the neglect of the much-needed rotations—due to the urge to obtain tradable surpluses, seigniorial pressure or demographic excess—had broken the biological balance of the always precarious lands. Due to the drop in productivity, a growing sector of peasants saw that the exploitation of their farms no longer guaranteed food self-sufficiency, which forced them to consume less, look for complementary incomes and ask the lords for reductions in the census.¹ This tendency reached

1 Tomás López Pizcueta, *La Pia Almoina de Barcelona (1161–1350). Estudi d'un patrimoni eclesiàstic català baixmedieval* (Barcelona, 1998), pp. 301–12; Pere Benito, *Senyoria de la terra i tinença pagesa al comtat de Barcelona (segles XI–XIII)* (Barcelona, 2003), pp. 711–16.

its highest point—as shown in the following chapter—during the second decade of the fourteenth century, when a “period of difficulties” started in both Catalonia and the rest of the West.

2 The Origins of Textile Production and Trade

During the Middle Ages, the production and trade in textiles brought together a set of very special features. Along with shipbuilding and mining, it was the most highly capitalised economic activity and with its fast technological evolution, the institutional powers granted it (together with grain supplies) privileged attention for fiscal and social questions taking into account the amount of employment it generated. Having to work by calculating financial costs and earnings oriented cloth production promoters towards a simultaneously extremely fast and unprecedented search for quality and an increase in production: it induced them to adopt behaviour governed by the criteria of productivity. The new demands of the market could only be dealt with at reasonable prices, by employing technical progress and new production systems based on division and specialisation of the workforce within the company's framework, usually run by a teaseler, a weaver, a fuller or a non-specialised merchant. If we switch from economic history to the history of mentalities, we can observe that between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, weavers (one of the sector's most representative artisans) were the perfect example of the discontented, the subversive, those prone to heresy, “unstable, always prone to moving to another country, in a society in which wandering people were always looked on with suspicion”.² As a consequence, textile production is not only the best documented activity at the time, but also takes on symbolic value in the analysis of the general transformations of economic and cultural structures that Western Europe underwent³ from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century.

The awakening of the urban textile industry in the Crown of Aragon, and in the rest of Western Europe, is, as shown above, inseparable from the feudal demographic and economic growth, social diversification and technological renewal. Without an increase in the quality and quantity of the wool supply,

2 Jacques Le Goff, “Il tessitore nella società medievale,” in *Produzione, commercio e consumo dei panni di lana nei secoli 12–18: atti della seconda settimana di studio, 10–16 aprile 1970*, ed. Marco Spallanzani (Florence, 1976), pp. 7–18.

3 According to Stephan R. Epstein, “Manifatture tessili e strutture politico-istituzionali nella Lombardia tardo-medievale. Ipotesi di ricerca,” *Studi di Storia Medievale e di Diplomatica* 14 (1993), 56.

the recovery of the commercial exchanges between the city and the country, the extension of trade routes and the increase in the quality and quantity of the urban demand for cloth, weavers and teaselers would not have overcome their autarchic reflexes, moved beyond small-scale production, improved their tools and equipment or perfected their techniques. Although the initial stage of the wool industry in the Catalan-Aragonese Crown is the least well-known, current knowledge allow some chronological milestones to be established.

2.1 *The Pioneering Centres*

Before 1250, two inland cities, Huesca and Lleida, were already producing the only cloth, which for its volume of production and quality, had spread beyond the local area and into the trade routes that made up the internal market of the Crown of Aragon.

A large supply of wool, the probable influence of artisans from Upper Languedoc and a certain demand for local cloth incited by the bishop and chapter of the cathedral could explain why production in Huesca began at an early date, and which the building of textile mills on the rivers near the city in the late twelfth-century are good evidence.⁴ By 1150, the textile artisans must have reached a high technical level as some of their pieces were already valued in Barcelona. The prestige and demand for textiles from the capital of the Upper Aragon increased over the following decades: not only was cloth from Huesca specifically mentioned in the second version of the *lleuda* (a tax on the transport of goods) in Barcelona in 1222,⁵ and the vat in the same city was suggested in 1249 as a model for the dyers of Jaca.⁶ Around this time, eight weavers were documented in the act of creation of a brotherhood (*confraria*).⁷ However, this situation did not last long: during the last third of the thirteenth century, cloth from Huesca disappeared from the *lleuda* and toll registers of the Crown of Aragon. This absence seems to indicate that its area of circulation had become smaller, until becoming merely regional. In 1284, textile making in Huesca was only employing a small sector of artisans, some of whom (especially dyers) were Moorish.⁸ The drop in production was accompanied

4 Juan Francisco Utrilla, "Los orígenes de la industria textil en Huesca: la construcción de los primeros molinos traperos (c.1180–1190) y la creación de la cofradía de los tejedores oscenses (1239)," in *Homenaje a Don Antonio Durán Gudiol* (Huesca, 1995), pp. 809–11.

5 Miguel Gual, *Vocabulario del comercio medieval*, 2nd ed. (Barcelona, 1976), p. 61. The *lleuda* was an indirect royal tax on commercial transactions.

6 Utrilla, "Los orígenes de la industria textil," p. 812.

7 Utrilla, "Los orígenes de la industria textil," pp. 815–16.

8 Utrilla, "Los orígenes de la industria textil," p. 814.

by a significant increase in imports of Occitan cloth, a profitable business in which local Jews participated actively from 1290 on.

The reasons for the early development of textile production in Lleida are very similar to those of Huesca. In 1149, the city's industrial facilities were, by the right of conquest of the Andalusian city (*Larida*), in the hands of Ramon Berenguer IV of Barcelona and Ermengol VI of Urgell, who distributed a great part of it among the members of their armies and the big ecclesiastical institutions.⁹ Only the poorest and least qualified of the Muslim workers remained, concentrated in a little Moorish quarter. The attitude of the feudal conquerors towards the pre-existent population explains, at least partially, the fact that Islamic influence on new cloth making was not very big, and that they were practically restricted to dyeing¹⁰ and, perhaps, spinning.

Instead, the good economic offered by the conquerors attracted important numbers of Christian settlers toward Lleida. Many Occitans went there, most from Toulouse, and after settling there, became involved in trade and manufacturing, contributing experience, capital and trade links with their country of origin.¹¹ These factors intertwined to turn the wool sector into one of the pillars of the local economy around 1200, along with livestock raising and tanning.¹² The *Costums de Lleida*, compiled in 1227, showed this specialisation. These established concise rules for cloth workshops, and specified the quality of fibre permitted, the precise measuring units for wool and the length of cloth, as well as the size of the warpers and the loom combs, and the dyeing and stiffening techniques.¹³ These technical rules show that one of the preferred economic projects for the first generation of the wealthy bourgeoisie was to standardise cloth measures and raise its quality in order to adapt it to the demand of the local and domestic markets, as well as for its later introduction into the long-distance trade circuits. However, it seems as though only the most innovative sector of local artisans was able to apply the new technical regulations, which probably did not penetrate into many workshops.

9 Flocel Sabaté, *Història de Lleida*. 2. *Alta edat mitjana* (Lleida, 2003), p. 283.

10 In 1282, Muḥammad, a Moorish dyer, was among those using the vat: Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Cancelleria, reg. 59, f. 122 r.

11 Manuel Lladonosa, *Història de Lleida*, 2 vols. (Tàrraga, 1972), 1: 314; Sabaté, *Història de Lleida*. 2, pp. 300–01, and 339.

12 Antoni Riera Melis, "La draperia a la Corona catalanoaragonesa durant el segon terç del segle XIII," in *Jaume I. Commemoració del VIII centenari del naixement de Jaume I*, ed. Maria Teresa Ferrer, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 2013), 2: 771–74.

13 Joan J. Busqueta, Pilar Loscertales, eds., *Els costums de Lleida* (Lleida, 1997), p. 95.

From the start of the thirteenth century, the notarial documentation in Lleida showed a growing number of weavers, *bruneters* (weavers specialized in a black cloth called *bruneta*) and dyers in workshops clustered around La Magdalena and Sant Joan, next to the Noguerola River. Its dyeing vat became a technological reference for the rest of the textile centres in the Crown of Aragon: in 1259, along with the one in Huesca, it was already proposed as a model for the professionals in Jaca.¹⁴ During the last quarter of the century, the dyers of Lleida must have already been working with unprocessed local cloth, other cloth from the surrounding areas and raw white cloth from Occitania. Once the cloth had been dyed, it was stiffened at the cloth mills around the neighbourhood of La Magdalena and Sacosta, such as Gardeny, and along the Alcarras and Fontanet canals. Lleida's best-known cloths were the "*picots*", "*brunetes*" and the white cloths of Gardeny and La Magdalena. As the production increased and quality improved, the area where it circulated, initially limited to the Segre valley and the surrounding regions, expanded. During the second third of the thirteenth century, cloth from Lleida was already being sold throughout the Crown of Aragon, as it was added to the list of the main taxes for circulation of products (*lleuda*). In Vilafranca de Conflent, from 1270, it was compared to those from Narbonne and Montoliu.¹⁵ It had become a reference for quality in the main textile centres on the Crown, as they produced replicas, *panni natura draperie Illerde*.¹⁶ The adoption of the Lleida model must have contributed to the mobility of artisans, who emigrated from large industrial cities to settle in medium size towns, where, in a less competitive environment, they shared their technical knowledge. For instance, in 1257, Guillemà of Lleida, resident of Baga, promised to teach Maria de Pardinella how to weave "straight" cloth.¹⁷

The lesser Catalan clergy, artisans and peasants had their best clothing made with cloth from Lleida, which for its quality, started to conquer some external markets. Since approximately 1265, it was being exported to Marseilles, Sicily and Palestine,¹⁸ which also proves that it had reached prices able to bear

14 See notes 6 and 42.

15 Julien-Bernad Alart, *Privilèges et titres relatifs aux franchises, institutions et propriétés communales de Roussillon et Cerdagne depuis le XI^e siècle jusqu'à l'an 1600* (Perpignan, 1874), p. 303.

16 Already mentioned in the *lleudes* of Valencia (1243) and Burriana, Morvedre, Xativa and Biar (1251). Gual, *Vocabulario del comercio medieval*, pp. 72 and 93.

17 Josep Serra, *Baronies de Pinós i Mataplana. Investigació als seus arxius*, 3 vols. (Barcelona, 1950), 2: 363.

18 Charles Verlinden, "La place de Catalogne dans l'histoire commerciale du monde méditerranéen médiéval," *Revue des Cours et Conférences*, 1st series, 29 (1937–1938), 597; Josep

the freight charges generated from long-distance trade. Textile development in Montpellier was also quite early. After a learning stage, which was characterised by the production of coarse cloth for the local market, the teaselers and dyers came to master their trade in such a way that, from 1220 on, traders would start trusting them to take care of the dyeing and stiffening of the high and medium quality pieces, which were brought there by French merchants from Flanders and the surrounding regions, as we will see below. *Escarlats* (famous local scarlet cloth) from Montpellier were already appreciated beyond the borders of Occitania, around 1250, although it does not appear in documents in the Crown of Aragon. This cloth was dyed and stiffened in supra-family businesses controlled by the local bourgeoisie.¹⁹ The beauty of its colour was the result of long years of perfecting a complex and autochthonous technique, which was thoroughly regulated, from 1265 to 1295, in order to avoid fraud.²⁰ Since approximately 1260, the technical renewal extended to cloth workshops, where medium quality products started to be produced that were already able to bear the costs of dyeing and stiffening of lower quality than for the scarlet cloth. Due to its affordable prices, this new kind of cloth enjoyed great acceptance everywhere, especially among the lower classes. However, the ones from Montpellier, such as the scarlets, have left no trace in Catalan documentation prior to 1300.

2.2 *The Rise Up of Urban Textile Production in Catalonia and Aragon*

Since 1250, textile production had been increasing everywhere, in both Catalonia and Aragon. Its progress, regarding Catalonia, has been documented in northern (Perpignan, Puigcerda, La Seu d'Urgell, Gosol, Baga, Sant Daniel, Banyoles, Ripoll, Girona, Vic and Barcelona) and in southern areas (Igualada, Valls and Pont d'Armentera).²¹ However, the level of development reached in each of these places varied greatly, which leads us to focus our analysis on the most dynamic ones.

Maria Madurell, Arcadi Garcia Sanz, *Comandas comerciales barcelonesas de la Baja Edad Media* (Barcelona, 1973), pp. 164–65 and 167–68.

19 Kathryn Louise Reyerson, "Le rôle de Montpellier dans le commerce de draps de laine avant 1350," *Annales de Midi* 94 (1982), 17–40.

20 Alex Germain, *Histoire du commerce de Montpellier* (Montpellier, 1861), pp. 254–55 and 299–301.

21 Miguel Gual, "Orígenes i expansió de la indústria textil lanera catalana en la Edad Media," in *Produzione, commercio e consumo dei panni di lana (nei secoli XII–XVIII)*, ed. Marco Spallanzani (Florence, 1976), p. 514.

During the second quarter of the thirteenth century, Perpignan became one of the main nodes of the French trade network with the Crown of Aragon. From north of the Corberes, Occitan, Flemish and Northern-French cloth arrived in the capital of the Roussillon; from south of the Pyrenees, besides spices and other oriental luxury items, came wool and leather, livestock and saffron.²² Some local businessmen, after a short training period, started going to the fairs in Champagne and also other main trade centres in Catalonia, the Balearic Islands and the Kingdom of Valencia. The growth in foreign trade generated enough wealth to produce the first accumulation of capital among merchants, and increased the purchasing power of the lower and middle classes. The drapers, merchants specialised in selling foreign textiles, were among those who benefited from this. From 1255 on, the increase in the local demand for coarse cloth revitalised the activity of workshops and in quick response, some merchants started offering to finance weavers, teaselers and dyers in exchange for a share in their profits.

During the third quarter of the thirteenth century, the looms and outside the city walls, where land was more affordable, increased greatly. Weavers settled on the Saint-Jacques hill and in the town of Saint Mathieu.²³ Activities such as dyeing and fulling the cloth, which required a lot of water and open spaces, were concentrated in the low-lying area next to the northern wall of city.²⁴ That is where the "Dyers" village arose. The teaselers built their workshops in a neighbourhood within the town walls, between the Vernet gate and square of the *Rics Homes*. During the second quarter of the century, textile mills had been built throughout several points of the plain of Roussillon, such as Vernet and Saint-Esteve.²⁵ Such optimism among teaselers and dyers (as in Lleida) should not only be related to the increase in local production; it also responded to the fact that raw white cloth from the surrounding towns, the secondary textile centres was starting to pass through the city's tanneries and

22 Antoni Riera, "Perpiñán, 1025–1285. Crecimiento económico, diversificación social y expansión urbana," in *En las costas del Mediterráneo Occidental. Las ciudades de la Península Ibérica y del reino de Mallorca y el comercio mediterráneo en la Edad Media*, eds. David Abulafia, Blanca Garí (Barcelona, 1996), pp. 16–26.

23 Pierre Vidal, *Histoire de la Ville de Perpignan depuis les origines jusqu'au Traité des Pyrénées* (Paris, 1897), p. 171; Laure Verdon, "Le quartier Saint-Mathieu de Perpignan: un exemple de la croissance d'une ville au XIII siècle," in *La ciutat i els poders. Actes del Col·loqui del 8è Centenari de la Carta de Perpignan*, eds. Louise Assier, Raymond Sala (Perpignan, 2000), pp. 99–107.

24 Vidal, *Histoire de Perpignan*, pp. 169–71.

25 Riera, "Perpiñán, 1025–1285," pp. 35–36.

vats. In 1296, the *lleuda* in Cotlliure established a specific tariff on “*tota bèstia qui port draps per tényer o per adobar a Perpenyà*”.²⁶

The simultaneous rise in the supply of fibre and demand for fabric, due to the expansion of transhumant livestock and profit from trade, also created a favourable economic scenario in Puigcerda during the third quarter of the thirteenth century, due to the rise in the wool industry. Although historical documentation is not very expressive about the matter, it seems that *borra abrata* and *sargil*, coarse cloth for the lower classes, were typical of the initial stage.²⁷ In 1270, local *panni agnorum* appeared in documentation and only ten years later it could already be acquired during trade fairs by merchants from around the Cerdanya and the surrounding areas.²⁸

In very few decades, the wool workshops became the second pillar of the economy of Puigcerda. From the 305 documented apprenticeship contracts between 1260 and 1300, 112 were for teaselers, 78 for weavers, 6 for dyers and 4 for wool archers.²⁹ The economic importance of those two first jobs was accompanied by an early corporativism. By 1294, they already had their own inspectors (*upraposisti ministerii*) and regulations (*consuetudines*),³⁰ of which, unfortunately, we only have some few notarial references, which are not enough to understand how they were chosen nor written.

Somewhat different was the start of textile production in Barcelona, which did not experiment noticeable progress until the first half of the thirteenth century. In the privilege of Peace and Truce of 1200, Peter the Catholic already placed weavers under his direct protection together with other artisans.³¹ Some representatives of the incipient urban bourgeoisie made large investments, between 1228 and 1260, to build textile mills in the *Rec Comtal* (the count's canal) and the Lower Llobregat.³² In 1255, the royal bailiff, hearing complaints from

26 “Anyone who is carrying cloth for dyeing or finishing to Perpignan”. Gual, *Vocabulario del comercio medieval*, p. 159.

27 Stephen P. Bensch, “Apprenticeship, wages and guilds at Puigcerda (1260–1300),” in *XVIII Congrès d’Història de la Corona d’Aragó. La Mediterrània de la Corona d’Aragó. Segles XIII–XVI. VII centenari de la sentència arbitral de Torrellas (1304–2004)*, ed. Rafael Narbona, 3 vols. (Barcelona, 2003), 1: 211.

28 Bensch, “Apprenticeship wages,” p. 211; Christine Rendu, “Un aperçu de l’économie cerdane à la fin du XIII^e siècle: draps, bétails et céréales sur le marché de Puigcerdà en 1280–1281,” *Quaderns d’estudis cerdans* 1 (1991), 102.

29 Bensch, “Apprenticeship wages,” p. 217.

30 Bensch, “Apprenticeship wages,” p. 214.

31 *Constitucions y altres drets de Catalunya* (Barcelona, 1704), p. 493.

32 Pere Ortí, “L’exploitació d’una renda reial: els molins del rec Comtal de Barcelona fins al segle XIII,” in *Estudios sobre renta, fiscalidad y finanzas en la Cataluña bajomedieval*, ed.

neighbours about the noise of the maces, concentrated the fulling workshops and fustian dyers in Vilanova del Mar, outside the city walls.³³ In 1258, during the first restructuring of the municipality of Barcelona, James I reserved nineteen seats on the *Consell de Doscents* (council of two hundred of the municipal government) for textile artisans. Such representation, much bigger than that of any other manufacturing sectors, was distributed by the importance of each job: nine councillors for teaselers, four for those who worked cotton, four for linen weavers and two for dyers.³⁴ In the last third of the century, the number of workshops increased greatly around Vilanova de Mar and Sant Pere, at the eastern end of the city, where the *Rec Comtal* ran.

Thus, textile production also grew greatly in Barcelona during the thirteenth century. However, the most innovative sector was not wool, but plant fibre; cloth was relegated to a secondary position by fustians, a mix of flax and cotton (the former on the warp, the latter in the weft of the cloth).³⁵ Being more affordable than woollen cloth and because of its strength, this cloth was very popular among the middle and lower classes, whose summer clothes were made with it. The option of fustians was quite original, because cotton fibre came from abroad, imported from Sicily and the Nile Delta, and working it was an Islamic inheritance. During the third quarter of the thirteenth century, fustian production in Barcelona was for the local and domestic markets more than for export: the coetaneous notarial documentation only registers some sporadic shipments to Majorca and the Maghreb.³⁶

As to Aragon, during the second quarter of the thirteenth century, cloth production expanded north and south of the river Ebro,³⁷ but at a slower pace

Manuel Sánchez (Barcelona, 1993), p. 264; Josep Fernández Trbal, "En els orígens de la indústria. Els molins de la conca baixa del Llobregat a l'edat mitjana. (segles XII–XVI)," *Materials del Baix Llobregat* 6 (2000), 90–91.

33 Antoni de Capmany, *Memorias históricas sobre la marina, comercio y artes de la antigua ciudad de Barcelona*, ed. Carme Batlle, Emili Giralt, 3 vols. (Barcelona, 1962), 2/1:23; Riera, "La draperia a la Corona catalanoaragonesa," pp. 778 and 826.

34 Capmany, *Memorias históricas*, 2/2: 915.

35 Antoni Riera, *La Corona de Aragón y el reino de Mallorca en el primer cuarto del siglo XIV. I: Las repercusiones arancelarias de la autonomía balear (1298–1311)* (Madrid, 1986), pp. 118–20.

36 Madurell, Garcia, *Comandas comerciales barcelonesas*, pp. 177, 185.

37 Germán Navarro, "La industria textil en los reinos de Aragón y Valencia en la Edad Media," in *XVII Congrés d'Història de la Corona d'Aragó*, ed. Salvador Claramunt, 3 vols. (Barcelona, 2003), 1: 475–92; Germán Navarro, "El artesanado aragonés del siglo XIII," in *La sociedad en Aragón y Cataluña en el reinado de Jaime I: 1213–1276*, ed. Esteban Sarasa (Saragossa, 2009), pp. 81–96.

than in Catalonia. Small family weaving workshops are documented in Jaca, Saragossa, Monzon, Tarazona, Calatayud and Albarracin.³⁸ There are also sporadic references to the functioning of dyeing vats in Jaca, Uncastillo, Barbastro, Albalat del Cinca, Daroca, Saragossa and Calatayud,³⁹ most of which were property of the Crown. Regarding fulling mills, the information is even more scant. This is limited to some in Barbastro and the surroundings of the Monastery of Piedra.⁴⁰ Thus, the available documentation (scarce and sparse) calls for prudence: the mentioned lists are only indicative and provisional. However, the research in progress has, as yet, been unable to contribute new explicit references for this initial period.

In Jaca, as in so many other southern textile centres, teaselers were also the leading trade in the renewal of tools. By the end of the thirteenth century, their level of skills had already begun to attract unprocessed cloth from the nearby Pyrenees regions. The influx had encouraged some local knights to build textile mills on the river Aragon. This technological gap between the initial and final stages of the process must have caused conflicts between artisans. In 1219, James I not only banned the woading and finishing of semi-finished foreign cloth but also non-residents from buying and selling them.⁴¹ The aim of both restrictions would have been to strengthen the spinning, warping and weaving. The protectionist measure must have given hope to the innovative spirit of the weavers. In three decades, local production had already reached levels of quantity and quality high enough for the king to authorise the building of a dyeing vat in which all sorts of colouring could be used, in accordance with the techniques used in Huesca and Lleida.⁴² However, local cloth did not manage to make it beyond Upper Aragon, as it does not appear to be included in the lists of *lleudes* and tolls, nor in the brokerage.

38 Miguel Gual, "Para un mapa de la industria textil hispana en la Edad Media," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 4 (1967), 121, 128 and 159; Navarro, "La industria téxtil de Aragón y Valencia," p. 478.

39 Joaquim Miret Sans, *Itinerari de Jaume I el Conqueridor*, 2nd ed. (Barcelona, 2004), pp. 123, 182, 251, 361 and 492; Gual, "Para un mapa de la industria textil," pp. 121, 125, 128, 132, 136, 153 and 159.

40 Utrilla, "Los orígenes de la industria textil en Huesca," p. 809; Miret, *Itinerari de Jaume I*, p. 123.

41 Dámaso Sangorrín, *El Libro de la Cadena del concejo de Jaca. Documentos municipales de los siglos X, XI, XII, XIII y XIV* (Saragossa, 1920), pp. 109 (doc. 40).

42 Sangorrín, *El Libro de la Cadena del concejo de Jaca*, pp. 123–24 (doc. 59); Gual, "Para un mapa de la industria textil," p. 136.

2.3 *The Restructuring of Textile Manufacturing in Valencian and Majorcan Centres*

Which transformations did the woollen sector go through during the second half of the thirteenth century in the newly conquered lands, where the economic and technological Andalusian legacy was more profound? In the city of Valencia, while the Islamic textile infrastructure was immediately distributed among the first colonisers, while ensuring production did not stop,⁴³ the king retained control of the dyeing vat, as in Lleida. The residual workforce, impoverished but still large enough to create a Moorish quarter, had a degree of influence on textile production, especially in the dyeing stage.⁴⁴

Around the mid-thirteenth century, James I, assessed by the most highly qualified artisans, regulated the production of a wide range of Valencian cloth,⁴⁵ both those made with animal and plant fibre. The sovereign's haste must have been due to his eagerness to promote local domestic cloth production as well as to increase his income. The model chosen was the one from Lleida, from where all the technique regulations were taken. The royal regulations, although prescribing a single length, regulated the production of a considerable set of textiles, which ranged from *vergats* and *bruns*, coarse and rough, to *arraços* and *estamforts contrafets*, which were replicas of the dense and velvety northern cloth. The regulations also controlled the production of *sargils* (a kind of sackcloth), blankets, fustians, *tirets*, linen fabric, sheets and towels, assigning them a smaller format than to the one assigned to cloth. So, James I's advisers attempted to organise a textile business able to serve the huge demand for cloth from the lower classes, as well as the most limited one of medium quality cloth, only within reach of those sectors with a certain financial solvency.

The gradual rise in textile production must have stimulated the early functioning of the vat, since the king regulated its use in detail in 1252. After granting both the citizens of the city and kingdom of Valencia and foreigners direct access to the facilities, the king regulated the use of indigo dyers and set the

43 José Bordes, *Desarrollo industrial textil y artesanado en Valencia de la conquista a la crisis (1238–1350)* (Valencia, 2006), pp. 90–91.

44 On February 11th 1274, in the last phase of his reign, James I freed the production of Ali, master purple dyer, and his sons, Muḥammad and Bocaron from all taxes: Miret, *Itinerari de Jaume I*, p. 493.

45 Pedro López Elum, *Los orígenes de los Furs de València y de las Cortes en el siglo XIII* (Valencia, 2001), pp. 345–46; Bordes, *Desarrollo industrial textil*, pp. 93–94.

rates that users would have to pay.⁴⁶ Shortly after, in 1262, the king rented the vat for 2,200 *solidos* a year to Andreu de Terres and Pere d'Agramunt, citizens of Lleida.⁴⁷ The rise in cloth production not only raised the profitability of the vats, but also had a positive effect on the textile mills around the city.⁴⁸

In 1283, Peter the Great authorised the Valencian *bruneters* to produce cloth with the same dimensions and weights as the ones made in Lleida, Valls and Monzon, fustians of a similar fineness to the ones from Barcelona, and replicas of the cloth from Narbonne and France.⁴⁹ This initiative by the royal advisers was intended to consolidate the technical progress that had been achieved in the capital, which had enabled an increase and diversification of production. Around this time, cloth from Valencia was starting to circulate around Barcelona (where it was compared to the ones from Lleida, Sant Daniel and Valls), Saragossa and Montpellier.⁵⁰

However, during the second third of the thirteenth century, the growth of cloth production in the Valencia region did not remain only limited to the capital. Workshops also proliferated in some secondary towns. At that time, there were dyeing vats in use at least in Xativa, Alzira, Onda and Tales.⁵¹ As in Aragon, these were royal property. In these facilities, locally produced cloth was dyed, some of which, such as the ones from Xativa, had already acquired a reasonable level of quality by the mid-thirteenth century taking into account it was being sold in Majorca and exported to the Maghreb.⁵² The best products from the surrounding towns would also go there, as they were the only ones which could bear the costs of poor dyeing.

46 Bordes, *Desarrollo industrial textil*, pp. 91–92; Antoni Riera Melis, “Els orígens de la manufactura tèxtil a la Corona Catalanoaragonesa (c.1150.1298),” in *XVIII Congrés d’Història de la Corona d’Aragó. Segles XIII–XVI. VII centenari de la sentència arbitral de Torrellas. 1304–2004*, ed. Rafael Narbona, 2 vols. (Valencia, 2005), 2:836.

47 David Igual, “L’economia comercial i marítima de València durant el regnat de Jaume I,” in *Jaume I. Commemoració del VIII centenari del naixement de Jaume I*, ed. Maria Teresa Ferrer, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 2013), 2:733.

48 Thomas Glick, Enric Guinot, Luis Pablo Martinez, eds., *Els molins hidràulics valencians. tecnologia, història i context social* (Valencia, 2000), pp. 65–67; Bordes, *Desarrollo industrial textil*, p. 93.

49 Bordes, *Desarrollo industrial textil*, pp. 95 and 98–99; Riera, “Los orígenes de la manufactura textil,” p. 838.

50 Gual, “Un mapa de la industria textil,” pp. 131 and 54; Igual, “L’economia comercial i marítima de València,” p. 734.

51 Gual, “Para un mapa de la industria textil,” pp. 122 and 136.

52 Álvaro Santamaría, *Ejecutoria del Reino de Mallorca* (Palma of Majorca, 1990), p. 401; Ortega, *El reino de Mallorca y el mundo atlántico*, pp. 160 and 164.

The modernisation of textile production in the City of Majorca between 1230 and 1300 matches perfectly the process in Valencia. However, the legacy of Islamic manufacturing was weaker. Of the population who survived, those who were able to pay for their rescue fled to the Maghreb, and those who had to remain on the island due to financial insolvency were distributed as spoils of war among conquerors, and were not concentrated in a Moorish quarter. Thus, it was artisans from the north who started the textile sector, almost from scratch,⁵³ to meet the demand for common cloth by the poorer classes. The small privileged sectors consumed cloths called *barragans* from France, *camelins* from Provence and Ghent, cloth from Narbonne and Montpellier, *raiets* from Ypres and *estamforts* from Arras and Saint-Omer,⁵⁴ supplied by merchants from Barcelona, Montpellier, Genoa and Perpignan.

The first attempts to raise the quality of the local cloth date from the mid-thirteenth century. The model chosen was the one from Narbonne, not Lleida, and the initiative did not correspond to the artisan sector but to the merchants, who knew the international textile trade better. In 1257, two merchants, Pere de Pardines and Bernat d'Oltzina, hired Bernat Corcova, a weaver from Narbonne, who agreed to settle with his family in the house of the promoters, or in one of his own for a five year period in order to produce flat worsted, striped worsted and worsted from the wool they would supply from Bejaia (Bugia).⁵⁵ The selected cloth, the lack of pieces in standard measures and their cheap retail price show it was a medium to common quality production. However, it seems as though the attempt to introduce Occitan textile technology in Majorca was rushed and unsuccessful, probably due to the lack of local demand. Frequent imports of fabric from Narbonne⁵⁶ probably also contributed to the failure.

It was not until after 1270 when the demand for coarse cloth started to rise in the island. That was when the local artisans started to catch up in terms of equipment, and started to emphasise specialisation, finding their inspiration in the textile centres of Lower Languedoc. The strengthening of economic, political and cultural relationships between the Balearic Islands and the counties of Roussillon and Cerdanya and the Lordship of Montpellier, in the wake of

53 Santamaría, *Ejecutoria del Reino de Mallorca*, pp. 400, and 408; Margalida Bernat, "Feudalisme i infraestructura artesanal: de Madina Mayûrqa a Ciutat de Mallorca (1230–1315)," *Bolletí de la Societat Arqueològica Lul·liana* 53 (1997), 54–58.

54 Santamaría, *Ejecutoria del Reino de Mallorca*, pp. 400–04.

55 Santamaría, *Ejecutoria del Reino de Mallorca*, pp. 403–04; Riera, "La draperia a la Corona catalanoaragonesa," p. 784.

56 Documented since 1241. Santamaría, *Ejecutoria del Reino de Mallorca*, p. 401.

the creation of the Kingdom of Majorca, to the extent that it encouraged the arrival of merchants and artisans from a dynamic woollen sector, accelerated the renovation of Balearic cloth production from 1276 on.

2.4 *The Reach of the Progress*

During the hundred and twenty-five years between the mid-twelfth century and the last quarter of the thirteenth century, there was a great increase in the number of small, family based workshops with minimal tools and a scarce technical division in the production process. These responded to the increase in demand in strictly quantitative terms, increasing working hours or the workforce. These first manufacturing units only produced coarse cloth for the lower classes. Only some strategically located centres overcame the domestic production stage with bigger and better equipped workshops emerging. These were led by qualified masters or entrepreneur cloth makers and responded to the peaks in demand by increasing productivity, with capital investment, and were already able to provide reasonable quality items to meet the demands of the middle class and local merchants. However, despite these latter production units being overrepresented in the coetaneous documentation (especially regarding regulation), they cannot be taken as the most representative of the initial stage of textile manufacturing in the Crown of Aragon.

Royal laws were intended to consolidate the advances made in each production centre by the most qualified and innovative artisans, and to impose them on the rest of the artisans. They were aimed at raising the quality of production to internationally approvable levels through the control of raw material, technical renovation, eradication of fraud, and standardisation of weight and measures. The outcome of this cooperation between the most entrepreneurial artisans and public powers had to be cloth that was good enough to resist Occitan competition, serve the middle class demand and incorporate into the supra-regional circuits of domestic market. Although royal promulgation made the mentioned ordinances mandatory for all the professionals in the sector and foresaw the creation of incipient control mechanisms over their work, it does not seem to have penetrated into the workshops, even in the most dynamic centres, due to the lack of economic resources with which to finance renewal of equipment and learning of the new technique. It seems these first regulations of the sector set medium-term objectives, and did not faithfully reflect the levels of quality that had already been reached. So, its results were rather modest: although cloth from Huesca, Lleida and Valencia, as well as fustians from Barcelona, circulated before 1300 all around the Crown of Aragon, only the items from Lleida and Barcelona crossed borders and penetrated international trade circuits.

Only the middle classes continuously bought local cloth with which they had their every-day clothes made. For festivities, they used clothes made from Occitan fabrics. The lower classes covered a good part of their needs from domestic production and second hand items, as they could not often buy new coarse cloth. Instead, the aristocracy (the nobility, as well as the upper bourgeoisie), dressed on a daily basis in cloth from Southern France, and on special days, in fine and attractive cloths from Flanders, Brabant and the Scheldt and Seine regions. The high-quality northern luxury items, as well as the good medium-quality ones from Languedoc and Provence, were provided by merchants from Saint-Antonin, Narbonne, Arras and Albi to Perpignan, Montpellier and, less often, Barcelona and Valencia.⁵⁷ The merchants in Perpignan and Barcelona purchased cloth at fairs in Champagne or, directly, in the production centres on the North Sea and in Languedoc to supply the internal market in the Crown of Aragon. So, the functioning of the Catalan textile market largely depended on the dynamics of trade and the state of political relations between the Crown of Aragon and France. During the first half of the thirteenth century, the political withdrawal of the House of Barcelona from Languedoc and its relinquishment of Provence had contributed to making the northern border of the Crown of Aragon more permeable, and strengthened trade in both directions.

However, the conquest of Sicily in 1282 caused a hostile break between the Crown of Aragon and France. For seven years, the Pyrenean border remained closed, and the supply of northern and Occitan cloth fell steeply and even stopped altogether during some periods.⁵⁸ Shortly before 1290, Catalan merchants, taking advantage of the preferential attention Philip IV had to give to the question of Gascony and the uprising in Flanders, reactivated the purchase of high quality cloth from Montpellier, which was displacing Perpignan as the main southern distribution centre for French cloth.⁵⁹

57 Richard W. Emery, "Tissus et marchands flamands à Perpignan au XIII^e siècle," *Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Catalanes des Archives* 32–32 (1966), 117–119; Guy Romestan, "Els mercaders llenguadocians en el regne de València durant la primera meitat del segle XIV," in *València, un mercat medieval*, ed. Antoni Furió (Valencia, 1985), pp. 181–86; Carme Batlle, "La presenza degli stranieri a Barcellona nei secoli XII e XIII," in *Dentro de la città. Stranieri e realtà urbane nell'Europa dei secoli XII–XVI*, ed. Gabriella Rossetti (Naples, 1989), pp. 99–100; Riera, "Perpiñán, 1025–1285," pp. 15–19.

58 Madurell, Garcia, *Comandas comerciales barcelonesas*, p. 48; Riera, *La Corona de Aragón y el reino de Mallorca*, p. 90.

59 Guy Romestan, "Perpignan au XIII^e siècle d'après quelques travaux récents: 1955–1965," in *XXXIX Congrès de la Fédération Historique du Languedoc Méditerranéen et du Roussillon*

As for professional sociability, although teaselers and weavers were among the trades with the earliest corporative movements, during the second half of the thirteenth century, they were only able to gather to write the technical regulations of the profession and to choose the representatives who negotiated their ratification with the royal officials and the Council. So, it was the local public authorities who promulgated labour regulations, made them mandatory and, probably advised by the already mentioned delegates, chose the inspectors who should supervise their application. In 1270, James I granted the judges of Valencia the faculty to choose, along with the *justícia*, two inspectors each year for each *officio*, *ministerio et mercaderiis* so they could check production, detect fraud and report it to the *justícia*, the Council or the local official in control of the market (*mostassaf*).⁶⁰ Twenty-five years later, James II authorised the *ministrales seu artifices* of Lleida to form an association to carry out charitable works and other lawful activities that were compatible with the royal and municipal jurisdictions.⁶¹ So, the count-king authorised guilds (*confraries*) but restricted them to the fields of religion and aid. In the context of associations of workers and trades, thanks to the decisions of the sovereign and the municipal councils, pious guilds preceded the trade associations. In other words, charity preceded the defence of professional interests.

3 Shipbuilding

Foreign trade was the most dynamic economic sector between 1225 and 1290. Its growth increased the demand for means of transport in the coastal regions of the Crown of Aragon. Ships were built using with limited infrastructure at the time. Most shipbuilders (*mestres d'aixa*) and caulkers worked directly on the beach or slipways. Shipyards were scarce and simply consisted on a fenced area on the sand, a few warehouses to keep the tools and, at best, a boat ramp and some winches to careen and beach the ships. The first documented shipyard was in Barcelona, built during the Early Middle Ages on the eastern sector of the beach. The growing demand for ships and the spread of the city along the seafront meant that both the port and the old shipyard in Barcelona became too small to meet the demand. In 1243, James I had to reserve part of the

(Montpellier, 1967), pp. 150–51; Reyerson, “Le Rôle de Montpellier dans le commerce des draps,” pp. 26–27; Riera, *La Corona de Aragón y el Reino de Mallorca*, pp. 95–96.

60 Jaume I, *Liber privilegiorum civitatis et regni Valencie*, ed. Josepa Cortés (Valencia, 2001), p. 213.

61 Enrique Mut, *La vida económica en Lérida de 1150 a 1500* (Lleida, 1956), p. 167.

beach exclusively for repairing and building ships; the designated area was also on the eastern part of the beach and stretched from the Regomir gate down to the Santa Maria del Mar quarter.⁶² By that time, there was already a second shipyard by the mouth of the Rambla stream, on the western end of the beach.

By 1280, during the preparations of the fleet for the War of the Sicilian Vespers, Peter the Great commenced the extension and fortification of the western shipyard for both military and economic reasons. A few years later, in 1287, his successor Alfonso the Liberal modified the shipyard, adding a roof to shelter the ships. Due to the lack of funding, however, the works progressed very slowly over the following decades. The second largest and best-equipped shipyards in the Crown of Aragon were those in Valencia, building of which had been undertaken by the municipal council and started in 1284. As in Barcelona, the works were not completed until well into the fourteenth century. During the third quarter of the thirteenth century, ships could be built in Collioure, Roses, Torroella de Montgri, Palamos, Sant Feliu de Guixols, Tossa, Sant Pol de Mar, Barcelona, Tarragona, Salou, Cambrils, Tortosa, Peníscola, Valencia, Denia and the City of Majorca.⁶³

Despite the advances of the previous decades, the Catalan merchant fleet was still unable to cover the local demand for transport, part of which was shipped on foreign vessels. In order to increase the Crown's total tonnage, in the autumn of 1227, James I had forbidden cargoes from Barcelona travelling overseas, to Ceuta or Alexandria, to be loaded on foreign ships while there were local ships (*naus o llenys*) available to make the trip.⁶⁴ Nonetheless, the

62 Capmany, *Memorias históricas*, 2/1: 19–20; Salvador Sampere Miquel, *Topografía antigua de Barcelona. Rodalia de Corbera* (Barcelona, 1890), p. 29.

63 Ramon Muntaner, "Crònica," in *Les Quatre Grans Cròniques*, ed. Ferran Soldevila (Barcelona, 1971), p. 705 [chapters XLIV–XLV]; Arcadi Garcia, *Història de la Marina Catalana* (Barcelona, 1977), pp. 78–81; Francisco Sevillano, Juan Pou, *Historia del puerto de Palma de Mallorca* (Palma of Majorca, 1974), pp. 131–34; Albert Estrada-Rius, "Jaume I el Conqueridor i la marina del seu temps," in *Jaume I. Commemoració del VIII centenari del naixement de Jaume I*, ed. Maria Teresa Ferrer, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 2011), 1: 344; Marcel Pujol, *La construcció naval a Catalunya a l'Edat Mitjana* (Barcelona, 2012), pp. 86–92; Antonio Ortega, *La marina mercante medieval y la Casa de Mallorca: entre el Mediterráneo y el Atlántico* (Lleida, 2015), pp. 179–91.

64 Capmany, *Memorias históricas*, 2/1: 12–13; Mario del Treppo, *I mercanti catalani e l'espansione della Corona d'Aragona nel seccolo XV* (Naples, 1972), p. 7; Antoni Riera, "El comerç internacional de la Corona Catalanoaragonesa durant el segon terç del segle XIII," in *Un Mar de Lleis. De Jaume I a Lepant*, ed. Daniel Duran (Barcelona, 2008), p. 47.

measure must not have had all the desired effects, as the king had to reconfirm it in 1268.⁶⁵

What kinds of ships were built before 1300 in these coastal locations? On the one hand, sail and oar powered ships with long and low hulls, such as galleys, galiots, *tarides*, *sageties*, *bussos*, *llenys*, boats (*barques*), *lleguts* and *panescalm* boats. On the other, sail-powered ships with rounded high hulls such as *naus*, *navetes* (small *naus*) and *carraques*. *Lenys* and *naus* were nonetheless the most usual ships in the fleets of the main trading centres: their capacity oscillated then between 100 and 400 *salmes* and 1,000 and 2,000 *salmes* respectively.⁶⁶ Somewhat before 1300, once the Strait of Gibraltar had been reopened to Christian commercial navigation, the Catalan fleet incorporated the cog, a rounded Atlantic ship similar to the *nau* but with a smaller tonnage,⁶⁷ which has been considered by some scholars as the most representative creation of a first medieval nautical revolution.⁶⁸

Information is much scarcer regarding the price paid for ships at that time. Bernat Marquet's galley was valued at 7,500 *bezants* (about 1,380 pounds) in Barcelona in 1242. By 1300, medium-high profile ships were worth between 7,500 and 40,000 *solidos*.⁶⁹ During the thirteenth century, there were members of the high bourgeoisie able to pay such prices in the main ports of the Crown of Aragon. However, few were yet eager to do so. In order to reach such big sums, various people interested in maritime transportation associated and each acquired part of the ship. Thus, in Barcelona, undivided co-ownership was already the usual structure of the maritime company, which was completely and

65 Capmany, *Memorias históricas*, 2/1: 38.

66 Rolf Eberenz, *Schiffe an den Küsten der Pyrenäenhalbinsel. Eine kulturgeschichtliche zur Schiffstypologie und-terminologie in den iberoromanischen Sprachen bis 1600* (Bern, 1975), pp. 21 and 223; Garcia, *Història de la Marina Catalana*, pp. 57 and 70–72; Pujol, *La construcció naval*, pp. 75–79; Ortega, *La marina mercante medieval*, pp. 243–306.

67 Eeberenz, *Schiffe and den Küsten der Pyrenäenhalbinsel*, p. 98; Garcia, *Historia de la marina catalana*, p. 73; Ortega, *La marina mercante medieval*, pp. 256–70.

68 Vilma Borghesi, *Il Mediterraneo tra due rivoluzioni nautiche (secoli XIV–XVII)* (Florence, 1976), pp. 3–8; Marcel Pujol, “El món de la navegació medieval,” in *Un Mar de Lleis. De Jaume I a Lepant*, ed. Daniel Duran (Barcelona, 2008), pp. 93–95.

69 Carme Batlle, “La burguesia de Barcelona a mediados del siglo XIII,” in *X Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón. Jaime I y su época*, ed. María del Carmen Ansón, 2 vols. (Saragossa, 1982), 2: 17; Maria Teresa Ferrer, “Una família de navegants: els Marquet,” in *El “Llibre del Consell” de la ciutat de Barcelona. Segle XIV: les eleccions municipals* (Barcelona, 2007), p. 143; Charles-Emmanuel Dufourcq, *L’Espagne catalane et le Maghrib au XIII^e et XIV^e siècles de la bataille de Las Navas de Tolosa (1212) à l’avènement du sultan mérinide Abou-l-Hasan (1331)* (Paris, 1966), p. 531.

unitarily managed by the skipper, aided by a salaried crew and commercially worked the ship for the freight charges it received. Such ship-owners' associations were meticulously regulated in 1258, in the Ordinances of the Barcelona shore (*Ordinacions de la Ribera de Barcelona*).

The self-interested and systematic collaboration between seamen and the public authorities allowed the Crown of Aragon, which had only had an embryonic navy almost exclusively devoted to piracy and privateering, to become a Mediterranean naval power between 1150 and 1300. By the end of the thirteenth century, it had enough ships to carry people and cargo to the Palestinian ports and the Gulf of Cadiz meeting all international economic and safety standards and, at the same time, face a long naval war against a powerful Franco-Angevin coalition for the control of Sicily.

4 The Beginning of Commercial Expansion Overseas

Until the second third of the thirteenth century, long-distance Catalan trade had been essentially passive. The fleet had mostly devoted to cabotage between al-Andalus and Liguria. Merchants, nonetheless, had occasionally travelled on foreign ships to more distant areas, such as the Maghreb, Sicily or Palestine. The situation started to change after the conquest of the Balearic Islands. From then on, foreign trade grew constantly and turned into the most dynamic economic sector in some of the territories of the Crown of Aragon, such as Catalonia and Majorca. Once a learning phase, during which they had acquired techniques from the Occitans and Italians, Catalan merchants and ship owners started competing against their old mentors in many ports around the two Mediterranean basins, and even in the Atlantic.⁷⁰ From the 1250s, the representatives of these groups defended their specific interests at the Catalan Parliament in front of the king and the other estates, and conditioned the foreign policy and overseas expansion of the Confederation by rationing their economic and naval support. The growth of their political power, much greater than that of any other typically bourgeois sector, is a reflection of the weight that foreign commerce was acquiring in the structure of the state.

70 For a present-day survey about that subject, see: Stephen P. Bensch, "The Commercial surge of Catalonia," in *Jaume I. Commemoració del VIII centenari del naixement de Jaume I*, ed. Maria Teresa Ferrer, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 2013), 2: 609–31.

4.1 *Commercial Techniques*

Throughout this period, commercial techniques are comparable to those in use in other Mediterranean emporia such as Marseilles, although still not as highly developed as the ones used by the Genoese or Venetians. The main concerns of Catalan merchants were identical to those of their Italian mentors: reduction of risk, accumulation of capital and the avoidance of the moral restraints imposed by the Church.

The easiest way to reduce risk was to spread investment; the contract that best fitted such goal was the maritime *comanda*. One modality of such contract (*a esparç*) forced the contractor to manage the goods entrusted to him separately from his own goods.⁷¹ In addition to this, the *simil cum meis mercibus* modality appeared: in this, the entrusted commodities had to be negotiated together with those of the merchant, who usually undertook *comandas* from various capitalists; these *comandas* formed an aggregate whose only mutual relation was the merchant.⁷²

During the second half of the thirteenth century, the company, another form of association, developed. The members of a company, usually relatives or neighbours, contributed identical amounts of work and capital and, less frequently, only their work. In both cases, the business was jointly managed and profits and losses were settled when the company was dissolved.⁷³ The first companies only managed small amounts of resources for short periods. In the trading centres of the Crown of Aragon, commercial capital started moving swiftly from hand to hand among a wide range of merchants and investors who redefined the old commercial relations as they looked for new partners.⁷⁴

4.2 *Credit*

The expansion of trade and manufacturing also brought changes to the money market. During the second third of the thirteenth century, the first private banks appeared and the number of Jewish moneylenders soared. In 1235, the Courts in Tarragona regulated Christian credit, limiting interest rates to 12%.⁷⁵

71 Madurell, Garcia, *Comandas comerciales barcelonesas*, p. 94.

72 Madurell, Garcia, *Comandas comerciales barcelonesas*, pp. 94–95.

73 Arcadi Garcia, Gaspar Feliu, “Estudi introductori,” in *Els mètodes comercials a la Barcelona medieval*, ed. André Edouard Sayous (Barcelona, 1975), p. 18; Arcadi García, Josep Maria Madurell, *Societats Mercantils Medievales* (Lleida, 1986), pp. 135–36.

74 Enrique Cruselles, “Pràctiques i cultura mercantils en la Corona d’Aragó durant la baixa edat mitjana,” in *Un Mar de Lleis. De Jaume I a Lepant*, ed. Daniel Duran (Barcelona, 2008), p. 142.

75 *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de Aragón y de Valencia y Principado de Cataluña*, 27 vols. (Madrid, 1896), I: 131.

At that point, Barcelonan moneychangers accepted considerable long-term deposits from rich bourgeois, noblemen and rural landowners from around the city, who must have been given significantly lower interest rates. The amounts submitted were secured by the assets of the depositary.⁷⁶ The activity of these professional financiers was not limited to ordinary loans; they destined part of their own capital and the deposits received from individuals to risky and profitable commercial operations, such as commercial *comandas*, maritime loans and maritime changes. The fact that the canonists had not considered these kinds of contracts as usury due to their high level of risk was also an important factor.

These maritime loans and changes were usually contracted under the *salvos in terra* conditions, which forced the debtor to return the received amount irrespective of whether the cargo had reached port or not.⁷⁷ Nonetheless, after 1230, the *ad risicum* modality spread, under which the lender could only recover the investment if the commodities or the ship upon which the contract had been established made it safely to the port of destination.⁷⁸ Since the mid-thirteenth century, thanks to this new modality, in exchange for a rise in interest rates, Catalan merchants were able to transfer the risk of the mercantile investment to the lender, by turning it into just another cost.

By that time, Barcelona was still not one of the great financial centres of the Mediterranean. Its banks could compete not with those in Siena, Lucca or Piacenza either in organisation or in size. In order to accelerate their development, James I adopted protectionist measures: in 1265 and 1268, he banned foreign bankers from establishing their businesses in Barcelona.⁷⁹ The absence of Italian bankers from the local sources suggests that the prohibition was successful.

In Valencia and the City of Majorca, a number of moneychangers made their appearance; they also accepted deposits, granted loans and invested in commercial operations. In Valencia, thirteen bankers managing amounts of several thousand *solidos* have been documented from prior to 1290.⁸⁰ In the

76 Stephen P. Besch, "La primera crisis bancaria de Barcelona," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 19 (1989), 316–17.

77 Arcadi García, Maria Teresa Ferrer, *Assegurances i canvis marítims medievals a Barcelona*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1983), 1: 40.

78 García, Ferrer, *Assegurances i canvis marítims medievals*, p. 43.

79 Capmany, *Memorias históricas* (1961), 1: 38.

80 Juan Vicente García Marsilla, "Crédito y banca en el Mediterráneo medieval: la quiebra del cambista valenciano Francesc de Pals (1316–1319)," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 25

same period, seven banks were working in the capital of Majorca.⁸¹ It was there where the first insured banks (*taules*) appeared, banks whose owners could not receive deposits if they had not previously offered sufficient guarantees to the local court.⁸² However, many of these early banks would go bankrupt in 1299, victims of a crisis partly caused by the monarchy's insolvency.⁸³

Regarding Jewish credit, only the richest families in the Jewish quarters paid preferential attention to credit. For the other families, credit was just a complementary source of revenue. The interest rates were a very delicate issue. Although the Courts of Barcelona in 1228 had limited annual interest rates to 20%, careless control enabled them to lend at rates as high as 50%.⁸⁴ After the protests of some of those affected by this, the Courts held in Girona in 1241 passed a *statutum usurarum* that incremented the rights of borrowers.⁸⁵ From that moment on, requests for loans augmented among the middle and even the lower classes. During the second third of the thirteenth century, rather than directly funding important commercial operations, Jewish moneylenders offered small short-term loans to a heterogeneous clientele headed by merchants and artisans: "Even if Jewish coffers did not provide the capital to power the city's economic engine, they did offer liquidity to keep the gears turning smoothly and fast enough".⁸⁶

4.3 *Penetration into the Western Mediterranean and Northern Atlantic Markets*

Foreign trade grew during the second third of the thirteenth century. The agreement between the bourgeoisie and the monarchy was essential for such

(1995), 128–129; Juan Vicente García Marsilla, *Vivir a crédito en la Valencia medieval. De los orígenes del sistema censal al endeudamiento del municipio* (Valencia, 2002), pp. 52–53 and 102–111.

81 Pau Cateura, Antonio Mercader, *Banca pública y banca privada en el reino de Mallorca (s. XIII–XIV)* (Palma of Majorca, 2014), p. 43.

82 Rafael Conde, "Crédito, deuda y banca. Las técnicas financieras en la segunda mitad del cuatrocientos," in *La Corona de Aragón y el Mediterráneo, siglos XV–XVI*, eds. Esteban Sarasa, Eliseo Serrano (Saragossa, 1997), p. 75.

83 Bensch, "La primera crisis bancaria de Barcelona," pp. 311–28; David Igual, "Los agentes de la banca internacional: cambistas y mercaderes en Valencia," *Revista d'Història Medieval* 11 (2000), 132–33.

84 *Cortes de los antiguos reinos*, 1:120 and 131; Jordi Fernández Cuadrench, "El crédit jueu a Barcelona del segle XIII," *Barcelona Quaderns d'Història* 13 (2007), 164–65.

85 *Cortes de los antiguos reinos*, 1: 133–37.

86 Stephen P. Bensch, *Barcelona and its rulers, 1096–1291* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 286.

progress. The foreign policy of the House of Barcelona did not only control trade, but also endorsed its growth.⁸⁷

North Africa stands out among the areas frequented by the businessmen and sailors of the Crown of Aragon. This had been the first overseas region to be military and commercially prospected by the Catalans after the Balearic Islands.⁸⁸ Since the 950s, the Maghreb was where subtropical African gold and slaves reached the Mediterranean along a complex network of caravan routes. Different routes radiated from Sijilmasa and Ouargla and led to a large number of ports: from Safi and Sallee on the Atlantic coast of Morocco, to Tunis and Tripoli in the Syrtis area.⁸⁹ The latter were also on the trade route that connected Egypt to Ifriqiyah: Madhia, Tunis and Bejaia became the main ports from which luxury products from the Far East were re-exported to Italy and the Iberian Peninsula.⁹⁰ Catalan merchants and ships reached these ports by 1200, somewhat later than those from Genoa, Pisa or Marseilles. Their presence increased during the second third of the century after the conquest and colonisation of the Balearic Islands and Valencia.

The influence of the merchants from the Crown of Aragon spread throughout the Maghreb in a somewhat irregular way. Barcelonese tradesmen and shipbuilders tended to concentrate their activity on Tunis and other ports in Ifriqiyah. On the contrary, those from the Balearic islands preferred the ports of the central Maghreb, from Taunt to Bona: of 35 local ships that sailed from the City of Majorca, according to their ship's licences (*llicència de barques*), 24 (68.5%) were heading to ports in this area.⁹¹ The presence of businessmen from the Crown of Aragon was more limited in the Western Maghreb. Among

87 Given that the present book devoted a specific chapter to Catalan commerce with the Middle East, here we focus the study on the Western Mediterranean basin and the North Atlantic.

88 There, Catalan commercial activity has been documented since 1187: Arcadi Garcia, Maria Teresa Ferrer, *Assegurances i canvis marítims*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1983), 2: 306.

89 As Jean Devisse demonstrated more than forty years ago: Jean Devisse, "Routes de commerce et échanges en Afrique Occidentale en relation avec la Méditerranée. Un essai sur le commerce médiéval," *Revue d'Histoire Économique et Sociale* 50 (1972), 42–73 and 357–97.

90 Shlomo Goitein, *A Mediterranean society: the Jewish communities on the Arab world as portrayed in the documents of the Cairo Geniza*, 2 vols. (Los Angeles, 1969), 1: 211–14.

91 Antoni Riera Melis, "La 'Llicència per a barques' de 1284: una font important per a l'estudi del comerç exterior mallorquí del darrer quart del segle XIII," *Faventia* 2/2 (1980), 62–73.

those, the Balearics were again the most active, and used ships from Genoa and Marseilles rather than local ones to travel there.⁹²

During the central decades of the thirteenth century, trade with the Maghreb was the driving force behind the Barcelonan expansion overseas, the factor that transformed the city into a Mediterranean emporium. During the bienium 1248–49, annual revenue from taxation was 6,130 *solidos*; four years later, all taxes on trade were leased for 9,400 *solidos*. Transactions with the Maghreb thus represented two thirds of the foreign exchanges of the city.⁹³ Although such calculations cannot be applied to Majorca and Valencia due to a lack of sources, some reliable indicators seem to suggest that the weight of Northern Africa in Balearic overseas trade might have been even greater.

The seafaring connections between the Catalan and the Northern African coasts did not take place solely along a small number of established routes. Instead, the complex set of streams exchange stretched throughout the Western Mediterranean basin. The Catalan and Balearic capitals did not centralise trade. Instead, exchanges were also initiated from Valencia, Montpellier and Collioure. Barcelonan merchants usually stopped over in Denia.⁹⁴ On the contrary, their colleagues from Roussillon and Montpellier preferred to stop over in the City of Majorca.⁹⁵ In the mid-thirteenth century, some entrepreneurs were trading between Barcelona, Tunis and Montpellier and stopping over at Majorca.⁹⁶ On these routes, Moorish agents were not unusual: the first Majorcan notarial registries document mixed companies to trade with the Maghreb.⁹⁷ Some decades later, in 1270, James I authorised Ibrahim ben Halaf, a Muslim from Valencia, to buy a ship and set up a company to trade with Muslims and Christians from Tunis, Bejaia or anywhere else.⁹⁸ The Muslims needed the sovereign's authorisation to take part in such trade.

92 David Abulafia, *Un emporio mediterráneo. El reino catalán de Mallorca* (Barcelona, 1996), pp. 150–51; Antonio Ortega, *El reino de Mallorca y el mundo atlántico (1230–1349)* (La Coruña, 2008), pp. 159–63.

93 Bensch, *Barcelona and its rulers*, pp. 293–94.

94 Madurell, *Comandas comerciales barcelonesas*, pp. 78–181.

95 Riera, “La ‘Llicència per a barques’ de 1284,” p. 73; Riera, “Perpiñán, 1025–1285,” pp. 26–28; Abulafia, *Un emporio mediterráneo*, p. 157.

96 Carme Batlle, “Mercaders de Barcelona al nord d’Àfrica durant el regnat de Jaume I,” in *Jaume I. Commemoració del VIII centenari del naixement*, ed. Maria Teresa Ferrer, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 2010), 2: 683.

97 Abulafia, *Un emporio mediterráneo*, pp. 152–53.

98 Dufourcq, *L’Espagne catalane et le Maghrib*, p. 61, n. 9.

Catalan exports to the Maghreb included fustian, linen cloth and leather, as well as a variety of foodstuffs (oil, wine, rice, broad beans and, on the occasion of bad harvests, grain) and inorganic textile dyes (vermillion). They also included fine cloths from Northern France and Flanders, shellac and silk from the Levant, and sugar and cotton from Sicily. To these legal sales, we must add the products smuggled into the Maghreb despite Pontifical and royal prohibitions: weapons, raw materials for shipbuilding such as wood, iron, canvas or tar, and cereals at times when exports were banned. The ships came back with cargoes of local products including raw materials (wax, furs, alum), foodstuffs (figs and dates), spices (cumin) and low-quality textile dyes (orcein) and Oriental spices (pepper, cinnamon and ginger).⁹⁹ Figs, cereals and pepper circulated throughout the area in both directions. The maritime *comanda* was used during this period to transfer Catalan currency to the Maghreb,¹⁰⁰ which does not seem to indicate a negative balance of payments; instead, it could show that part of the goods plundered during the recent conquests in the Iberian Peninsula and the revenue from the apparently willing tributes offered by the local Muslim powers to the King of Aragon (*joies*), the salaries of mercenary troops, and the charter fees of the supporting ships was spent in the acquisition of North-African products in the hope of making good profits from their sale on the interior market.

In its beginnings, Catalan commerce with Northern Africa had been markedly popular, mostly based on numerous individual investors; the average amount invested per *comanda* in Barcelona was about 190 *solidos*. However, the situation started changing in mid century. Between 1250 and 1269, not only did the number of trips grow, but also the average amount invested rose to some 723 *solidos*.¹⁰¹

Regarding the Central and Western Maghreb, the interests of the petty and grand bourgeois coincided with those of the monarchy. The king, his family and clients, investors, ship-owners and merchants worked with a sole purpose in this area. Besides leasing armies and ships to the sultans and selling peace to them,¹⁰² James I promoted the trade by his subjects. By 1253, he had already

99 Madurell, Garcia, *Comandas comerciales barcelonesas*, pp. 153–55, 164, 170, 171–72, 174–77, 180–81, 182–83, 184–85, and 190–91; Bensch, *Barcelona and its rulers*, pp. 29–93; Abulafia, *Un emporio mediterráneo*, p. 151; Ortega, *El reino de Mallorca y el mundo atlántico*, pp. 159–63.

100 Madurell, Garcia, *Comandas comerciales barcelonesas*, pp. 152–53, 154–55, 164, 168–69, 172 and 177–78.

101 Bensch, *Barcelona and its rulers*, p. 288.

102 Charles Emmanuel Dufourcq, “Vers la Méditerranée Orientale et l’Afrique,” in *X Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón. Jaime I y su época*, ed. María del Carmen Ansón Calvo,

acquired a corn exchange in Tunis, and in 1258, he acquired another in Bejaia. Each of these fortified warehouses was run by the consul of the Catalans, directly appointed by the king, who carefully chose them from among businessmen from all over the Crown.¹⁰³

Soon, Catalan tradesmen also established contact with Occitania, a wide and accessible region that produced wool and through which cloth from Northern Europe reached the Western Mediterranean. In the Occitan towns, southern businessmen acquired local fabrics, French and Flemish cloth, wool and woad. In exchange, they sold cochineal, dried fruit from Valencia, figs, Majorcan cheese, wax, and Northern-African alum. Wheat and spices circulated in both directions, according to the demand.¹⁰⁴ As a consequence of the political and cultural ties that connected the Crown of Aragon to this area, the organisation of Catalan trade in Occitania was different than in Northern Africa. *Comanda* contracts were scarce and for small amounts on the trade routes connecting the Crown to Toulouse, Narbonne, Carcassonne and Marseilles. Instead of concluding their operations after each trip, some of the most innovative cloth traders, such as Joan de Banyeres or Ramon Oliver, used to buy quality fabrics on credit from the local suppliers.¹⁰⁵ A bit later than the Barcelonan, during the second half of the thirteenth century, Majorcan and Valencian businessmen also appeared in the Occitan emporia looking for middle- and high-quality cloth.

In a kind of passive trade, merchants from Narbonne and Marseilles also stopped over at Majorca, Valencia and Denia to sell cloth and wine and buy slaves and textile dyes on their way to the Maghreb and Southern Castile.¹⁰⁶

3 vols. (Saragossa, 1979), 1:16–17; Carles Vela, “Jaume I i el Magrib, una relació més enllà del comerç,” in *Jaume I. Commemoració del VIII centenari del naixement*, ed. Maria Teresa Ferrer, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 2010), 1: 485–87.

103 Charles Emmanuel Dufourcq, “Les consulats catalans de Tunis et de Bougie au temps de Jacques le Conquerant,” *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 3 (1966), 469–79; Vela, “Jaume I i el Magrib,” pp. 483–85.

104 Madurell, Garcia, *Comandas comerciales barcelonesas*, pp. 181–82; Carme Batlle, “Relaciones de Barcelona y Occitania en el siglo XIII,” in *XII Congrès d'Histoire de la Couronne d'Aragon. Historiographie de la Couronne d'Aragon*, 2 vols. (Montpellier, 1988), 2: 17–20; Maria Teresa Ferrer, “Catalan commerce in the late Middle Ages,” *Catalan Historical Review* 5 (2012), 33; Abulafia, *Un emporio mediterráneo*, pp. 143–45, and 157.

105 Bensch, *Barcelona and its rulers*, pp. 300–01.

106 Igual, “L'economia comercial i marítima de València,” pp. 735–38; Abulafia, *Un emporio mediterráneo*, pp. 143–45 and 149.

Due to the shortage of Majorcan ships, ship-owners from Marseilles finished loading up their vessels in these stopovers.¹⁰⁷

Catalan tradesmen must have started to trade with Genoa at the beginning of the twelfth century. The toll register from 1128 refers to men from Barcelona bringing Muslims slaves.¹⁰⁸ The conquest of the Balearic Islands, Valencia and Murcia enabled the subjects of the king of Aragon to play a role as slave traders for the Genoese market.¹⁰⁹ There, they also sold tar, ropes, salt, wool, wheat and cloths, and bought fustian, sendal, spices, leather, wine and fustian.¹¹⁰ The political relations between both states were good during the first two thirds of the thirteenth century, despite the usual reciprocal aggression in areas of conflict, which were usually solved paying compensations to the victims from the goods of the aggressor's compatriots (*marques*).

The relations with Pisa were scarcer, mainly due to the fact that while the Crown of Aragon supported the Pope in the conflict between the Guelphs and the Ghibellines, the Italian city endorsed Emperor Frederick II. Only after 1260, when James I approached the Hohenstaufens of Naples, did political relations start to improve although a peace treaty was not signed until 1277. There are few sources available and these not very explanatory, but do document the presence of Pisans in Barcelona, Majorca and Valencia, the establishment of a Catalan consulate in Pisa in 1277, and the concession of some *marques* and safe-conducts by James I to subjects of the Crown and the Republic.¹¹¹ We also know a reference to oil exports to Pisa from Tarragona, as well as others about some shipments of Tuscan armour passing through Valencia en route to Castile.¹¹²

107 Ortega, *El reino de Mallorca y el mundo atlántico*, pp. 160–63.

108 Maria Teresa Ferrer, “El comerç amb els estats italians en temps de Jaume I,” in *Jaume I. Commemoració del VIII centenari del naixement*, ed. Maria Teresa Ferrer, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 2010), 2: 634; Ferrer, “Catalan commerce in the late Middle Ages,” p. 34.

109 Michel Balard, “Remarques sur les esclaves à Gênes dans la seconde moitié du XIII^e siècle,” *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire* 80 (1968), 627–80; Ferrer, “El comerç amb els estats italians,” pp. 635–36 and 651.

110 Georges Jehel, *Les Génois en Méditerranée Occidentale (fin XI^{ème}–début XIV^{ème} siècles)*. *Ebauche d'une stratégie pour un empire* (Paris, 1993), pp. 343–52; Ferrer, “El comerç amb els estats italians,” pp. 634, 636 and 651–52.

111 Batlle, “La presenza degli stranieri a Barcellona,” pp. 89, and 96–97; Regina Sáinz de la Maza, “Il consolato dei catalani a Pisa durante il regno di Giacomo II d'Aragón. Notizie e documenti,” *Medioevo. Saggi e rassegna* 20 (1995), 195–222; Ferrer, “El comerç amb els estats italians,” pp. 641–44.

112 Ferrer, “El comerç amb els estats italians,” pp. 642 and 653.

However, the volume of trade generated by Catalan and Majorcan traders in Northern Italy was small. On the contrary, their Genoese or Pisan counterparts were very active in the ports of the Balearic Islands and Valencia.¹¹³ From the mid-twelfth century, many Ligurian ships stopped over at these ports on their way to the Maghreb to complete their cargoes.¹¹⁴ When it comes to the Pisans, a fiscal source shows that by 1305 they were acquiring locally produced foodstuffs (figs, raisins, almonds, oil and honey) as well as Northern-African wool, Sicilian sugar and saffron, and oriental spices. On the contrary, their sales were much less varied, usually only consisting of Tuscan cloth and alum.¹¹⁵ It is probable that the list of traded products did not change much during the previous decades: after 1284, when the Republic of Pisa was defeated at Meloria and its fleet had to limit its trips to the Western Mediterranean basin.

Catalan merchants and ships might have entered the ports of the Italian Mezzogiorno from Ifriqiyah rather than from the Balearic Islands, and did so after Frederick II derogated the Genoese trading privileges in 1238. A Barcelonese presence is documented in Palermo that same year and the following one, in Reggio Calabria.¹¹⁶ Balearic and Valencian merchants are seen operating jointly in Palermo in 1242.¹¹⁷ From that moment on, Sicily was integrated in the Catalan trade network despite the reservations of the Neapolitan Court about the Crown of Aragon, which was mistrusted due to its alignment with the Guelphs and its commercial and territorial expansionism in the Western Mediterranean. James I redefined his foreign policy during the second half of his reign,¹¹⁸ and his unquestionable interest in the Mediterranean area led him

113 These are the places preferred by the 95% of the Genoese investments in Iberian territories during the second half of the thirteenth century. Jehel, *Les Génois en Méditerranée*, pp. 334–35.

114 Riera, "La 'Llicència per a barques' de 1284," pp. 63, 68, 71 and 73; Abulafia, *Un emporio mediterráneo*, pp. 131–39.

115 Tito Antoni, "Il 'Lou dels Pisans' del 1303. Note sui rapporti commerciali di Pisa con il regno di Maiorca e con quello di Aragona," *Bolletino Storico Pisano* 39 (1970), 31–40; Tito Antoni, *I 'partitari' maiorchini del 'Lou dels Pisans' relativi al commercio dei Pisani nelle Baleari (1304–1322 e 1353–1355)* (Pisa, 1977), pp. 10–26.

116 Carme Batlle, "Les relacions entre Barcelona i Sicília a la segona meitat del segle XIII," in *XI Congresso di Historia della Corona d'Aragona. La società mediterranea all'epoca del Vespro* (Palermo, 1983), p. 149.

117 Abulafia, *Un emporio mediterráneo*, pp. 149 and 156.

118 This shift has been properly analysed in: Odilo Engels, "El rey Jaume I de Aragón y la política internacional del siglo XIII," in *X Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón. Jaime I y su época*, ed. María del Carmen Ansón Calvo, 3 vols. (Saragossa, 1979), 1: 237–40; Maria Teresa Ferrer, "Panorama general de les relacions internacionals de Jaume I.

to approach the Hohenstaufens in Naples, which strengthened the presence of his subjects in the Sicilian market after 1260. Some Barcelonese merchants, such as Guillem de Peralada, started taking part in the Sicilian grain exports towards Northern Italy, coastal Languedoc and Ifriqiyah.¹¹⁹ However, it must be said that their cargoes were not always carried on Catalan ships. By that time, the amount of the Barcelonese *comanda* contracts averaged 823 *solidos*,¹²⁰ above the level attained in any other of the areas that Catalan businessmen frequented; some of those had even acquired Sicilian citizenship.

The economic activity of the merchants of the Confederation in the Italian Mezzogiorno went smoothly until Angevin imperialism barred their access to both Mediterranean basins. Only in Barcelona, eighteen *comanda* contracts with Sicily have been documented between 1238 and 1272. In some cases, the island was the final destination, whereas on other occasions, it was just a stopover on a longer trip to Alexandria, Constantinople or Tunis. The enforced withdrawal was, however, brief. In 1282, following the Catalan conquest, Barcelonan, Majorcan and Valencian businessmen undertook again their trading and financial activity in Palermo, Messina and Trapani. Soon afterwards, Catalan merchants were awarded the same reductions in custom duties and the same consular prerogatives as the Genoese, who had been favoured over all other nations up to that point.¹²¹ These concessions helped to increase traffic between Catalonia and Sicily.

Local textiles (cloth from Lleida and blankets) and foodstuffs (oil and eventually wheat), as well as Valencian paper, slaves and matting moved from Barcelona, Majorca or Valencia to Palermo, Trapani or Messina. Catalan merchants also redistributed Flemish and Northern-French cloth and paper from Murcia. On their homeward voyages, Catalan merchants brought back cotton and, to a lesser extent, cumin.¹²² In that period, wheat is only occasionally seen

Les relacions amb Itàlia," in *Jaume I. Commemoració del VIII centenari del naixement de Jaume I*, ed. Maria Teresa Ferrer, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 2011), 1: 408–12.

119 Jean Pierre Cuvillier, "Barcelona, Gênes et le blé de Sicile vers le milieu du XIII siècle," in *I Congresso storico Liguria-Catalogna* (Bordighera, 1974), pp. 163–70; David Abulafia, "Sul commercio del grano siciliano nel tardo Duecento," in *XI Congresso di Storia della Corona d'Aragona. La società mediterranea all'epoca del Vespro* (Palermo, 1983), pp. 11–15; García, Ferrer, *Assegurances i canvis marítims*, 2: 317–19; Ferrer, "El comerç amb els estats italians," p. 646.

120 Bensch, *Barcelona and its rulers* p. 288.

121 Capmany, *Memorias históricas*, 1: 62–63 and 65–66.

122 Madurell, García, *Comandas comerciales barcelonesas*, pp. 151–52, 157–58, 167–68 and 172–73; Ferrer, "El comerç amb els estats italians," pp. 645–47 and 652–54; Ferrer, "Catalan commerce," p. 35; Abulafia, *Un emporio mediterráneo*, p. 156.

among the exports to, and never among the imports from, Sicily. That is at least what the *comanda* contracts reflect.

Until the last quarter of the thirteenth century, the Strait of Gibraltar was a dangerous route for Christian sailors from the Western Mediterranean basin, one where Muslim piracy was endemic and that led to an unknown and mysterious ocean. It is thus normal that, beyond the old Pillars of Hercules, the Catalans and Majorcans only dared to sail along the coasts of Andalusia, Portugal and Morocco. It was only in 1277 that the Genoese and Majorcan galleys started prolonging their Atlantic trips to London and Bruges.

Once past the Strait of Gibraltar, Mediterranean vessels systematically stopped at Cadiz, Puerto de Santa Maria or Sanlúcar de Barrameda, ports connected to the great trade centre of Seville. Merchants from Barcelona and Majorca only appeared in this town after the Castilian conquest of 1250, and it did not take long for them to gain the same privileges as the Genoese and the right to open a market.¹²³ Their presence gradually increased over the following decades. In the first quarter of 1284, at the height of winter, three ships (two *naus* and one *lley*) left Majorca for the Andalusian capital.¹²⁴ They carried oriental spices, saffron and wine and brought back oil, cereals and leather.¹²⁵ Overland trade was also usual between the Crown of Aragon and Castile. It followed the courses of the Júcar and Ebro rivers. Catalan and Valencian fabrics, Occitan, French and Flemish cloth, and oriental spices made their way into Castile, while wool, livestock and minerals went in the opposite direction.¹²⁶

Trade between the Crown of Aragon and the textile centres in Northeastern France was initially channelled through coastal Languedoc to Montpellier, where two routes started: the Regordane Way, which traversed the Massif Central through Ales and Le Puy, and the old route that followed the Rhone and the Saone valleys through Avignon and Lyon. Despite being more difficult, tax and security reasons led to the former being more frequently used at least until the fifteenth century.¹²⁷ It was along these routes that the merchants from Saint-Antonin, Arras or Cahors brought the aforementioned Flemish fabrics

123 Capmany, *Memorias históricas*, 1: 46–48 and 52–53.

124 Riera, "La 'Llicència per a barques' de 1284," pp. 68–71.

125 Ortega, *El reino de Mallorca y el mundo atlántico*, pp. 164 and 203–04; Ferrer, "Catalan commerce," p. 44.

126 Máximo Diago, "Desarrollo de las ciudades aragonesas fronterizas con Castilla como centros mercantiles durante el siglo XIV: Tarazona, Calatayud y Daroca," *Revista de Historia Jerónimo de Zurita* 44 (1999), 211–20.

127 Robert-Henri Bautier, "Recherches sur les routes de l'Europe médiévale. I: De Paris et des Foires de Champagne à la Méditerranée par le Massif Central," *Bulletin Philologique et Historique* (1961), 99–143; Jean Combes, "Transports terrestres à travers la France centrale

to Montpellier and Perpignan.¹²⁸ Following in their footsteps, merchants from Montpellier, Roussillon, Catalonia and Valencia reached the fairs in Champagne,¹²⁹ where they sold leather and spices. In 1259, James I authorised the merchants from Lleida to appoint a consul who, along with the one from Barcelona, organised the distribution of the stalls where they sold cordovans in the shared market they owned.¹³⁰

Soon, traders from the Crown of Aragon prolonged their trips and reached Lille and Bruges in 1267 and 1299 respectively.¹³¹ About 1270, the Genoese opened a sea route between the Western Mediterranean and the North Sea.¹³² The route through Gibraltar, soon frequented by Majorcans¹³³ and Venetians, facilitated exchanges between these commercial centres and economically complementary areas. Barcelonan merchants soon used the route using both their own and Majorcan galleys. By the end of the century, one of them, Jaume de Vilaseca, was living in Dordrecht, from where he also traded with London.¹³⁴

à la fin du XIV^e siècle at au commencement du XV^e,” in *XXIX^e Congrès de la Fédération historique du Languedoc Méditerranéen et du Roussillon* (Montpellier, 1957), pp. 43–47.

- 128 Emery, “Tissus et marchands flamands à Perpignan,” pp. 114–22; Reyerson, “Le Rôle de Montpellier dans le commerce des draps,” pp. 25–26; Riera, “Perpiñán, 1025–1285,” pp. 15–34.
- 129 Jean Combes, “Montpellier et les Foires de Champagne,” in *France du Nord et France du Midi. Contacts et influences réciproques* (Paris, 1978), pp. 381–87; Maria Teresa Ferrer, “Nous documents sobre els catalans a les fires de Xampanya,” in *X Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón. Jaime I y su época*, ed. María del Carmen Ansón Calvo, 2 vols. (Saragossa, 1982), 1: 151–59; Riera, “Perpiñán, 1025–1285,” pp. 23–24.
- 130 Capmany, *Memorias históricas*, 1: 31.
- 131 Ferrer, “Catalan commerce,” p. 46.
- 132 Renée Doehaerd, “Les galères génoises dans la Manche et la Mer du Nord à la fin du XIII^e et au début du XIV^e siècle,” *Bulletin de l’Institut Historique Belge de Rome* 19 (1938), 5–76. Renée Doehaerd, *Les relations commerciales entre Gênes, la Belgique et l’Outremer d’après les archives notariales génoises, aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles* (Brussels, 1941), pp. 223–24.
- 133 Roberto S. López, “Majorcans and Genoese on the North Sea route in the Thirteenth Century,” *Revue Belge de Philologie et d’Histoire* 29 (1951), 1163–79; Alwyn A. Ruddock, *Italian merchants and Shipping in Southampton (1270–1600)* (Southampton, 1951), p. 21; Francisco Sevillano, “De Venecia a Flandes (vía Mallorca y Portugal, siglo XIV),” *Boletín de la Sociedad Arqueológica Luliana* 33 (1968–1972), 18; David Abulafia, “Les relations commerciales i polítiques entre el regne de Mallorca i Anglaterra,” in *XIII Congrès d’Història de la Corona d’Aragó. La Corona d’Aragó i l’Atlàntic*, 4 vols. (Palma of Majorca, 1990), 3: 70; Ortega, *El reino de Mallorca y el mundo atlántico*, p. 202.
- 134 Capmany, *Memorias históricas*, 1: 108; Del Treppo, *I mercanti catalani*, p. 113; Dolors Pifarré, *El comerç internacional de Barcelona i el Mar del Nord (Bruges) al final del segle XIV* (Barcelona, 2002), pp. 17–19.

The merchants from the Crown of Aragon reached the North Sea coast in search of two high quality products: Flemish cloth and English wool. They re-distributed oriental spices and alum. Dried fruits and saffron were the only local products carried on the outbound voyages.¹³⁵

Despite the technical advances made by ship-owners in the Crown of Aragon, active foreign trade in Catalonia only overtook passive foreign trade in the second third of the thirteenth century. In Valencia, most foreign trade was in the hands of Ligurian, Tuscan, Occitan and Provençal tradesmen. Nonetheless, in the City of Majorca the proportion seems to have been more balanced.

The first expansion of trade of the Crown of Aragon was centred on the Western Mediterranean basin. In contrast, although well documented, commercial expansion in the East was feeble, much below that of the Genoese and the Ligurians. Until 1280, the Eastern Mediterranean was only a valuable complement to the commercial area delimited by the Crown's maritime power, which stretched from Valencia to Sicily, and from Montpellier to the Maghreb. Access to the fairs in Champagne and Flanders was limited and along overland routes. Barcelonan merchants, ship-owners and investors preferred to go south rather than east or north. Despite being quite high, the profits from trade were not sufficient to open up a deep social division between the old and new money, or between patricians and merchants in Catalan towns.¹³⁶ Both spent good portions of their capital on shipbuilding and finance.

In the places where they more often operated, the tradesmen of the Crown had the services of the consulates at their disposal, as well as the advice of the consuls. These did not only instruct and arbitrate in economic disputes among the subjects of the Crown under their jurisdiction, but were also the main intermediaries between the tradesmen and the local authorities, especially customs officers. Originally appointed by the king, the consuls soon came to be appointed by the municipal government of Barcelona (the *Consell*), which explains why they usually came from among the Barcelonan mercantile elite. By the end of the thirteenth century, the Catalan-Aragonese kings, advised by the main merchants and shipbuilders, had already opened consulates in the Maghreb (Tunis, Bejaia, Algiers, Annaba), Sicily (Palermo, Trapani, Messina), Tuscany (Pisa), Egypt (Alexandria) and Andalusia (Seville).¹³⁷

135 Ortega, *El reino de Mallorca y el mundo atlántico*, pp. 207, 211, 213 and 253–254; Abulafia, *Un emporio mediterráneo*, pp. 234–36; Ferrer, “Catalan commerce,” pp. 46–47.

136 Bensch, *Barcelona and its rulers*, pp. 300–01.

137 Duran, “Consolats nàutics,” 2: 747–61.

4.4 *The Emergence of Naval and Maritime Regulations and Jurisdiction*

In the big ports of the Crown of Aragon, the rise of trade and sailings increased the number and complexity of litigation, which ultimately exceeded the capacity of the current judicial structures based on the vicar (*veguer*) and the bailiff (*batlle*). The most qualified representatives among the merchants and the shipbuilders convinced James I that, in order to ensure a fast and fair solution to the disputes, it was necessary to create a special jurisdiction, like the one that had already appeared in other trade centres in the Mediterranean, where Roman mercantile and maritime law had been taken up and updated. On January 7th 1258, the king delegated the management and defence of the beach to the *Universitat dels Prohoms de la Ribera de Barcelona* (Corporation of the Notables of the Shore of Barcelona),¹³⁸ a newly formed public corporation or guild that would be autonomous from the municipality, which was then still being set up. A few months later, on August 26th, he approved its first ordinances.¹³⁹ These regulations granted the corporation full authority in all aspects concerning the safety of Barcelonan ships and their cargoes, the rights and duties of the crew, and private mercantile relations.

Moreover, the regulations contemplated the creation of reduced commissions that would travel on each ship sailing from Barcelona. Regardless of the destination of the ship, these commissions should be made up of two notables (*pròcers*) and five advisors in the case of the *naus*, and by two *pròcers* and two advisors in the case of *llenys*. Despite having been chosen by the crew, the two *pròcers* were the delegates of the king and the *Universitat de la Ribera*, and had full jurisdiction over those travelling on the ship and the Barcelonan merchants they might find at the stops on the voyage. The *Universitat de la Ribera* could also form commissions of two *pròcers* to arbitrate disputes or ambiguous situations surrounding maritime trade. This was a start to building a legal and institutional framework to protect local businessmen from fraud and abuse.

However, the *Universitat de la Ribera* was only a short-term response by the king to the increasing social unrest that the city of Barcelona suffered during the second half of the thirteenth century. Its powers were rapidly assumed by the municipal government as soon as tension decreased. On August 12th 1266, James I granted the Council the power to appoint consuls annually for the

138 Josep Maria Font Rius, "La universidad de prohombres de Ribera de Barcelona y sus ordenanzas marítimas (1258)," in *Estudis sobre els drets i les institucions locals en la Catalunya Medieval*, ed. Josep Maria Font Rius (Barcelona, 1985), pp. 685–712; Germà Colón, Arcadi García, *Llibre del Consolat de Mar*, 4 vols. (Barcelona, 1982), 2: 9–10.

139 Capmany, *Memorias históricas*, 1: 25–30; Ferran Valls Taberner, *Consolat de Mar*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1931), 1: 119–36.

ships sailing overseas. These consuls would have jurisdiction over the people on board and the merchants.¹⁴⁰ The parallel between the consuls and the previous *pròcers* is clear, but there were also significant differences between them, not least that while the former depended on the Council, not the *Universitat de la Ribera*.

The growth of the fleet and the foreign trade required an almost synchronic advance of the naval and mercantile jurisdiction. The first specialised court was established in Barcelona although we do not have much information about its origin. It seems that the creation of the sea consuls (*cònsols de mar*) cannot be dissociated from the regulations of the *Universitat de la Ribera*. In 1279, King Peter the Great granted the merchants of Barcelona the right to appoint two representatives, one chosen from among the seamen and one among the traders, to regulate and organise navigation and maritime trade.¹⁴¹ In a sentence from 1282, these two representatives are called "*procuratores seu consules universitatis civitatis Barchinone super facto maris*,"¹⁴² a title that shows that they depended on the town council. From this evolution, we must retain the fact that the organisation had been reduced to two *cònsols de mar* and, above all, that they were appointed by the municipal government of Barcelona.

However, we do not exactly know the reach of their jurisdiction or the legal code they used. The records of the creation of the second court, that of Valencia, state that the Barcelonan magistrates arbitrated according to the *Consuetudo maris*, a set of rules of different origins that had been compiled during the thirteenth century.¹⁴³ However, the recurrent conflicts over jurisdiction that arose during the first half of the fourteenth century seem to indicate that naval and mercantile jurisdiction belonged to the *veguer* and the *batlle*, and that the role of the *cònsols de mar* was limited to "*aquelles questions que, per via d'arbitratge, d'amigable composició o de consell corporatiu del prohoms de mar als tribunals ordinaris, els hi eren sotmeses*".¹⁴⁴

140 Capmany, *Memorias históricas*, 1: 35–36; Font Rius, "La universidad de prohombres de Ribera," p. 708; García, *Llibre del Consolat de Mar*, 1: 75; Duran, "Consolats nàutics," pp. 756–58.

141 Maria Teresa Ferrer, "Sobre els orígens del Consolat de Mar a Barcelona el 1279 i sobre els cònsols d'Ultramar a bord de vaixells," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 23 (1993), 141–50; Duran, "El context institucional," pp. 197–98.

142 Capmany, *Memorias históricas*, 1: 49.

143 Capmany, *Memorias históricas*, 1: 57; Aquilino Iglesia, "Del 'Mar internum' al 'Mare Mediterraneum,'" pp. 186–89.

144 "solving those affairs that were presented to them through arbitration, amicable settlements or corporate councils". Colom, García, *Llibre del Consolat de Mar*, 1: 80.

The concession that the seamen of Valencia obtained from Peter the Great in 1283, at the highpoint of the war in Sicily, was not a simple copy of the one obtained shortly before by their counterparts in Barcelona. It contained three significant novelties: it had been established through an agreement that the king would not be able to revoke; it granted legal force to the application of the *Consuetudo maris*; and it conferred on the two consuls a clearly defined maritime and mercantile jurisdiction of their own.¹⁴⁵ The jurisdictional independence of the two consuls, which were to be chosen annually by the local skippers and sailors¹⁴⁶ (not by the town council) had to be protected from the interference of the ordinary royal officials. On December 9th 1284, the king had to grant the court a judge of appeal and forbid the plaintiffs from appealing against the sentences of the consuls before any other magistrate.¹⁴⁷ As shown in the following chapter, after these innovations, the sea consulate of Valencia would have a precise structure and jurisdiction that would be exported to the main trade centres of the Crown of Aragon.

145 Garcia, *La marina catalana*, pp. 127–28; Colom, Garcia, *Llibre del Consolat de Mar*, 1: 82–85.

146 Colom, Garcia, *Llibre del Consolat de Mar*, 1: 83, 90.

147 Colom, Garcia, *Llibre del Consolat de Mar*, 2: 131.

Crises and Changes in the Late Middle Ages

Antoni Riera

At the start of the fourteenth century and after a preparatory phase that lasted about twenty years, Europe entered into a long crisis with a deep and traumatic reorganisation of its economic, social, political and cultural structures. These difficult times reached a peak in 1348–1350, when the pandemic of the Black Death (originally from Asia) decimated the population to an extent hitherto unknown. From then on, cyclical outbreaks of bubonic plagues and other contagious diseases were a reiterated scourge, one that delayed the recovery of the population for almost a century.

Nowadays, with few exceptions, historians question the existence of a single late-medieval crisis, understood as a prolonged collapse of the economy. Some reviews at the European¹ and Catalan² levels have openly defended that the terms “crisis” and “decline” are not synonyms. A new conception of the late-medieval crisis has gradually taken root. According to this, the demographic recession and political crisis did not cause a long and deep economic contraction, but rather a set of structural transformations compatible with an upward trajectory in the economy.³ The most adequate conceptual reference would be that of a series of cyclical crises within a general dynamic of growth and with endogenous and exogenous factors of varying importance.

Like the rest of the West, the Crown of Aragon suffered a crisis of cereal supply, pandemics, natural calamities and wars between 1323 and 1461. It fought wars with the Kingdom of Majorca, Genoa and Castile and had to resist numerous foreign invasions of its land and maritime frontiers, while also dedicating economic and military resources to neutralising Sard secessionism. It had to attend to the demands from municipalities and lordships for protection and security. These repeated and onerous efforts caused a heavy increase in the

1 Paulino Iradiel, “La crisis bajomedieval, un tiempo de conflictos,” in *Conflictos sociales, políticos e intelectuales en la España de los siglos XIV y XV*, eds. José Luis Martín, José Ignacio de la Iglesia Duarte (Logroño, 2004), pp. 13–48.

2 Gaspar Feliu, “La crisis catalana de la Baja Edad Media. Estado de la cuestión,” *Hispania* 64/2 (2004), 435–66.

3 Iradiel, “La crisis bajomedieval,” p. 22; David Igual, “¿Crisis? ¿Qué crisis? El comercio internacional en los reinos hispánicos de la Baja Edad Media,” *Edad Media. Revista de Historia* 8 (2007), 203–23.

tax burden, which led many municipal governments down the slippery slope of indebtedness. Faced with these difficulties, those affected sought an answer in solidarities of jurisdiction, municipality, band, *mà* ("hand", according to the social level), or even trade, with the consequent rise in social tensions. Faced with a demographic implosion and the global fall in supply and demand, the most innovative sectors of society strove to revitalise agricultural production, renew manufacturing and re-launch trade. Their efforts had positive effects on all three sectors, especially the tertiary.

1 The Black Death and Subsequent Demographic Contraction

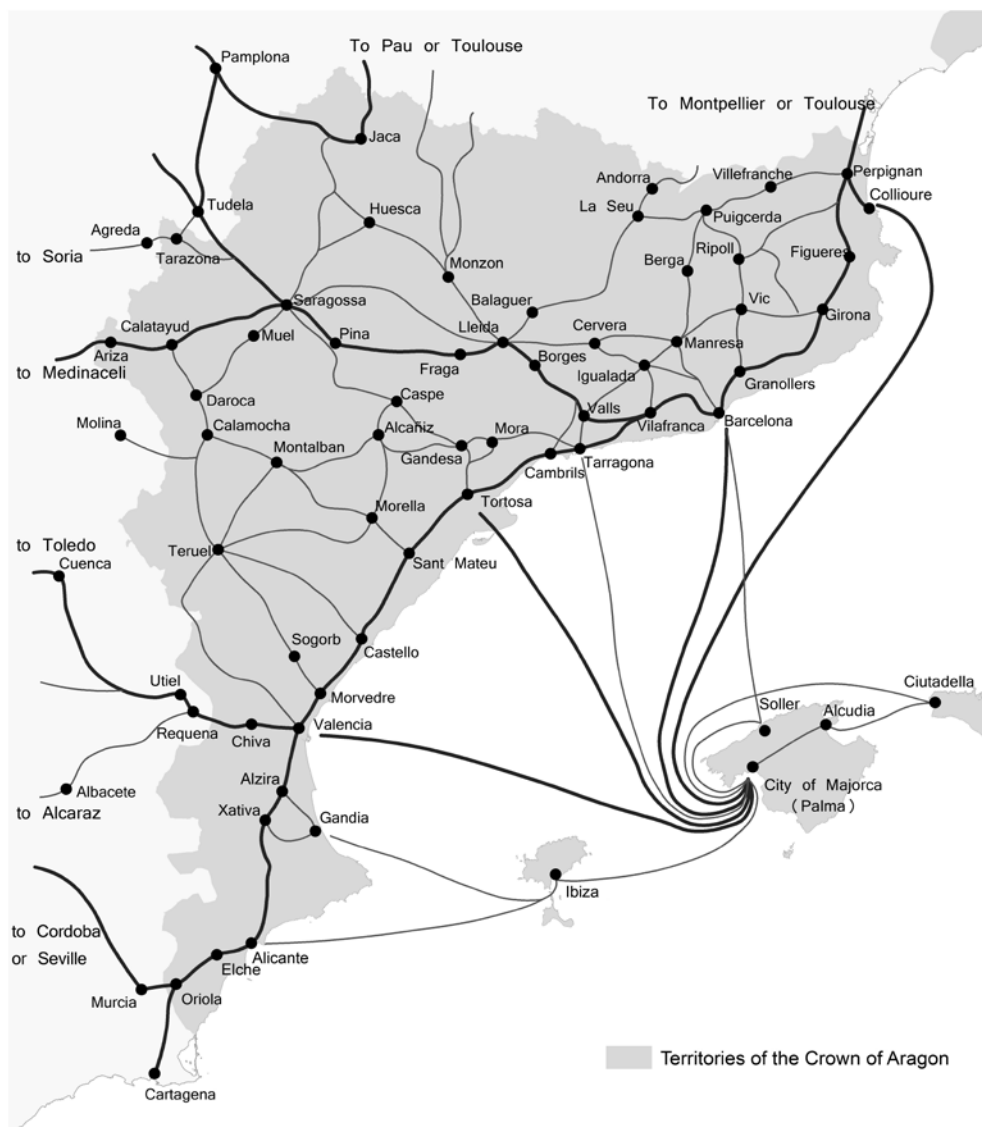
Given the magnitude of its consequences, the epidemic of bubonic plague in the mid-fourteenth century known as the Black Death was an exceptional catastrophe on the European scale. It was characterised by widespread contagion, as the bacillus (*Yersinia pestis*) broke down geographical and social frontiers and caused high mortality rates in both the countryside and the cities. After this first biological disaster, the bacillus reappeared with dramatic regularity and generated selective population losses: the so-called Children's Plague (1362) was followed by the *mortaldat dels mitjans* ("death of the middle-aged") in 1371. From 1400 on, the epidemics mutated significantly as a consequence of reiterated changes of agent and vector: the bubonic plague gave way to such other contagious diseases as smallpox, typhus, tuberculosis or measles.⁴ The demographic costs of these new pathologies were high, although lower than the devastation caused by the Black Death.

Wars, plagues, shortages and famine also contributed to delaying the change in tendency in the population dynamic. As a consequence of this combination of adversities, according to the most reliable calculations, in a hundred and fifty years, Catalonia lost 59.69 % of its population. Between 1347 and 1500, the number of taxed hearths fell from 148,679 to 59,929.⁵ On Majorca, between 1329 and 1475, the number of taxed hearths fell from 12,339 to 8,676, a drop of 29.68%.⁶ In the Valencia region, the first epidemics had a lesser impact, and

4 Manuel Camps Clemente, Manuel Camps Surroca, *La pesta del segle XV a Catalunya* (Lleida, 1998).

5 Gaspar Feliu, "Evolución y asentamiento de la población," in *La Corona d'Aragón en el centro de su historia: aspectos económicos y sociales (1208-1458)*, ed. José Ángel Sesma (Saragossa, 2009), pp. 36-39; Kay Suenaga, "Estimació matemàtica de la població de la Corona d'Aragó," *Acta Historica et Archaeologica Mediaevalia* 31 (2011-2013), 329.

6 Feliu, "Evolución y asentamiento de la población," pp. 43-45; Suenaga, "Estimació matemàtica de la població," p. 328.



MAP 9.1

Internal trade routes of the Crown of Aragon in the Late Middle Ages.

MAP BY ANTONI RIERA AND SERVEI CIENTIFICOTÈCNIC DE CARTOGRAFIA I SISTEMES D'INFORMACIÓ GEOGRÀFICA DE LA UNIVERSITAT DE LLEIDA.

only meant a stagnation of the population, so that between 1347 and 1469, the number of hearths went from 61,500 to 63,894.⁷ In the case of Aragon, two of the leading experts have proposed figures of around 90,000 hearths just before the Black Death, and 46,292 in 1462.⁸ This implies a decrease in population of around 60%. It is possible, however, that it was somewhat less, given that another researcher, no less competent in the subject, has considered the first of these two figures excessive since it would be an absolute maximum.⁹ According to his calculations, the loss of population in the mid-Ebro valley would have been around 20%.

Through the temporary collapse of the social systems that organised and controlled labour, the epidemics had a centrifuging effect in rural areas, dispersing families and leading to a flight to urban nuclei. The more notable consequences of these migratory movements were the exodus of people from the highlands, the consolidation of the towns that acted as capitals at the local or district level, and the movement of people to the cities that had become the centres of large regional areas, almost all situated on the coastal strip, or on the Ebro. The lands in the Pyrenean and Iberian ranges, that were already suffering a drop in population before the arrival of the Black Death, saw this tendency accentuated and they were turned into pastures for local and transhumance livestock. The short-distance migrations consolidated the small, eminently rural towns, including villages around churches (*segreres*, *celleres*), that had arisen during the period of growth in the eleventh-thirteenth centuries, and led to a significant fall in the scattered population.

2 Changes in the Countryside

Although the fall in population affected the whole economy and all parts of society, it was felt especially in agriculture and the rural world. From 1348 on, agricultural production and income from the land fell drastically, and this directly affected all the social strata who lived from this. The uneven distribution of the costs of the crisis increased social tensions in some areas to the point of triggering a Europe-wide wave of rural revolts in the mid-fifteenth century.

7 Feliu, "Evolución y asentamiento de la población," pp. 42–43; Pedro Pérez Puchal, "La población del País Valenciano hasta la época estadística," *Cuadernos de Geografía* 10 (1972), 1–30.

8 José Ángel Sesma, Carlos Laliena, eds., *La población de Aragón en la Edad Media (siglos XIII–XV)*. *Estudios de demografía histórica* (Saragossa, 2004), p. 14; Carlos Laliena, "La Edad Media," in *Historia de Aragón*, ed. Eloy Fernández Clemente (Madrid, 2008), pp. 330–31.

9 Feliu, "Evolución y asentamiento de la población," p. 41 and 46.

This also affected the Crown of Aragon, where peasants on Majorca rebelled in 1450 and in Old Catalonia in 1461 and 1484.¹⁰

The immediate consequence of the Black Death was a marked shortfall in manpower and the growth of land left fallow. The abandonment of farmland had already begun in the last third of the thirteenth century. However, the shock of 1348 increased this to a hitherto unseen level, one that did not go unnoticed by the people of the time, beginning with the sovereign. In Old Catalonia, the problem of the *masos rònecs* (abandoned *masos* or farmhouses) appeared in all its rawness. At least at first, these were occupied by the peasants working neighbouring farms. This tendency towards concentration reduced the number of properties and increased the profits of the tenants, especially because the direct lord, interested in maintaining them under tillage, only demanded part of the *cens* (the fixed annual rent) and personal services from each of the *masos* grouped together. The area being farmed in Aragon also shrank, but this has yet to be studied in depth.¹¹

2.1 *The Spread of Emphyteusis*

The demographic fall led to significant changes in the contractual relations between the large landowners and their tenants. Many properties became unprofitable due to a lack of manpower. The abandonment of the less fertile properties by the peasants who were working them, alleging that they were “*més inútils i perjudicials que profitosos*”¹² and that the *censos* had become excessive, shows that the amount of land outstripped the number of people available to work it. The lords, including the sovereign, found themselves obliged to make temporary concessions to the surviving workforce to prevent them from deserting the land. They reduced the *censos*, monetised the income in kind, conceded free redemptions of dominical services and temporary waivers on residence in the *mas*, and transformed servile tenures into emphyteutic ones. However, these seigniorial concessions were not shared evenly among the various categories of peasants, but were proportional to their respective levels of welfare. As they recuperated the useful domain over the abandoned

10 Josep Fernández Trabal, Antoni Riera Melis, “Les crisis econòmiques i socials al camp (segles XIV–XV),” in *Història Agrària dels Països Catalans*, ed. Emili Giralt, 4 vols. (Barcelona, 2004), 2: 119–79.

11 Carlos Laliena, “Transformación social y revolución comercial en Aragón: treinta años de investigación,” in *Una economía integrada. Comercio, instituciones y mercados en Aragón, 1300–1500*, eds. Carlos Laliena, Mario Lafuente (Saragossa, 2012), p. 37.

12 “more useless and harmful than profitable”. Miquel Galobardes, *Els remences dins el quadre de la pagesia catalana fins al segle XV*, 2 vols (Perelada, 1973), 1: 183.

properties, the landowners ceded these in emphyteusis to the “fat” peasants of the surrounding area, those who could best guarantee the payment of incomes. With this pragmatic behaviour, the lords contributed to amplifying the hierarchy that already existed within the peasantry, and accentuating its internal contradictions.

The sharp rise in wages and shortage of manpower produced a re-evaluation of the services the lords demanded from their tenants.¹³ In the mid-fourteenth century, these services no longer covered the manpower needs of the great landowners, as most communities had managed to reduce them to a few days where they had not been redeemed with *censos* in cash or freely. After 1350, the seigniorial demands for work from the peasants (*joves*, *tragins* and similar) ceased to be an effective solution given the increase in the costs of working the great feudal properties.

From 1370 onwards, the forms of exploitation based on servile work became obsolete. In most domains, beginning with those of the Cistercian monasteries in New Catalonia, more dynamic approaches were introduced. These gave priority to emphyteusis or, less often, some short-term agrarian agreements, both of which guaranteed more profits for the lords than the maintenance of the archaic demands. The landowner required the peasant to pay a right to entry and an annual *cens*, and reserved a right of redemption, of preferential purchase, over the farm (*fadiga*) and a transfer tax (*lluisme*), in the case the previous prerogative was not used.¹⁴ The right to entry was the payment the holder of the tenure made to the lord to obtain a document certifying the transfer of the useful domain. This was considered the price of legal access to tenure. It was paid in cash and the amount varied with the established value of the land. Thus, only those rural families with a certain financial solvency could aspire to become emphyteutic tenants. From the start, the emphyteutic contracts implied fixed *censos* on highly lucrative agricultural products (wheat, barley, oil and wax) or in hard currency, silver or gold. *Lluisme* was the amount that the owner of the land demanded to authorise the farmer to transfer the tenure through payment. It consisted in part of the price, in the case of sale, or the right to entry, in the case of a sublease. Initially this was set at a third, a fraction that would gradually fall with time. In contrast, Aragonese emphyteutic con-

13 Enric Guinot, “Sofras y prestaciones personales en los mudéjares valencianos,” in *VI Simposio de Mudejarismo, Teruel, 16–18 septiembre de 1993* (Teruel, 1993), pp. 329–56.

14 Josep Maria Pons Guri, “Entre l'emfiteusi i el feudalisme (Els reculls del dret gironi),” *Estudi General* 5–6 (1985–1986), pp. 411–418; Carlos Laliena, “Dinámicas de crisis: La sociedad rural aragonesa al filo de 1300,” in *La Corona de Aragón en el centro de su historia, 1208–1458. Aspectos económicos y sociales*, ed. José Ángel Sesma (Saragossa, 2010), pp. 73–77.

tracts did not include any type of payment for this.¹⁵ When the lessee wanted to transfer the tenure, he first had to notify the lord, who had thirty days to reclaim it at the price offered by the purchaser in the Catalan territories, or for a slightly lower amount in Aragon. Many of the rich peasants subleased part of their tenures to poorer rural families in exchange for a fixed payment (*cens*). The transaction also required permission from the lord, who reserved part of the *lluïisme* and the other rights that the lessee had retained. In Valencia and the Balearic Islands, emphyteusis had been, for the sake of how the land was shared, the main way for new feudal farmers to obtain ownership of the land. Towards the end of the Middle Ages, in many regions of the Crown of Aragon, this agricultural contract strengthened the legal tie between the farmer and the farm, allowing him to concentrate on his work, given that it did not imply any kind of seigniorial services to the lord who owned the land and did not degrade the status of the peasant as a free man.

2.2 *The Diversification of Agrarian Contracts*

The reduction of rural manpower and the rise in wages stimulated the spread of new types of agrarian contracts. The urban landowners who lacked enough time contracted out some of the agricultural work or the management of their estates to specialised manpower, to experienced local farmers.¹⁶

Another solution within the reach of the landowners lacking specialised manpower was sharecropping contracts.¹⁷ These consisted of the temporary cession of all or part of a farm by an owner or lessee to a peasant for the latter to work in exchange for an agreed part of the crops. The minimum duration was that necessary to obtain a good harvest, a full rotation or any other crop cycle. The defining trait of the sharecropping agreement was the way the profits were shared.

At the end of the Middle Ages, the leasehold contract, the temporary transfer of the land to a farmer in exchange for a fixed income in cash or kind found widespread acceptance. This type of short-term agricultural contract allowed the lord to adapt the amount of the rent periodically to the evolution of the supply of manpower and the prices of the harvests, and also to change the farmer frequently without any outlay. Although documented all over the Crown of Aragon, this only developed significantly near urban centres, in areas

15 Laliena, "Dinámicas de crisis," p. 76.

16 Josep Hernando, "Els contractes de treball d'agricultors segons els protocols notariais del segle XIV," *Estudis històrics i documents dels arxius de Protocols* 16 (1998), 123–210.

17 Lúdia Donat, "Contractes 'ad laborationem' i establiments de masos després de la Pesta Negra (1349)," in *Homes, masos, història. La Catalunya del Nord-est (segles XI–XX)*, eds. Rosa Congost, Lluís To (Girona, 1999), pp. 136–43; Laliena, "Dinámicas de crisis," p. 77.

with a strong circulation of money which attracted specialised manpower and where intensive and speculative agriculture prospered. Leasing was one of the most obvious consequences of the application to agriculture of the notions of calculation by wealthy citizens, those who worked to produce food and raw materials for export and to meet urban demands.

2.3 *Crop Specialisation*

These reforms are also inseparable from a process of agricultural specialisation in the context of a growing interrelation between the rural and urban markets. From the mid-fourteenth century, following a dynamic that had begun some decades earlier, the primary sector all over the Crown of Aragon moved into a process of specialisation in products with high demand on the domestic and external markets. This option implied a change of mentality among the medium and small peasants, who, from then on, attempted to increase their profits in function of the dynamics of the markets, increasing the quantity and improving the quality of their produce. In the long term, this contributed (as Angel Sesma has indicated) to widening supply and consolidating the market.¹⁸ Saffron, sugar cane, rice, figs, raisins, woad and mulberry, together with wheat, vines and olives, were grown as part of the economic strategies of farmers, who, in some cases, had to overcome the initial reluctance of the lords, somewhat more reticent to innovations. This faith in the possibilities of speculative agriculture among the farmers was spurred on by the urban merchants, who travelled into the country to buy the production, paying competitive prices and selling a growing range of manufactured articles to the new consumers. Thus, regional productive specialisations in the Crown of Aragon did not only depend on the edaphic and climatologic conditions of each area, as claimed until very recently, but also especially on the impact of market demand, at just as early a time as in the rest of the countries in the Latin arc.

2.4 *The Development of Livestock Farming*

As shown above, the Black Death and the subsequent crisis enabled part of the agricultural population of the mountains to abandon their lands and move to more fertile land on the plain. This desertion contributed to accentuating the already evident dominance of livestock farming in the Pyrenean and Iberian

18 José Ángel Sesma, "Centros de producción y redes de distribución en los espacios interiores de la Corona de Aragón: materia primas y productos básicos," in *XVIII Congrés d'Història de la Corona d'Aragó. La Mediterrània de la Corona d'Aragó. Segles XIII–XVI. VII centenari de la sentència arbitral de Torrellas. 1304–2004*, ed. Rafael Narbona, 2 vols. (Valencia, 2005), 1: 916.

ranges. The crisis also had repercussions on demand. While the reduction of the area under the plough led to a fall in the value of oxen in the country, the ability of long-distance trade and manufacturing to overcome the difficulties avoided the collapse of prices for wool, meat and cheese in the cities. After the slump caused by the Black Death, demand for these products gradually rose between 1380 and 1500, despite some occasional setbacks. At the end of the Middle Ages, sheep farming became the key sector of the rural economy in some areas of Aragon, Catalonia, Valencia and the Balearic Islands. The socio-economic factors (the demand on the domestic and foreign markets) were as decisive in the rise of this sector as the ecological aspects (composition of the soils, microclimates, topography).

In the Pyrenean area and the Alto Maestrazgo in the Late Middle Ages most farming families increased their stabled livestock or also *de trenuita* (a short transhumance, spending up to a night outside their pen), which, as well as cheese and meat, supplied them with wool and leather. The fact that butchers travelled up from the towns and cities on the coast and the central depression to these mountain districts to buy sheep and goats directly from the farmers¹⁹ reinforces the likelihood of this hypothesis. In the northern areas of Valencia, after obtaining the right to pasture from their respective lords in exchange for specific *censos*, the local communities banned free access to the pastures in their limits for livestock from outside the area. This exclusive use of the local grasslands accelerated the development of livestock farming, orientated towards both meat and wool production.

The development of stabled and transhumance and *de tremuita* livestock by peasants on the plains of the Crown of Aragon in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is still little studied. Its effects on the local and regional economy can only be guessed at through indirect references like the increase in meadows, rangelands and fallows, and the rise in the late-medieval institution of the *dula*. Everywhere, both lords and village communities managed to close access to their fallow fields, stubble and uncultivated lands by livestock that was not their own.²⁰ The typical institution of this livestock sector continued to be the *dula*, a flock made up of many individual flocks, whose main purpose was to allow farming families to concentrate on working the land while also enabling them to breed livestock. The *duler*, a communal shepherd, grazed the villagers' flocks on the communal lands and those of neighbouring communities with

19 Ramon A. Banegas, *L'aprovisionament de carn a Barcelona durant els segles XIV i XV*, PhD Dissertation, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 2007), 1: 52–113.

20 Maria Teresa Ferrer, "Boscos i deveses a la Corona Catalano-aragonesa (s. XIV i XV)," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 20 (1990), 529.

which the village council had established agreements to share the uncultivated land. In exchange, he received a salary, paid by all the users of the service, and could include a small number of his own animals in the *dula*.²¹

One of the areas of the Crown of Aragon where livestock farming on the plain became a key sector of the economy at the end of the medieval period, was Minorca, as can be seen from the sustained rise in exports of lambs, pigs, bulls, horses, cheese, wool and leather to Majorca and Catalonia. The development of Minorcan livestock farming not only increased the amount of livestock but also their quality. The improvement of the pastures and good genetic selection enabled the local petty nobility to obtain both good fat sheep and also the longest and finest wool produced anywhere in the Western Mediterranean in those times. These advances were soon detected by the great Italian companies who, prior to 1400, linked the Balearic wool market with the great emporiums of Tuscany,²² Lombardy, Monferrat and other regions of Italy.²³

While the small peasants continued with small-scale stabled and one-day transhumance (*de tremuita*) livestock, the lords and a sector of the urban oligarchy of the Crown of Aragon, spurred on by perspectives of considerable profits, reinvested economic surpluses in extending the transhumance flocks they had created between 1050 and 1250, when the expansion of the farmed area had reduced the pastures in their domains. During the Late Middle Ages, the importance acquired by this kind of livestock farming led to a strengthening of the associations of owners created in the earlier period, like the Valencian and Aragonese *llogals* (communities of livestock owners) and the powerful *Casa de Ganaderos de Zaragoza*, which reached its high point in this time.²⁴ While these “lobbies” continued to extend the areas of pasture in their

-
- 21 José Sánchez Adell, “La ganadería medieval en Castellón de la Plana. Materiales para su estudio,” *Boletín de la Sociedad Castellonense de Cultura* 75 (1999), 729; José Sánchez Adell, “Algunos aspectos de la práctica ganadera medieval en las tierras castellonenses,” *Estudis Castellonencs* 5 (1992–1993), 367.
 - 22 Federico Melis, “La llana de l'Espanya mediterrània i de la Berberia occidental en els segles XIV–XV,” in *València, un mercat medieval*, ed. Antoni Furió (València, 1985), pp. 61–80; Coral Cuadrada, “El paper de la llana menorquina segons la documentació datiniana: mecanismes i estratègies comercials,” *Acta Historica et Archaeologica Mediaevalia* 20–21 (1999–2000), 391–407.
 - 23 Ramon Rosselló, *Aportació documental a la història de Menorca. Segle XV* (Palma of Majorca, 1982), p. 77.
 - 24 As shown by: José Antonio Fernández Otal, *La Casa de Ganaderos de Zaragoza en la Edad Media. Aportación a la Historia Pecuaria del Aragón Medieval (siglos XIII–XV)* (Saragossa, 1996); José Antonio Fernández Otal, “La trashumancia en la antigua Corona de Aragón,” in *Un camino de ida y vuelta: la trashumancia en España*, eds. Feliciano Novoa, Luís Vicente Elías (Barcelona, 2003), pp. 63–94.

own lands, they negotiated new rights of way and pasture with the public powers and lords of distant lands, while consolidating the existing drove roads and creating new ones to channel the annual movements of the growing number of flocks. Pastures on the southern slopes of the Iberian System, which had been conquered in the second half of the twelfth century, were added to the existing summer pastures in the northern part of this range and the Pyrenees. The winter pastures continued to expand across the steppe lands of the middle valley of the Ebro and the Catalan Central Depression, as well as in the wastelands, stubble and marshes of the Valencian lowlands, colonised feudally during the first half of the thirteenth century. The summer pastures were connected to the fallow lands and winter meadows as before, through a network of drove roads (*carrerades*), sprinkled with drinking troughs and areas to rest the flocks. From 1250 onwards, the local authorities whose lands these routes crossed were responsible for their upkeep. In exchange, they demanded a toll for the migrating flocks.

Although cattle and horses continued to move along these systems of normal and reverse transhumance in the Crown of Aragon, the bulk of the livestock in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was made up of sheep and goats. Given that the reduction in ploughed land had reduced the demand for animals to work the land as mentioned above, the large landowners gave priority to the urban markets, and specialised in the production of meat and wool. Some historians have claimed that in many areas of Western Europe, the end of the Middle Ages saw a “wool revolution”.

What were the results of this expansion of this transhumant livestock farming in the Crown of Aragon? Quantitative data are still very scarce. We have data from the mid-fifteenth century about the flocks the people of the city of Valencia sent to summer in the high pastures of Teruel.²⁵ The figures vary between 9,760 head in 1463 and 35,561 in 1469. Regarding Aragon, towards the end of the century, the people of Puertomingalvo, in the Maestrazgo de Teruel, had 11,000 head of sheep and those of Epila, in the Jalon valley, had 16,000.²⁶

2.5 *The Localised Outbreaks of Conflict*

Emphyteusis, sharecropping and other factors of agrarian renovation were not, however, distributed geographically and socially equitably around the

25 José Antonio Sesma, Germán Navarro, “Herbajes de ganados valencianos en tierras de Teruel (siglo XV),” *Boletín de la Sociedad Castellonense de Cultura* 75 (1999), 787–89.

26 Javier Medrano, *Puertomingalvo en el siglo XV. Iniciativas campesinas y sistema social en la montaña turolense* (Puertomingalvo, 2006), pp. 332–42; Carlos Laliena, “Les structures du marché de la terre dans la vallée de l’Èbre aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles,” in *Le marché de la terre au Moyen Âge*, eds. Laurent Feller, Chris Wickham (Rome, 2005), pp. 559–60.

Crown of Aragon. Farmers in some well-defined areas questioned the distribution of what the North-American political scientist, John Rawls, has called the "primary social goods": wealth, freedoms, rights, participation in the political and administrative institutions, fiscal equanimity and the symbolic values. In the mid-fifteenth century, given the sterility of the judicial path for reducing inequality, a significant sector of the peasantry opted for general revolts. These broke out on Majorca in 1450 and in Old Catalonia in 1462, respectively triggering two armed conflicts: the Revolt of the *Forans*²⁷ and the War of the *Remences*.²⁸ In both scenarios, the farmers confronted the feudal lords and rentiers from the city, the large landowners on the land, and did so with the support of the urban artisans and merchants.

On Majorca, a territory without representative institutions such as a Parliament of estates or a General Diputation, the king sided with the privileged estates. The firm royal response shortened the conflict, which lasted just over two years, from July 1450 to August 1452, with all the cost borne by the losers, the peasants, many of whom lost their farms and had to seek work in the city or overseas, beginning with Sardinia.

In contrast, the strength of the peasant uprising in Catalonia induced the monarchy to use it for its own benefit. John II took advantage of the conflict not only to loosen the institutional noose that the privileged estates had imposed on him and to cut back on the political and fiscal powers of the *Diputació del General*, or *Generalitat*, but also as a complementary source of income. The division into two clearly-defined sides (a large sector of both the peasantry and the popular classes, with the support of the sovereign, against most of the nobility and the prominent bourgeois members (*ciutadans honrats*), led by the *Generalitat*) meant that the clash that broke out in 1462 evolved into an authentic civil war. The institutional and urban aspect of this conflict, which lasted much longer than the Revolt of the *Forans*, ended in 1472, and the rural part in 1486, with the Capitulation of Pedralbes and the Sentence of Guadalupe,²⁹ respectively. The sovereign not only had to pay for the support

27 José María Quadrado, *Forenses y ciudadanos. Historia de las disensiones civiles de Mallorca en el siglo XV*, 2nd ed. (Palma of Majorca, 1986); Álvaro Santamaría, *El Levantamiento Foráneo* (Palma of Majorca, 1970); Guillem Morro, *Mallorca a mitjan segle XV. El Sindicat i l'Alçament Forà* (Palma of Majorca, 1997).

28 Galobardes, *Els remences dins el quadre de la pagesia catalana*; Jaume Vicens Vives, *Historia de los Remensas (en el siglo XV)* (Barcelona, 1978); Rosa Lluch, *Els Remences. La senyoria de l'Almoïna de Girona als segles XIV i XV* (Girona, 2005); Josep Fernández Trabal, "El conflicte remença a la Catalunya del segle XV," *Afers* 42/43 (2002), 587–624.

29 Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Cancelleria, reg. 3549, ff. 156v–174v; Vicens, *Historia de los Remensas*, pp. 337–55.

of the moderate peasants with the redemption (preceptive but not free) of the bad uses and other arbitrary seigniorial demands, but also had to make concessions to the lords, who conserved the jurisdictions and a good part of their old rights over the land. The big losers were the radical settlers, those in favour of making holding the farm compatible with the abolition of all kinds of *censos* and services, and land ownership with freedom.³⁰ Although the Sentence of Guadalupe had to be applied throughout the Principality, the conflict of the *Remences* as such (not the Catalan Civil War) in fact only affected the lands north of the Llobregat. Thus, it is worth evaluating the effect of this war on the transformations that took place during the fifteenth century in the country, on the network of rural markets and the grain supply of the cities of Catalonia.

3 The Response of the Urban Economy

The effects of the crisis were also felt in the towns and cities, although its aftermath was shorter-lasting than in the countryside. After each shock, there was a rapid recovery. The demographic recession, social tensions and political upsets did not cause a long and deep economic contraction, but rather a series of cyclical crises within a general dynamic of growth. The tendency in the cities in the Crown of Aragon was for expansion, except in Catalonia during the Civil War (1461–1471). The highest growth rate was in Valencia.

3.1 *The Growth and Diversification of Textile Making*

In the Late Middle Ages, the textile industry not only continued to be the best-documented activity, but also reinforced the emblematic character it had had in the thirteenth century and first half of the fourteenth. It then reflected, even more evidently, the general transformations that the urban economic structures had undergone all over Western Europe between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries.³¹

During the fourteenth century, the main textile-making centres in the Crown of Aragon had specialised in the production of everyday cloth, of low and middling quality, aimed at a wide range of consumers who appreciated their strength more than their finesse. The initial model had been fabric from Languedoc, from where small groups of skilled workers had reached the main

30 The followers of Pere Joan Sala, who, between 1484 and 1485, had fought in the second War of the "*Remences*": Jaume Vicens Vives, *Historia de los Remensas*, pp. 143–208.

31 Stephen R. Epstein, "Manifatture tessili e strutture politico-istituzionali nella Lombardia tardo-medievale. Ipotesi di ricerca," *Studi di Storia Medievale e di Diplomatica* 14 (1993), 56.

Catalan cities by the start of the century.³² From 1340 onwards, the wool sector attracted important investments in Perpignan and Barcelona,³³ and had put down strong roots not only in the large cities (Girona, Lleida, Valencia, The City of Majorca, Saragossa, Huesca), but also in many secondary urban centres and towns (Vilafranca de Conflent, Puigcerda, Ripoll, Berga, Sant Llorenç de Morunys, Sant Joan de les Abadesses, Alcoi, Concentania, Morella, Sant Mateu, Ontinyent, Oriola, Calatayud and Ainsa).³⁴

After having conquered the domestic market in the Crown of Aragon, the local cloth (*draps de la terra*) began to garner high prestige in Sicily, Naples, Castile, Tunis, Egypt and even Genoa, places where textile making had not taken much root but which had become one of the drivers of their economies. Despite efforts at technological renewal, the artisans in the Crown of Aragon had still to reach a level of professional excellence comparable with their Flemish, Northern-French or Occitan counterparts. From the last third of the thirteenth century, and without abandoning their range of high quality products, they gave priority to making increasingly cheap fabrics.³⁵

To boost domestic textile manufacturing, the General Courts in Monzon in 1363 not only banned all imports of cloth and wool, but also regulated the

-
- 32 Guy Romestan, "Draperie roussillonnaise et draperie languedocienne dans la première moitié du XIV siècle," in *XLII Congrès de la Fédération Historique du Languedoc Méditerranéen et du Roussillon* (Montpellier, 1970), pp. 31–59; Antoni Riera, *La Corona de Aragón y el Reino de Mallorca en el primer cuarto del siglo XIV. Las repercusiones arancelarias de la autonomía balear (1298–1311)* (Madrid, 1986), pp. 116–49.
- 33 Dominique Cardon, *La Draperie au Moyen Âge. Essor d'une grande industrie européenne* (Paris, 1999); Claude Carrère, *Barcelona 1380–1462. Un centre économique en époque de crise*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1978), 2: 443–57; Antoni Riera, Gaspar Feliu, "Activitats econòmiques a la baixa edat mitjana," in *Història de Barcelona*, ed. Jaume Sobrequés, 8 vols. (Barcelona, 1992), 3: 155–65.
- 34 Miguel Gual, "Para un mapa de la industria textil hispana en la Edad Media," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 4 (1967), 109–60; Margalida Bernat, *Els "III Mestres de la llan" a la Ciutat de Mallorca (s. XIV–XVII)* (Palma of Majorca, 1995), pp. 21–11; José Bordes, *Desarrollo industrial textil y artesanado en Valencia de la conquista a la crisis (1238–1350)* (Valencia, 2006); Josep Antoni Llibrer, *Los orígenes de la industria de la lana en la Baja Edad Media* (Valencia, 2007).
- 35 Patrick Chorley, "The cloth export of Flanders and northern France during the thirteenth century: a luxury trade?," *Economic History Review* 40 (1987), 349–79; John H. Munro, "The Origin of English 'New Draperies'. The Resurrection of an old Flemish Industry, 1270–1570," in *The News Draperies in Low Countries and England, 1300–1800*, ed. Negley B. Harte (Oxford, 1997), pp. 7–34; Peter Stabel, "Décadence ou survie? Economies urbaines et industries textiles dans les petites drapières de la Flandre orientales (XIV^e–XVI^e s.)," in *La draperie ancienne des Pays-Bas: débouchés et stratégies de survie (14e-16e siècles)*, eds. Marc Boone, Walter Preveniers (Leuven, 1993), pp. 63–82.

production of good intermediate quality fabrics. The models chosen were not Occitan but rather northern. The paradigms to imitate were the cloth from Wervicq, Courtrai, Chalons, Beauvais and Ostend³⁶ and the fabric from the Flemish and Brabant “new draperies”, in bright colours and well-stiffened, but somewhat lighter and cheaper than those from Bruges, Ypres, Ghent or Mechelen.³⁷ This proposal, drawn up by Catalan lobbies, was intended to create a single domestic market for Catalan textiles and Aragonese wool and raw materials in the Iberian lands of the Crown. The plan was based on a veto on all imports of textiles, heavy duties to penalise exports of both wool and other raw materials like wheat and other basic foodstuffs, and the liberalisation of exports of manufactured articles.³⁸

However, the agreement reached in the General Courts was found to be unworkable given that wealthy consumers would not renounce the luxury products that marked their social rank, nor the merchants the profits these imports generated. In 1365, in a gesture of realism, the authorities reauthorised textile imports while imposing specific excise duties on these. This increased the price of the luxury fabrics but removed other hurdles to their consumption.³⁹ In the last quarter of the fourteenth century, Catalan textiles and, to a lesser extent, their Valencian and Majorcan counterparts, underwent a period of growth as a result of the increase in domestic demand for wool, the tariff barriers and the gradual control gained over the Sicilian textile market. This growth was based on everyday articles and those of good average quality. In Valencia, from 1370, the technical ordinations regulated ever more precisely the production of both *cordellats* (a kind of coarse cloth) and *vervins* and *belvins*, copies of the fabrics from Wervicq and Brussels.⁴⁰

Around 1410, the reactivation of imports of Franco-Flemish cloth and the capital accumulated from decades of growing production induced the artisans of the Crown of Aragon to begin a process of technological innovation and to start to make luxury fabrics. With the support of the local administration, the most dynamic sector of each trade attempted to convince the

36 Federigo Melis, “La Diffusione nel Mediterraneo occidentale dei panni di Wervicq e delle altre città della Lys attorno al 1400,” in *Studi in onore di Amintore Fanfani*, 6 vols. (Milan, 1962), 3: 219–43; Bresc, “La draperie catalane,” pp. 108–10; Cardon, *La Draperie au Moyen Âge*, pp. 472–78.

37 Enric Cruselles, “El mercado de telas y ‘nuevos paños ligeros’ en Valencia a finales del siglo XV,” *Acta historica et archaeologica Mediaevalia* 19 (1998), 253–56.

38 José Ángel Sesma, “Fiscalidad y poder. La fiscalidad centralizada como instrumento de poder en la Corona de Aragón (siglo XIV),” *Espacio, tiempo y forma* 4 (1989), 447–63; Sesma, “El comercio exterior de la Corona de Aragón,” pp. 359–60.

39 Riera, Feliu, “Les activitats econòmiques,” 3: 173.

40 Cruselles, “El mercado de telas,” pp. 255–56; Cardon, *La Draperie au Moyen Âge*, pp. 639–40.

other members that the time had come to dedicate resources to producing high-quality textiles. The increase in competition from luxury fabrics from the north was analysed by the Valencian Courts of 1417–1418, and, after amending the ordinations that regulated the production of *vervins* of 13 and 14 sections or *faïxes*,⁴¹ the representatives of the three estates passed others, written by local experts, that regulated the making of high quality fabrics, composed of 21 to 24 *faïxes*.⁴² The public powers and professional corporations in the southern areas of the Crown of Aragon opted to diversify production. In Catalonia, in contrast, the response was protectionist. In 1422, in the constitution *Havents a cor*,⁴³ the Parliament (*Corts*) held in Tortosa-Barcelona prohibited imports of silk fabrics, or cloth *de qualsevol specie o qualitat* (“any type or quality”), thus including those of intermediate quality. The first proposal, being more viable in the long term, was soon imposed in the Principality. However, high quality cloth could not be made with intermediate quality fibre. It required long fine wools, which were until then only produced in England and, on a smaller scale, Minorca. On the 21st of November 1438, Barcelona Council carefully regulated work with English wool, while prescribing that the warp of the cloth had to range between 28 and 32 *faïxes*, in line with northern models.⁴⁴ Thus, the rules of Barcelona established higher levels of quality than those in Valencia, given that they prescribed the exclusive use of English wool and denser warps, with more *faïxes*.

However, by increasing costs considerably, the production of high-quality cloth intensified the preponderance of the teaselers over the other textile trades and the intervention of some merchants in the sector. The new businessmen, including the cloth lords (*senyors dels draps*), not only controlled the sale of raw materials, but also took charge of commercialising the production. They did not, however, control the internal workings of the family workshops. To impose their interests on the artisans, they hampered their access to the market. Despite this, the increase in their leadership had important economic and social consequences. The masters with fewer resources lost professional autonomy, meaning the ownership of the means of production, and became salaried workers. This process of proletarianisation of the labour force

41 *Faixa* was the unit of account for the density cloth's warp: 1 *faixa*=100 threads, usually.

42 *Furs e ordinations fetes per los gloriosos reys de Aragón als regnícòls del regne de Valencia*, 2nd repr. (Valencia, 1977), pp. 469–70; Cruselles, “El mercado de telas,” 256, n. 23.

43 *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de Aragón, Valencia y Principado de Cataluña. Cortes de Cataluña*, 26 vols. (Madrid, 1913), 13: 409–10.

44 Antoni de Capmany, *Memorias históricas sobre la marina, comercio y artes de la antigua ciudad de Barcelona*, ed. Carme Batlle, Emili Giralt, 3 vols. (Barcelona, 1961), 1: 469–73.

was approved by the corresponding councils, where the merchants and wool workers were heavily over-represented.

From then on, innovations in techniques and the organisation of the work accelerated in the Catalan, Valencian and Majorcan workshops. The notarial protocols of the Iberian and overseas territories of the Crown of Aragon clearly reflect the diversification of supply, which not only included light articles, *vervins* and *belvins*, with warps of 14 to 16 *faixes*, but also heavy cloth, with warps of 18 to 20 *faixes*. The former, whose production was geographically very widely dispersed, enjoyed high acceptance on the domestic market and in the emporiums in the Western Mediterranean, to the extent of forcing the authorities of Genoa and Lower Languedoc to adopt specific protectionist measures. In contrast, the production of high-quality fabrics only really took root in some pre-Pyrenean towns, like Sant Llorenç de Morunys and Sant Joan de les Abadesses, where the urban merchants financed the renewal of the means of production and imposed their interests on artisans with little corporative protection. The cloth made in these rural places spread beyond the Iberian confines of the Crown of Aragon and reached Sicily and the Mezzogiorno.

Until then, the workshops of the middle valley of the Ebro had mainly produced raw fabrics (*blanquetas*) and lower-middle quality finishes (*sargils*) intended for the domestic market.⁴⁵ It was not until the second half of the fifteenth century that Aragonese textiles began to go beyond the frontiers of the kingdom when Catalan merchants began to purchase small amounts of raw fabric, which they had dyed and starched in workshops in the Principality.⁴⁶ At the same time, the artisans in Saragossa, with a considerable delay compared with the Catalans, Valencians and Majorcans, began to produce *cadins*, *vervins* and *frisons*.⁴⁷ The key sector in the incorporation of the Ebro valley into the mercantile development of Europe in the Late Middle Ages was agriculture rather than manufacturing.

Given the dynamic shown it can be stated that, as in other southern countries, textile manufacturing in the Crown of Aragon underwent a long process of technological development that implied various changes from foreign models and, in many phases, required protectionist barriers and careful supervision by

45 Laliena, "Transformación social y revolución comercial," p. 51.

46 In 1446, 704 pieces of cloth defined as *draps crusos* passed through Monzon, and a weight of 2,800 *alnes* of cloths passed through Graus: Laliena, "Transformación social y revolución comercial," p. 44.

47 María Isabel Falcón, *Ordenanzas y otros documentos complementarios relativos a las Corporaciones de oficio en el reino de Aragón en la Edad Media* (Saragossa, 1997), pp. 356 (number 143).

the authorities. It excelled in cloth of middling quality, articles made of which were well accepted in the emporiums of the Western Mediterranean. To what degree did the growing sales of light cloth, and the very favourable fiscal conditions for these in Sicily, Sardinia and Naples, slow down the adoption of technical innovations in the workshops in the Iberian territories of the Crown of Aragon? To what extent were the capital surpluses generated by these exports applied to finance technical modernisation, equipping workshops or training the workforce? The specialised historiography has yet to give scientifically acceptable answers to either of these questions.

3.2 *Technical Advances in Shipbuilding*

The extension and covering of the royal shipyards in Barcelona⁴⁸ and Valencia is indirect evidence of the growth of the merchant fleet of the Crown of Aragon. These installations, and the beaches on the Catalan, Valencian and Balearic coasts, saw a series of technical changes that renewed shipbuilding and enabled increases in the tonnage, safety, manoeuvrability and speed of the vessels in the last quarter of the fourteenth century.⁴⁹ Hulls became stronger, more watertight and beamier. The growing use of the wind as a driving force at the expense of the oars advanced with the development of the rigging⁵⁰ and contributed to increasing the space for cargo and crew on board. The gradual substitution of lateral rudders by axial ones from the Atlantic⁵¹ made vessels easier to steer and berth.

The renewal of naval technology between 1350 and 1460 led to the creation of a series of new types of ship, whose main characteristics were speed and manoeuvrability. The best example is the caravel, a medium sized ship, somewhat

48 Antoni Riera, "La construcción de infraestructuras navales en la Baja Edad Media. Las atarazanas reales de Barcelona (1378–1387)," in *L'edilizia prima della rivoluzione industriale. Seccoli XIII–XVIII. Atti de la Tretaseiesima Settimana di Studi de l'Istituto Internazionale di Storia Economica "Francesco Datini" de Prato* ed. Simonetta Cavaciocchi (Florence, 2005), pp. 759–69; Albert Estrada-Rius, *La Drassana Reial de Barcelona a l'edat mitjana* (Barcelona, 2004).

49 Antoni Riera, "La construcció naval a Catalunya a les vespres dels grans descobriments geogràfics (1350–1460)," in *Sardegna, Mediterraneo e Atlantico tra Medioevo ed Età Moderna. Studi Storici in memoria di Alberto Boscolo*, eds. Alberto Boscolo, Luisa d'Arienzo, 3 vols. (Rome, 1993), 3: 107–32.

50 Marie-Pierre Jezegou, "Le gréement des navires catalans aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles d'après les textes et l'iconographie," in *III Congrès International d'études des cultures de la Méditerranée Occidentale*, ed. Micheline Galley (Tunis, 1985), p. 227.

51 The triumph of the axial rudder in the Late Middle Ages has been studied by: Paul Adam, Leon Denoix, "Essai sur l'apparition du gouvernail d'étambot," *Revue d'Histoire Economique et Sociale* 40 (1962), 90–109.

sleeker than the *nau*, which, although not very big, had three masts with square sails clearly outnumbering triangular ones.⁵² The new model, which played a notable role in the great geographic discoveries, was the most successful creation of what has been called the second medieval nautical revolution.⁵³

What place did the Barcelonan fleet occupy in the Mediterranean during the Late Middle Ages? It does not seem out of place to see it immediately after those of Genoa and Venice, the two great maritime powers of the epoch, and before those of Marseilles, Pisa or Naples. According to estimates by Federigo Melis, around 1400, the average tonnage of the Genoese, Venetian and Catalan merchant navies were 800, 600 and 300 casks (*botes*)⁵⁴ (320, 240 and 120 Moorsom tonnes) respectively. In the mid-fifteenth century, the gap between the Barcelonan fleet and the two Italian naval powers was tending to fall as a result of the joint actions of Alfonso the Magnanimous and the most innovative mercantile sector, although it never completely disappeared. From at least the second third of the fifteenth century, the Crown of Aragon had a consistent and flexible fleet, well organised, fast and omnipresent on the seaways of the main international trade routes.

In the Late Middle Ages, boatbuilding was not limited to the coast but is also documented along the navigable rivers. Boats or barges, narrow, low, with almost flat bottoms, which could carry 80 to 300 *cahíces*, were built in Saragossa, Escatron, Mequinensa, Miravet and other places along the Ebro. With no sails, they sailed downstream with the current with the help of oars and poles and were steered with a small lateral rudder. They moved upstream in ballast or with a much smaller cargo than on the seaward journey as, depending on their size, the boats were towed from the bank by two to four human pullers,⁵⁵ a tiring and slow system of propulsion. Animals were only used in special cases, and then only towards the end of the fifteenth century. There were probably also technical improvements in river transport between 1350 and 1400, but the lack of earlier references and the scarcity of the information available prevent us from evaluating the extent of these.

52 Rolf Eberenz, *Schiffe an den Küsten der Pyrenäenhalbinsel. Eine Kulturgeschichtliche Untersuchung zur Schiffstypologie und—terminologie in de iberoromanischen Sprachen bis 1600* (Bern, 1973), pp. 72–75; Arcadi Garcia, *Història de la marina catalana* (Barcelona, 1977), pp. 53–54, p. 73; Marcel Pujol, *La construcció naval a Catalunya a l'edat mitjana* (Barcelona, 2012), p. 81; Álvaro Ortega, *La marina mercante medieval y la Casa de Mallorca: entre el Mediterráneo y el Atlántico* (Lleida, 2015), pp. 251–52.

53 Vilma Borghesi, *Il Mediterraneo tra due rivoluzioni nautiche (secoli XIV–XVII)* (Florence, 1976), pp. 3–8.

54 Federigo Melis, “Werner Sombart e i problemi della navigazione nel Medioevo,” in *I trasporti e le comunicazioni nel Medioevo*, ed. Federigo Melis (Florence, 1984), pp. 16–22.

55 Sesma, “Del cantábrico al Mediterráneo,” pp. 49–50.

3.3 *The Regionalised Integration of the Domestic Market*

Before 1300, population growth, the economic and social integration of the area, and the consolidation of state and municipal structures, had created a commercial infrastructure made up of a large number of markets in medieval cities, towns and villages, connected by an increasingly dense and operative network of communications that reached all over the Crown of Aragon. From 1348 on, the difficulties shook up, but did not break down, domestic exchanges. These not only bounced back after every subsequent crisis, but even grew. However, until very recently, this short and medium distance, local and regional, trade has been compared with foreign trade, it being considered more backward and linked almost exclusively to the rural and peasant world.⁵⁶

In the towns, the market was the meeting place for the productive and commercial agents of an economic and administrative circumscription. The square was the place where agricultural surpluses and manpower from the surrounding rural parishes came together with goods manufactured in the town itself. There were exchanges of products and work between local artisans and the peasants from the area. The market was also where loans were negotiated, notarial contracts drawn up and news spread. Thus, it played a very important role in economic and social life.⁵⁷ By 1350, local markets had become interconnected with the district ones and these, with the ones in the cities. During the Late Middle Ages, the network had to be restructured to adapt to the internal migrations and changes in settlement caused by the reiterated demographic crises.

The most economically dynamic towns and most strategically placed on the road network already had their corresponding fairs, as did almost all the cities. Between the mid-fourteenth and the end of the fifteenth centuries, the network

56 This thesis is being relegated by the contributions by Paulino Iradiel, José Ángel Sesma, David Abulafia and David Igual: Paulino Iradiel, "El comercio en el Mediterráneo catalano-aragonés: espacios y redes," in *Comercio y hombres de negocios en Castilla y Europa en tiempos de Isabel la Católica*, eds. Hilario Casado, Antonio García-Baquero (Madrid, 2007), pp. 123–50; Sesma, "Centros de producción," 1: 903–38; David Abulafia, "Leconomia mercantile nel Mediterraneo Occidentale: commercio locale e commercio internazionale nell'età di Alfonso il Magnanimo," in *XVI Congresso Internazionale di Storia della Corona d'Aragona. La Corona d'Aragona ai tempi di Alfonso il Magnanimo*, eds. Guido d'Agostino, Guido Buffardi, 2 vols. (Naples, 2000), 2: 1023–46; David Igual, "Great and small trade in the Crown of Aragon. The example of Valencia in the Late Middle Ages," *Imago Temporis. Medium Aevum* 3 (2009), 231–48.

57 Carme Batlle, *Fires i mercats. Factors de dinamisme econòmic i centres de socibilitat (segles XI a XV)* (Barcelona, 2004); Flocel Sabaté, ed., *El mercat. Un món de contactes i intercanvis* (Lleida, 2014).

of fairs grew denser, although more slowly than in the previous periods.⁵⁸ These fairs, understood as extraordinary markets, were orientated towards long-distance trade; traders came from far and wide, wholesale transactions were done, large loans were agreed or repaid and important deals were made. They were held once or twice a year and lasted several days. The dates were chosen according to reasons that were more rural than urban, coinciding with the festivities that marked the high point of the supply of some seasonal agricultural products- just after the cereal or saffron harvests, during sheep shearing, coinciding with the killing of the pig and the opening of the barrels of the new wine.

In the later part of the medieval period, products were carried between markets by sea, on rivers and especially, overland. By sea, they were not only carried between the large ports, but also between many small landing places scattered along the coast⁵⁹ in coastal vessels, like skiffs, catboats and rowboats.⁶⁰ This short and medium distance trade was an outlet for the surpluses from bigger or smaller rural areas. It reinforced the connection between the local and regional economies while also favouring the commercialisation of agricultural production all along the coastal strip, not only the area around the large cities.

Given the irregular flow and steep gradients of the rivers, transport on these was limited to the Ebro, which was the main outlet to the sea for the Aragonese and Urgellian agricultural surpluses throughout the Late Middle Ages. The goods, as explained above, were carried on small slow boats. The season for this transport was from February to June and usually involved three return journeys between Saragossa and Tortosa.⁶¹

However, the main factor behind the integration of the domestic market was the network of land routes, the hubs of which were Barcelona, Valencia, Saragossa, Perpignan and Tortosa. This dense, diversified system of tracks revolved around two main axes that ran almost perpendicular to each other. One was the route that ran parallel to the coast from north to south between Catalonia and the Kingdom of Valencia, connecting these with Lower

58 Batlle, *Fires i mercats*, pp. 65–125.

59 Maria Teresa Ferrer, "Navegació, ports i comerç a la Mediterrània de la baixa edat mitjana," in *Comercio, redistribución y fondeaderos. La navegación a vela en el Mediterráneo. Actas de las V Jornadas Internacionales de Arqueología Subacuática*, eds. José Pérez Ballester, Guillermo Pascual (Valencia, 2007), pp. 113–66; David Igual, "Red portuaria y control marítimo en el reino de Valencia (siglos XIII–XV)," in *Les territoires de la Méditerranée (XI^e–XVI^e siècle)*, eds. Annliese Nef, Christophe Picard, Damien Coulon, Dominique Valérian (Rennes, 2013), pp. 51–71; Furió, "Producción agraria, comercialización y mercados," pp. 400–01.

60 Igual, "Great and small Trade," pp. 239 and 241.

61 Sesma, "Del cantábrico al Mediterráneo," p. 53.

Languedoc and Murcia respectively. The other route followed the Ebro valley to link Barcelona with Tarazona and the Navarrese and Castilian frontiers. Although these main routes were heavily travelled, they only channelled part of the overland traffic. People and goods also travelled along longer secondary routes. There were more of these than main roads, but were less well-known. These included the ones that connected Perpignan to Lleida through the Tet and the Segre valleys; the one from the Catalan capital, through Alcañiz and Montalban, to Calamocha close to the frontier with Castile; the two from Lleida and Saragossa to Huesca, via Barbastro and Almudevar respectively; the one along the River Llobregat from Barcelona to Puigcerda through Manresa and Berga; the two that linked Valencia with Teruel and Saragossa up the valleys of the Turia and Palancia respectively and another that led from Valencia through Chiva and Requena, the latter in Castilian territory, towards the headwaters of the Jucar and Tagus.⁶² The secondary routes tended to be less passable or longer than the main ones, but had fewer tolls, so they were often used for financial reasons to try to reduce transport costs.

The lack of bridges, which often forced river crossings at fords or on boats, and the poor conditions of the roadways limited wheeled transport on the tracks, even the most important ones. Throughout the Middle Ages, overland trade revolved around the mule train. Each string, normally made up of about ten draught animals, was led by a mule driver.⁶³ Depending on their value and nature, goods were packed in bundles, saddlebags or bales, or in sacks, baskets, wineskins or jars. In the mid-thirteenth century, in a move to facilitate the collection of the taxes for moving goods (*lleudes*) and royal tolls, the sovereign ruled that the load transported by each draught animal would be 3 *quintars* (125 kilos). Depending on the terrain and the condition of the tracks, they usually travelled about 40 kilometres per day.

What foods, raw materials and manufactured articles circulated on the domestic market? Old Catalonia supplied wool, wood, iron and coral, draught animals and meat, cheese, bacon and cloth, as well as arms and millstones.⁶⁴ From New Catalonia came cereals, wine, oil, nuts, honey and saffron. In the Kingdom of Valencia, Catalan and Majorcan merchants bought a wide range

62 Antoni Riera, "El sistema viario de la Corona Catalanoaragonesa en la Baja Edad Media," in *Viaggiare nel Medioevo*, ed. Sergio Gensini (San Miniato, 2000), pp. 425–37.

63 The origins of the mule drivers and their role in late-medieval Catalan trade has been studied by Guy Romestan, "L'activité des muletiers catalans entre Perpignan et Valence dans la première moitié du XIV^e siècle," *Bulletin Philologique et Historique* (1967), 779–95.

64 Maria Teresa Ferrer, "Catalan commerce in the late Middle Ages," *Catalan Historical Review* 5 (2012), 30–31.

of products: wool, leather and honey from the Maestrazgo; grain, silk, pottery, paper, glue, wine, rice, sugar and soda from the central area; nuts, esparto and wine from Alicante, and wheat from Oriola.⁶⁵ From the interior of Aragon, cereals and wool reached the coastal areas of Catalonia and Valencia, followed by other much smaller amounts of other agricultural products, like leather, lesser livestock, wood and saffron.⁶⁶ Throughout the Middle Ages, the role of the Kingdom of Majorca in the Crown of Aragon was as a source of salt, cheese and figs, as well as small quantities of wine, wool and animals for high quality meat.

The above-mentioned network of land, river and sea routes was not only used to distribute the surpluses within the frontiers of the Crown of Aragon, but also linked to foreign markets in order to redistribute imported products in the hinterland. This was done by different groups of operators or, on occasions, by the same trader or a single mercantile company. Domestic trade thus did not depend exclusively on the agricultural surpluses “of the land”, but was also inseparable from foreign trade. This link explains why the dynamics of the local and regional circuits had a decisive impact on the most profound behaviour of the economy of the Confederation as a whole.

Where did the capital and experience to manage this domestic trade come from? The main actors were economic agents from the coastal strip, as shown by the numerous Barcelonan merchants who settled in Saragossa.⁶⁷ After settling, the newcomers forged links with the local traders, artisans, citizens and the lesser nobility and even with the clergy. Through factors or associates, their activity took them to places relatively far from their respective bases to seek out the agricultural products that interested them. These domestic transactions were more secure than external ones, but gave low profit margins.

65 Carrère, *Barcelona 1380–1462*, 2: 26; Furió, “Producción agraria, comercialización y mercados,” p. 396.

66 Sesma, “El comercio de exportación,” p. 207; Sesma, “Del Cantábrico al Mediterráneo,” p. 54; Sesma, “Centros de producción y redes de distribución,” pp. 923–26; Esteban Sarasa, José Ángel Sesma, “El comercio de la lana por el Ebro hacia el Mediterráneo. El puerto fluvial de Escatrón a mediados del siglo XV,” in *II Congreso Internacional de sobre las culturas del Mediterráneo occidental* (Barcelona, 1978), p. 400–09; Laliena, “Transformación social,” p. 46; Agustín Rubio, “Trigo de Aragón en la Valencia del Trescientos,” in *Crecimiento económico y formación de los mercados en Aragón en la Edad Media (1200–1350)*, eds. José Ángel Sesma, Carlos Laliena (Saragossa, 2009), pp. 319–67.

67 Enrique Mainé, *Ciudadanos honrados de Zaragoza. La oligarquía zaragozana en la Baja Edad Media (1370–1410)* (Saragossa, 2006), pp. 99–103; José Ángel Sesma, “La participación aragonesa en la economía de la Corona. Compañías de comercio con capital mixto en la Baja Edad Media,” *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 15 (1985), 331–43.

Despite this, this was the starting point for many Barcelonan, Valencian and Saragossan mercantile fortunes.

With the increase in supply and demand, the interaction between producers and traders and the regulatory work by the public powers, the local rural and urban markets were merged into regional systems and became more efficient. This rise in efficiency meant, in economic terms, that buyers and sellers had more information about supply, demand and prices, prices tended to balance out and transactions multiplied and accelerated, with the reduction in transaction costs. Short- and medium-distance trade underwent considerable growth in the later period of the Middle Ages, in what some authors have defined as an authentic “*edat d’or del mercat local*”.⁶⁸

At least in the fifteenth century, despite the meteorological, monetary, political and administrative diversity, the Crown of Aragon was economically integrated⁶⁹ around the four main trade centres (Barcelona, Valencia, Saragossa and the City of Majorca) in the shape of a rhombus. They all had daily markets where each product was sold in a specific place: the square of the wheat, of the wine, oil, cabbages, of poultry, wool, firewood, straw, slaves. The first three cities mentioned also had fairs from the thirteenth century on. These were held in June in Barcelona⁷⁰ and Saragossa,⁷¹ and in the first fortnight of August in Valencia.⁷² The economic and commercial integration of the Crown of Aragon was based on regional specialisation, with Aragon as a producer of grain and wool for the domestic and export markets. Then there was Valencia, where intensive and commercial agriculture had taken root, and whose products enjoyed great acceptance both inside and beyond the frontiers of the Confederation and in the leading international emporiums. Catalonia was a manufacturing centre specialised in textile production, and Majorca as a distribution centre for products from all over the Crown of Aragon, the Maghreb and the Levant.

68 “golden age of the local market”. Abulafia, “L’economia mercantile nel Mediterraneo,” p. 1025.

69 Igual, “¿Crisis? ¿Qué crisis?,” pp. 203–23; Laliena, “Transformación social y revolución comercial,” p. 59.

70 Bisson, *Fiscal accounts*, 2: 201–202 (doc. 107); Stephen P. Bench, *Barcelona i els seus dirigents, 1096–1291* (Barcelona, 2000), p. 209; Carme Batlle, “Sobre la fira de Barcelona (segle XIII),” *Cuadernos de arqueología e historia de la ciudad* 18 (1977), 129–39.

71 Carme Batlle, *Fires i mercats*, pp. 163–64.

72 David Igual, “L’economia comercial i marítima de València durant el regnat de Jaume I,” in *Jaume I: Commemoració del VIII centenari del naixement de Jaume I*, ed. Maria Teresa Ferrer, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 2013), 2: 727.

3.4 *The Development of Foreign Trade*

The most creative sector of the economy of the Crown of Aragon was foreign trade, which, acted as an authentic "*foment, cap e principi de tot negoci*"⁷³ until the end of the fifteenth century. It had become the economic sector that, in exchange for high levels of risk, gave the highest profit margins, and was an important source of wealth. All over Europe, consumers demanded an expanding range of products in ever growing quantities. The quantitative and qualitative increase in urban demand forced traders to renew their business technically and seek innovative solutions for new problems. The increasing productivity of the means of transport, the triumph of differentiated freight rates for cargoes according to the value of the merchandise,⁷⁴ the spread of insurance and the growth of credit from the mid-fifteenth century, enabled the professionals involved in long-distance trade to extend the routes, increase and diversify their loads, and take on higher coefficients of risk. At the same time, a complex system of banking and exchange was set up in almost all trade centres. This worked through formulae of compensation in restructured pre-existing international fairs (Geneva), or newly created ones (Lyon and Medina del Campo).⁷⁵ By 1440, the new organisation had matured and enabled long-distance trade and credit to be concentrated in a few cities and in the hands of a certain number of economic agents, who operated on a large scale through unified independent companies⁷⁶ in all the markets.⁷⁷ This way, in the second

73 "Promotion, head and principle of all business". The definition the councillors of Barcelona applied, in 1453, to trade with Egypt and Syria in a letter addressed to Alfonso the Magnanimous: Capmany, *Memorias históricas* (1962), 2/1: 536.

74 Well analysed in: Federigo Melis, "Werner Sombart e i problemi de la navigazione nel Medioevo," in *I trasporti e le comunicazione nel Medioevo*, ed. Federigo Melis (Florence, 1985), pp. 3–67.

75 Philippe Wolff, *Automne du Moyen Age ou printemps des temps nouveaux?* (Paris, 1986), pp. 157–58.

76 Each of which, despite having the same main partner, had its own capital and private administration, and related to each other as if they belonged to completely different companies without any shared responsibility. This horizontal structure, contrasting with the initial hierarchy, with a central seat and branches, responded to the need to prevent the failure of one of the agencies affecting the others. These new companies appeared in Northern Italy in the second half of the fourteenth century as a response to the wave of bankruptcies that occurred during the 1340–1350 period: Benjamin Z. Kedar, *Mercanti in crisi a Genova e Venezia nel '300* (Rome, 1981), pp. 12–149; Federigo Melis, *L'economia fiorentina del Rinascimento* (Florence, 1984), pp. 45–46; Raymond de Roover, *Il Banco Medici dalle origini al declino (1397–1494)* (Florence, 1988), pp. 113–15.

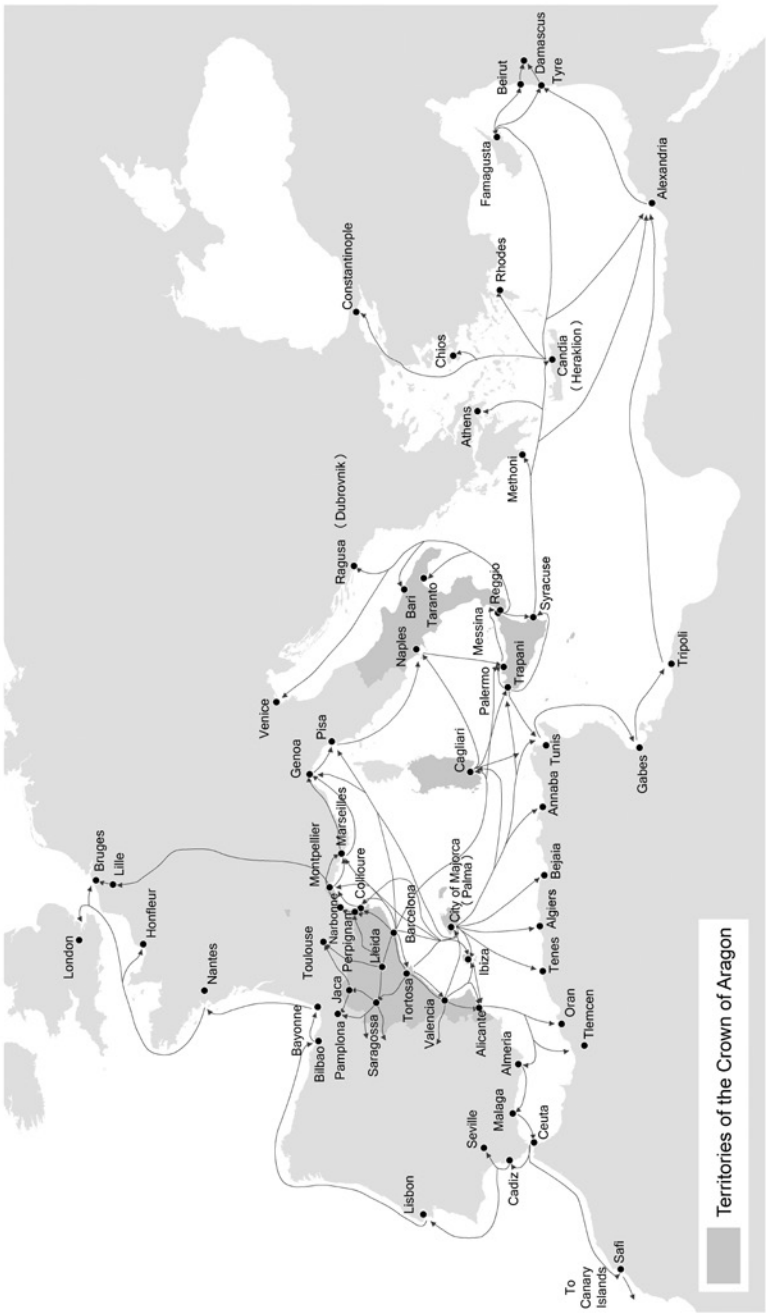
77 Bruno Dini, *Saggi su una economia-mondo. Firenze e Italia fra Mediterraneo ed Europa (secc. XIII–XVI)* (Pisa, 1995), pp. 147–48; Alberto Tenenti, "La politica economica degli

half of the fifteenth century, the Europe of the cities was consolidated with the rise a type of “market” economy guided by rationality, eagerness to increase profits, a renovation of production and management techniques, the conquest of distant markets and a systematic search for the accumulation of capital.

Regarding the Crown of Aragon, the large-scale trade reaffirmed its links with the agricultural sector and urban manufacturing, which basically produced common items and cheap merchandise. After 1350, the Catalan, Valencian and Majorcan businessmen continued distributing oriental spices in Flanders, Brabant, Castile, Languedoc, Provence and the Maghreb, carrying cloth from the Meuse, Scheldt and Somme valleys to Egypt and Syria, shipping alum and cotton from the Levant to the southern shores of the North Sea. Then there was Sicilian wheat transported to Ifriqiyah, sugar from Sicily and Cyprus to the coasts of the English Channel and the Pas-de-Calais and Berber wax to Flanders. From then on, the same merchants also showed a growing interest in products “from the land” and worked hard to increase their share in supplying urban manufacturing with raw materials. This twin option gradually modified the composition of the cargoes on the great trade routes. This led to a reduction in the imbalance between luxury goods and strategic foodstuffs (cereals and salt), which had dominated until then, and cheaper articles (wool, hides, low- and middle-quality cloth, ropes, pottery, glue, timber for shipbuilding). This simultaneous link to both overseas and domestic supply and demand gave long-distance trade a degree of independence from the dynamics of the domestic market. This double link explains why, after experiencing a heavy fall in the middle decades of the fourteenth century, a recovery began around 1370, with the trend towards expansion continuing with minor ups and downs until 1462, while approaches and techniques were adopted that became steadily more capitalist. Indirect evidence of this dynamic can be seen in the two extensions, begun in 1378 and 1390, to the royal shipyards in Barcelona.

With a certain time lag over their Italian counterparts, the businessmen of the Crown of Aragon had woven a vast network of trade routes with a varied density, in which success or failure in one area affected all the others, but where the cyclical falls in one emporium could be compensated for with intensified activity in others. However, this commercial mesh did not have a single focus, but rather four, the four *majors i mares* (“great and mother”) cities of the Confederation that, to a degree, had divided up their functions: Barcelona played the role of the centre for control, insurance and finance; Valencia and

stati mediterranei nei secoli XV et XVI,” in 1490, *en el umbral de la modernidad. El Mediterráneo europeo y las ciudades en el tránsito de los siglos XV XVI*, eds. José Hinojosa, Jesús Pradells, 2 vols. (Valencia, 1994), 1: 5.



MAP 9.2 The main external trade routes of the Crown of Aragon in the mid-fifteenth century.

MAP BY ANTONI RIERA AND SERVEI CIENTIFICOTÈCNIC DE CARTOGRAFIA I SISTEMES D'INFORMACIÓ GEOGRÀFICA DE LA UNIVERSITAT DE LLEIDA.

the City of Majorca, on the maritime front, and Saragossa, in the hinterland, acted as hubs for trade and sea and overland traffic. This distribution was not, however, balanced, given that the area of influence of trade from the inland capital only covered the Kingdom of Navarre and the northern half of Castile. The routes to and from the valleys of the Tagus and the Guadiana started in Valencia, which explains why the figures for trade along the Ebro were not comparable with those for the three maritime centres. This irregular central rhombus was inside three broader economic areas, the Western Mediterranean basin, the Levant and the Northern Atlantic, whose emblematic goods (as shown below) were respectively wool and salt, spices and silk, and luxury fabrics and metals.

This situation lasted until the mid-fifteenth century, when the economic costs of the Mediterranean expansionism of Alfonso the Magnanimous fractured some of the internal balances in the Crown of Aragon. In 1450, shaken by the peasant revolt, exasperated by the increase in fiscal pressure, and with its municipal finances indebted by successive emissions of public debt, the City of Majorca began its decline as an international trade centre, while concentrating its initiatives in the Maghreb. The deepening of the Catalan political crisis, which led to a long and bloody civil war between 1462 and 1472, also had negative effects on the overseas trade not only of Catalonia itself, but all the Crown of Aragon. It led to a restructuring of traffic as a consequence of the rise in piracy in its territorial waters and the trade embargos enforced by the monarchy.⁷⁸ Nevertheless, this double economic downturn favoured Valencia, which experienced a major increase in its overseas projection in the last third of the fifteenth century.

Valencia gradually took over the functions of the other two cities mentioned until the 1520s. However, this redistribution of tasks cannot be explained merely by the effect of the mercantile and financial decline of Barcelona and the City of Majorca. It was also due to a series of factors in the city itself. The Valencian model of economic development in the second half of the fifteenth century was much more balanced than its Catalan and Majorcan counterparts. It depended less on active foreign trade and more on the primary sector, in-

78 On the outbreak of the conflict, John II banned foreign merchants and ships from operating in the rebel territories; in 1468, he reaffirmed the veto, ordering the Batlle General of Valencia not to authorise any "*genovés, castellà, venecià, florentí ne altre qualsevol mercader*" from loading any type of products destined for the Catalan lands in the ports under his jurisdiction. Valencia, Arxiu del Regne de València, Batllia, Lletres i Privilegis, No. 1154; ff. 184r–186v; David Igual, *Valencia e Italia en el siglo XV. Rutas mercados y hombres de negocios en el espacio económico del Mediterráneo Occidental* (Valencia, 1998), p. 405, n. 141.

novative and speculative agriculture as well as dynamic transhumant livestock farming, all of which generated exportable surpluses of food and raw materials, and also on closer cooperation with foreign traders. The supply of wool, grain, silk, nuts, rice, saffron and sugar soon attracted the powerful Italian companies, which, as well as boosting the overall economy, strengthened the connection of the kingdom to the major commercial and financial centres of the times, opening these to local merchants. The kingdom's economic growth thus depended to a great extent on the converging interests of the Transalpine companies (Ligurian, Tuscan, Lombard and Venetian) and the local bourgeoisie and economic operators around the wholesale trade in agricultural products, especially exports of wool, to Genoa, Savona, Pisa, Florence and Venice. From 1465 on, Valencia became a regional economy, structured by a large international market. The key to the success of the Valencian model consisted of its bi-sectorial character, the simultaneous development of mercantile and manufacturing activities, very similar to those in other cities in the Confederation, and an agricultural sector able to supply food and raw materials for both the domestic market and export.⁷⁹

Despite this, the transfer of economic and political functions from Barcelona to Valencia would never be absolute. The capital of the southern kingdom would never fully fill the vacuum created by the mercantile and financial decline of Barcelona. It would never become a Mediterranean naval power, and would always suffer a shortfall in its own means of transport, a circumstance that would be exploited by the Genoese, Tuscan, Castilian and Venetian ship-owners. The participation of foreign companies in trade and manufacturing also surpassed the level Barcelona had reached in the first half of the fifteenth century. The incidence of passive foreign trade and the "invisible imports" on the economy as a whole exceeded what it had had in Catalonia. This foreign contribution stimulated economic activity but would require the corresponding remuneration. A significant proportion of the wealth generated by this boom was leached off by external agents in the form of renting vessels and capital gains. On the other hand, the euphoria would be short-lived; the outbreak of the Revolt of the Brotherhoods (*Germanies*) and the assault on the city's Moorish quarter in 1520 showed that the prosperity had not been fairly shared, that the economic, social and political aspirations of the artisans and lower classes had not been attended to.

Given that this book devotes a specific chapter by Damien Coulon to the trade between the Crown of Aragon and the Levant, the analysis here is focussed on foreign exchanges in the Western Mediterranean and the North

79 Iradiel, "Valencia y la expansión mediterránea," pp. 162–67.

Atlantic. In Barbary, the decline of Benimerine Morocco was compensated for with an increase in trade in Tlemcen and Ifriqiyah, where Majorcan, Catalan and Valencian merchants continued to sell oil, wine, nuts, knives, French fustians and cloth. Among their purchases, there was a preponderance of leathers, skins, wax, figs, dates, wheat, wool and alum, as well as black slaves and ivory from sub-Saharan Africa, and oriental spices.⁸⁰ A series of caravan routes between black Africa and the Mediterranean coast ended in the Maghreb. Slaves and gold travelled these routes from south to north, and salt, arms and some luxury articles went in the other direction. Part of this supply of black slaves was taken over by traders from the Confederation, who rivalled the Genoese in the redistribution of this appreciated product around the Western Mediterranean. Another of the “human imports” from the Maghreb was always captives.

The Maghreb also interested Majorcan, Valencian and Catalan merchants and ship-owners for its abundance of gold coins and the structural deficit of freighting in its main ports, where a considerable part of the local merchants had to embark on European vessels to travel to Alexandria or Granada. The cities of the Maghreb also drew specialists in rescuing Christian captives as well as apprentices of trades and students of languages. The balance of payments saw a systematic surplus in favour of the Catalans, who, pressured by the lack of gold, paid in silver,⁸¹ rated higher in these markets than in the West.

Trade relations with Sicily gradually intensified until they reached levels unparalleled in Barcelonan overseas trade in the first half of the fifteenth century. The island's ports then absorbed almost a quarter of the seaborne traffic registered in the Catalan capital. Ships on their way to the Levant regularly called in to Palermo, Messina or Syracuse to reorganise their cargos. The Catalans imported cereals, sugar and cotton from Sicily and exported cloth “from the land”, arms, coral, oil, rice and saffron, as well as high-quality fabrics from Flanders, Occitania and England.⁸²

80 Josep Maria Madurell, Arcadi Garcia, *Comandas comerciales* (Barcelona, 1973); Iradiel, “Valencia y la expansión mediterránea,” pp. 352, 53 and 360–62; Arcadi Garcia, Maria Teresa Ferrer, *Assegurances i canvis marítims medievals a Barcelona*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1983), 2: 564–65; Maria Teresa Ferrer, “Catalan commerce,” pp. 33–39.

81 Madurell, Garcia, *Comandas comerciales*, p. 353 (doc. 231); p. 361 (doc. 238); Carrère, *Barcelona 1380–1462*, 2: 118.

82 Madurell, Garcia, *Comandas comerciales*, pp. 216, 250, 255, 259, 293–94, 300, 327, 329, 333–34, 340, 347, 348 and 354–55; Carrère, *Barcelona 1380–1462*, 2: 121–23; Mario del Treppo, *I mercanti catalani e l'espansione della Corona d'Aragona nel secolo XV* (Naples, 1972), pp. 143–52; Ferrer, “Catalan commerce,” p. 35.

Strategically situated on the route to Sicily, Tunisia and the Levant, Sardinia was a safe haven for Catalan merchants and ship-owners on the gateway to the Tyrrhenian Sea, an enclave with surpluses of raw materials and agricultural products, but with a low capacity to absorb manufactured goods and luxury articles. The traders from Barcelona and Majorca acquired two high-value products on the island, namely silver and coral, as well as salt, cereals, noodles, cheese and leather. They sold cloth, oil, nuts, honey, rice, saffron, wine, hemp and pottery.⁸³

Throughout the Late Middle Ages, Sicily and Sardinia played a key role in the food supply of Majorca, as Peter the Ceremonious recognised in a letter addressed to his heir in 1380, "*perduda Sardenya, pot fer compte que axí mateix li tolrà Mallorques, car les vitualles que Mallorques sol haver de Sicília cessaran e per consegüent la terra s'haurà a desabitar e perdre*".⁸⁴ What is notable about this text is the fact that the economies of the three islands were so closely tied to each other. The role of the trade between Majorca and Sicily or Sardinia was not simply to enrich the local merchants, but also to keep the Balearic population well supplied. In contrast, the activity of the traders from the Kingdom of Valencia on the two islands was somewhat lower, as the relation between the supply and demand for cereals was more favourable than in the Majorcan archipelago and any temporary shortfalls could be covered by Aragonese or Castilian grain.

The ports in Campania and Calabria were added to the maritime network of the Crown of Aragon in the first quarter of the fifteenth century. They became a vertex of a triangular trade that started from Barcelona, the City of Majorca or Valencia and went from there to Sardinia and then Sicily and there, merchants from the Iberian coast offloaded salt from Ibiza and Sardinia, cheese and leather from the latter island and Sicilian sugar. Their purchases were limited to little more than wine and sulphur. After the conquest of the Kingdom of Naples by Alfonso the Magnanimous (1436–1442), the commercial activity of his subjects in the Italian Mezzogiorno gradually increased and diversified. The capital under Vesuvius became a port of call on the route to the Levant. On the outward journey, as mentioned above, traders unloaded large

83 Madurell, Garcia, *Comandas comerciales*, pp. 216–17, 234–35, 350, 353–54 and 364; Carrère, *Barcelona 1380–1462*, 2: 93–94, 96 and 98–99; Ferrer, "Catalan commerce," p. 36.

84 "lost Sardinia, you can realise that the same will happen to Majorca, as the victuals that Majorca usually has from Sicily will cease and so the land will have to depopulate and lose." Vicent Salavert, *Cerdeña y la expansión mediterránea de la Corona de Aragón, 1297–1314*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1956), 1: 213–14.

quantities of Catalan and Majorcan cloth, the sale of which provided them with amounts of surplus cash to spend on acquiring spices in Alexandria or Damascus. The second among Catalan exports to Naples continued to be salt from Ibiza and Sardinia, followed far behind by honey, rice and nuts. The main imports included Calabrian wine, flax, cereals, sulphur and alum.⁸⁵

For the Barcelonans, Northern Italy was always a difficult area, and attempts to penetrate the market there came up against much fiercer competition than in the Mezzogiorno. In the Late Middle Ages, the cities of Tuscany and Liguria had a similar economic structure to Barcelona, based on imports of food-stuffs and raw materials from the countries of the Western Mediterranean and luxury articles from further afield, the export of manufactured goods, some with a high added value, and the redistribution of the above-mentioned exotic merchandise. However, it was not only the low coefficient of economic complementarity that hindered trade relations between the Catalan capital and the great mercantile and financial centres north of the Tiber. The persistence of protectionist measures against Lombards and Tuscans between 1265 and 1402,⁸⁶ despite the gradual fall in their efficacy as a result of the many royal concessions of safe-conducts to foreign merchants, and the tensions caused by the territorial expansionism of the Crown of Aragon in Italy (which generated privateering wars in certain moments), did not help to improve these relations.

In contrast, there were somewhat more numerous transactions by Valencian and Majorcan businessmen in these trading centres. In 1379, most of the merchandise exported by the Crown of Aragon to Liguria was from the Kingdom of Valencia.⁸⁷ This statement by the juries in the capital coincides with the information from contemporary Ligurian fiscal sources. The traffic between the two areas reached a peak in the last thirty years of the fifteenth century, coinciding with the aforementioned commercial decline of Barcelona, when, as David Igual has shown,⁸⁸ it became the main external flow from Valencia.

The exchanges between the Crown of Aragon and Northern Italy included a wide range of products. They were based on the sale of wool and leather, salt,

85 Madurell, Garcia, *Comandas comerciales*, pp. 350 and 354–55; Carrère, *Barcelona 1380–1462*, 2: 99–108; Del Treppo, *I mercanti catalani*, p. 183 and 202–10; Ferrer, “Catalan commerce,” p. 36.

86 Maria Teresa Ferrer, “Els italians a terres catalanes (segles XII–V),” *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 10 (1980), pp. 394–412; Hinojosa, “Aspectos del comercio exterior valenciano,” p. 225.

87 ARV, Lletres misives, g3–4, ff. 124v–125r; Hinojosa, “Aspectos del comercio exterior valenciano,” p. 229, n. 57.

88 David Igual, *Valencia e Italia en el siglo XV*, pp. 303–482.

foodstuffs (grain, rice, nuts and salted and dried fish), saffron and sugar, cloth and products acquired in Barbary (wax and hides) or on Sardinia (leather, cheese and salted fish).⁸⁹ The return loads were made up of raw materials from these areas (Lombard woad, tartar emetic and hemp) and imports (alum from Chios, indigo from Baghdad), oriental spices, metals (steel, copper and lead), manufactured articles (Lombard fustains and arms, Tuscan cloth and pottery, Ligurian silks and paper).⁹⁰ However, the product that most circulated between the Iberian and Tyrrhenian coasts was wool. The development of the “new draperies” from 1350 on generated a growing demand for intermediate quality fibre in Florence, Genoa or Milan, and this was met by Aragonese, Valencian and Balearic fibres. This initiative was controlled by Tuscan companies and Ligurian businessmen, although some local merchants also took an interest in this trade and created companies to export Valencian wool to Northern Italy.

Although it does not enable the volume of this trade to be evaluated, the documentation available seems to show that, despite including some luxury articles, the imports of merchandise from Florence, Pisa or Genoa never reached levels comparable to the sales of wool. Only the financial speculation of the expert Florentine companies, who systematically exploited the differentials that arose from time to time between the legal tender of the various currencies in Catalonia and the circulation of precious metals on the international financial markets,⁹¹ tended to even out or even upset the balance of payments. However, their skill in this aspect generated distrust among local traders and bankers, who accused the Tuscan, Lombard and Ligurian agents who dedicating themselves to speculating, of provoking the flight of good money. When the competition grew excessive, the sovereign adopted protectionist measures or closed the markets in the Crown of Aragon to the Tuscan and Lombard businessmen. Although they coastal regions and had important textile industries, Languedoc

89 Garcia, Ferrer, *Assegurances i canvis marítims medievals a Barcelona*, 2: 419–20 (doc. 89), pp. 423–26 (doc. 92), p. 435 (doc. 100), pp. 441–42 (doc. 1049, p. 443–44 (doc. 105), pp. 444–45 (doc. 106), p. 458 (doc. 116), p. 459 (doc. 117), pp. 463–464 (doc. 122), pp. 477–79 (doc. 132), pp. 588–90 (doc. 252); Madurell, Garcia, *Comandas comerciales*, p. 274–75 (doc. 147), p. 275 (doc. 148), pp. 339–40 (doc. 216); Carrère, *Barcelona 1380–1462*, 2: 70, n. 32; Ferrer, “Catalan commerce,” pp. 34–35; Igual, *Valencia e Italia*, pp. 321–27, 370, 372–374 and 413–17.

90 Carrère, *Barcelona 1380–1462*, 2: 71, 74; Rafael Conde, “El tráfico comercial entre la Corona de Aragón y Pisa en 1414 según los libros de la lezda de Collioure,” in *Studi di Storia Economica toscana nel Medioevo e nel Rinascimento in memoria di Federico Melis* (Pisa, 1987), p. 132, pp. 139–42; Hinojosa, “Aspectos del comercio exterior valenciano,” p. 227; Ferrer, “Catalan commerce,” pp. 34–35; Igual, *Valencia e Italia*, pp. 38–39, 340–54, 370–75 and 413–17.

91 Del Treppo, *I mercanti catalani*, pp. 241–77.

and Provence were nearby for the Catalan merchants, who could reach them with short, almost coastal voyages, and these areas had surpluses of agricultural products and raw materials, especially cereals, and a structural deficit in some luxury items. In the Late Middle Ages, the Midi, not having naval power like Liguria or Catalonia, was better linked to the regions of the northeast than to the Mediterranean. A dense network of overland routes connected it to the Dauphine, Burgundy, Champagne and Flanders through the Rhone and Saone valleys, to Savoy and Lombardy over the Alpine passes and to Germany across the Swiss highlands and the upper valley of the Rhine. Iberian merchants had a double interest in Occitania and Provence: to obtain some of the agrarian surpluses generated there and to acquire some of the merchandise that flowed there from the north and east.

In Toulouse, Narbonne, Montpellier, Arles, Nîmes, Aigues-Mortes, Avignon and Marseilles, the Catalan-speaking businessmen sold leather, cloth from Barcelona and Perpignan and other manufactured articles (mirrors, knives, soap, candles), naval supplies (rope and glue), Aragonese wool, grain, silk, Valencian nuts and rice, and also distributed oriental spices, raw textile material (Sicilian cotton and sugar) and Berber wax.⁹² Their main purchases among local products were wheat from the coastal areas of Languedoc, woad from the Lauragais and Provençal wine and coral. Among those reached this area from other regions there was German and Lombard fustains, light Savoyard, Flemish and Brabant cloth,⁹³ hemp, Burgundian linen thread and Rhenish steel, copper and brass articles.⁹⁴ The merchants from the Crown of Aragon shared this trade with businessmen from Montpellier and some Tuscan and German companies that appeared in Barcelona and Valencia every year, in the epoch of the saffron harvest, with fustains, light northern cloth and linen fabrics.⁹⁵

92 Édouard Baratier, Félix Reynaud, *Histoire du commerce de Marseille*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1951), 2: 122 and 540–541; Carrère, *Barcelona 1380–1462*, 2: 39; Madurell, Garcia, *Comandas comerciales*, p. 268; Garcia, Ferrer, *Assegurances i canvis marítims*, 2: 611; Hinojosa, “Aspectos del comercio exterior valenciano,” p. 230; Cruselles, “El mercado de telas,” p. 248; Carlos Laliena, “Transformación social y revolución comercial,” p. 49.

93 Cruselles, “El mercado de telas,” p. 249. In 1505, the distribution of that kind of fabric would mean 65% of the activity of the Ravensburg company. Cruselles, “El mercado de telas,” p. 253.

94 Madurell, Garcia, *Comandas comerciales*, p. 365; Garcia, Ferrer, *Assegurances i canvis marítims*, 2: 484–85, 532, 587–88; Carrère, *Barcelona 1380–1462*, 2: 38, 39, 45, 46, 54; Baratier, Reynaud, *Histoire de Marseille*, 2: 121, 122 and 539–40; Cruselles, “El mercado de telas,” p. 249.

95 Carrère, *Barcelona 1380–1462*, 2: 45, 47–48; Hinojosa, “Mercaderes alemanes,” pp. 455–68; Pedro López Elum, “Las relaciones comerciales de la Corona de Aragón con los alemanes

In many areas of the Western Mediterranean, the expansion of Catalan trade preceded and prepared the territorial growth of the Crown of Aragon, and once conquered, these places guaranteed safe refuges, freedom to trade and reductions in tariffs. Despite moving ahead with their own specific means, rates and agendas, these external projections were never antagonistic, but rather synergistic. The exchanges in this basin generated a dense annual or biannual circular traffic, marked by the participation of many small trading companies and a very limited power of investment. In contrast, in the Eastern Mediterranean and North Atlantic, the Catalan businessmen and ship-owners fought against Italian competition and the aggressiveness of the coastal states with only their own resources, and their technical and strategic knowledge. In these circumstances, which involved high levels of risk, only the most experienced and economically solvent managed to operate there regularly. Despite this, given the volume of trade and the profit margins, the exchanges with the Sultanate of Egypt and Flanders had become the dynamising element, the motor, of overseas trade by the Confederation.

After crossing the Strait of Gibraltar, ships from the Mediterranean systematically dropped anchor on the shores of Western Andalusia in Cadiz, Puerto de Santa Maria or Sanlúcar de Barrameda, outports of the great trading centre of Seville. The presence of businessmen from the Crown of Aragon in Lower Andalusia was consolidated during the fifteenth century, after a drop caused by the War of the Two Peters between 1357 and 1375. At the same time, large Castilian mercantile colonies were set up in Barcelona and Valencia, basically of people from Seville and Cadiz. This collaboration favoured trade between the two areas. Cloth and other Catalan manufactured products, saffron, spices from the Indian Ocean coasts, alum and cotton from the Levant and African slaves, previously acquired in the Maghreb, went westwards. From Andalusia came raw hides, salted and dried fish, cereals, oil, wine and other foodstuffs. The ships took advantage of stops in Cadiz to load some products that had arrived from Morocco (wax and leather) or later, from Madeira (sugar).⁹⁶

y saboyanos. *Dret alemà i saboyà*," *Saitabi* 16 (1976), 47–58; Cruselles, "El mercado de telas y 'nuevos paños ligeros,'" p. 253.

96 Carrère, *Barcelona 1380–1462*, 2: 31, n. 69; p. 33, n. 76; Madurell, Garcia, *Comandas comerciales*, pp. 207–08, 264–66 and 341–42; Garcia, Ferrer, *Assegurances i canvis marítims*, 2: 486, 623–31, 664, 668–69 and 674–75; Maria Teresa Ferrer, "El comercio catalán en Andalucía a fines del siglo XV," in *La Península Ibérica en la era de los descubrimientos, 1391–1492*, eds. Manuel González, Isabel Montes, Antonio Claret (Seville, 1997), pp. 421–52; Ferrer, "Catalan commerce," p. 45; David Igual, "Valencia y Sevilla en el sistema económico genovés de finales del siglo XV," *Revista d'Història Medieval* 3 (1992), pp. 79–112; José Ramón Hinojosa, "Las relaciones comerciales entre Valencia y Andalucía durante el

Usually, imports outstripped exports in the maritime trade between Catalan and Andalusian ports. The merchants from Barcelona spent time in places on the lower Guadalquivir not so much to sell cloth and spices as to acquire leather and salted fish, a food that was very popular, especially during Lent, in Catalonia and all round the Western Mediterranean.⁹⁷ Money on this route mainly flowed towards the Gulf of Cadiz,⁹⁸ although exports had higher added value than the imported goods. From the mid-fifteenth century, this cash drain worried the councillors in Barcelona, who were upset that the Andalusian sellers of salted or dry fish went home with money and not merchandise.⁹⁹

The trade between the Crown of Aragon and Castile also went overland along the valleys of the Ebro and the Júcar. From 1325 on, merchants from Catalonia, Montpellier and Aragon on one hand, and Castilians on the other, travelled to Saragossa, Tarazona, Calatayud, Daroca and Valencia to buy and sell goods and carry out credit transactions.¹⁰⁰ After a drop in activity between 1357 and 1375 provoked by the War of the Two Peters, trade in both areas prospered throughout the fifteenth century. Catalan cloth (from Puigcerda, Berga, Lleida and Barcelona), coarse Aragonese fabrics, clothing, arms and oil, as well as oriental spices, medium-quality Occitan and Italian cloth, Flemish and English luxury fabrics, and Italian glass flowed from the Aragonese and Valencian cities to Castile, at least during the second half of the fourteenth century.¹⁰¹ In the mid-fifteenth century, every year, some 4,000 kilos of pepper were being re-exported from Huesca to Castile in small batches,¹⁰² with another 1,000 kilos

siglo XV," in *II Coloquio Internacional de Historia Medieval de Andalucía* (Seville, 1982), pp. 249–67; Hinojosa, "Aspectos del comercio exterior valenciano," p. 233; José Ramón Hinojosa, "Las rutas del Atlántico y del mar del Norte," in *La Corona de Aragón en el centro de su historia*, ed. José Ángel Sesma (Saragossa, 2010), pp. 313–21.

97 As shown by the exports of herring and anchovies to Genoa by merchants from the Catalan capital: Madurell, García, *Comandas comerciales*, pp. 275–76; García, Ferrer, *Assegurances i canvis marítims*, 2: 441–42 and 444–45.

98 Madurell, García, *Comandas comerciales*, pp. 207–08.

99 Carrère, *Barcelona 1380–1462*, 2: 34, n. 84.

100 Máximo Diago, "Desarrollo de las ciudades aragonesas fronterizas con Castilla como centros mercantiles durante el siglo XIV: Tarazona, Calatayud y Daroca," *Revista de Historia Jerónimo de Zurita* 44 (1999), 211–46.

101 Máximo Diago, "El comercio de tejidos a través de la frontera terrestre entre la Corona de Castilla y Aragón durante el siglo XIV," *Studia Historica. Historia Medieval* 15 (1997), 172–207; García Herrero, "La aduana de Calatayud," p. 385; Hinojosa, "Aspectos del comercio exterior valenciano," p. 235; Laliena, "Transformación social y revolución comercial," p. 47.

102 Sesma, *Huesca, ciudad mercado*, pp. 20–23.

going through Calatayud.¹⁰³ The traffic in the other direction was made up of wool, livestock for meat, fresh and salted fish, wood, iron and mercury.¹⁰⁴ Depending on the year, cereals and wine travelled in both directions.

Goods and capital circulated between the city of Valencia and places in Castile by both land and sea. This double modality of traffic and even more so, the dedicated participation of the local factors of the Italian companies could explain why, unlike in Barcelona, the balance of payments was often positive. The capture of gold currency could also have been favoured by the fact that, as a consequence of the remittances from Morocco and Granada, the going rate for gold in Castile must have been lower than in the Crown of Aragon. This monetary drain forced Henry III of Castile to apply protectionist measures in 1406, including a ban on imports of all kinds of cloth from the Crown of Aragon,¹⁰⁵ and his successor repeatedly prohibited taking the Castilian gold coinage, the so-called *dobla*, out the country.¹⁰⁶

During the Late Middle Ages, the Near East and the shores of the North Sea became very profitable and commercially complementary areas for the Mediterranean merchants. As the diplomatic contacts and commercial exchanges with the marketplaces in the Eastern Mediterranean have been analysed by Damien Coulon, the analysis here is limited, as mentioned above, to the North Atlantic. From the first third of the fourteenth century, with the opening of the Straits of Gibraltar to commercial traffic, the Flemish and English ports had become the northwestern limits of the Catalan mercantile network, equivalent to the Levant to the east. However, the activity of traders and, especially ship-owners, never reached levels comparable to those in the Eastern Mediterranean. The Catalan fleet was never able to overcome the hurdles preventing it from becoming a real naval power in the North Sea, able to stand up successfully to the competition of the Italian fleets, or the attacks by local pirates and privateers. This cautious attitude by the ship-owners forced

103 García Herrero, "La aduana de Calatayud," p. 389.

104 Máximo Diago, "Introducción al estudio del comercio entre las Coronas de Aragón y Castilla durante el siglo XIV: mercancías objeto de intercambio," *En la España Medieval* 24 (2001), 47–101; Máximo Diago, "El comercio de productos alimentarios entre las Coronas de Castilla y Aragón en los siglos XIV y XV," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 31/2 (2001), 603–48; José Ángel Sesma, "Del Cantábrico al Mediterráneo," p. 48; Igual, *Valencia e Italia*, pp. 307–09.

105 Máximo Diago, "El comercio de tejidos a través de la frontera terrestre entre las coronas de Castilla y Aragón en el siglo XIV," *Studia Historica. Historia Medieval* 15 (1997), 191–94 and 206–07.

106 Igual, *Valencia e Italia*, p. 309.

the merchants of the Confederation to stow a large proportion of their shipments on foreign bottoms.

Towards the end of the fourteenth century, the merchants of the Crown of Aragon, aware of this shortcoming, requested John I to adopt protectionist measures. In one of the sessions of the Courts of Monzon, it was proposed that voyages between Catalan-Balearic and Anglo-Flemish ports should be done with armed galleys, much safer and faster than the *naus*. On 15th February 1389, the monarch authorised the arming of four galleys, two in Barcelona and the other two in the City of Majorca, the crews and skippers of which would enjoy the prerogatives of the royal navy.¹⁰⁷ From then on, the galleys and other Catalan ships—braving Muslim naval aggression in the Straits of Gibraltar, and Breton, English and Castilian piracy and privateering in the Atlantic—sailed relatively frequently on the route to the North Sea,¹⁰⁸ but without ever being able to cover the demand for freight: a considerable part of the Barcelonan, Balearic and Valencian cargos continued to ply the Atlantic on Genoese and Venetian ships.

Flanders had become a special market for Mediterranean traders where they could acquire a product, cloth, unique for its quality. Catalan-speaking merchants also purchased, iron, furs, madder, timber and salted fish, although in much smaller quantities.¹⁰⁹ At that time, England was of much less interest for them, and they only loaded tin and cloth in London and Southampton. In both areas, they sold spices, alum, cotton and Eastern dyes for textile uses, as well as Sicilian sugar and sulphur. However, only partly of this trade was re-exports, given that a significant part was also made up of Catalan, Valencian and Aragonese products. Saffron had by then become the best-known product of the Confederation on the coasts of the North Sea, where cochineal, nuts, oil and rice were also popular.¹¹⁰ Using information that cannot be quantified but is very expressive, many authors sustain that the sales did not make up for the

107 Capmany, *Memorias históricas*, 2/1: 344–46; Carrère, *Barcelona 1380–1462*, 2: 50–52. Del Treppo, *I mercanti catalani*, pp. 92–94.

108 Carrère, *Barcelona 1380–1462*, 2: 53; Dolors Pifarré, *El comerç internacional de Barcelona i el Mar del Nord (Bruges) al final del segle XIV* (Barcelona, 2002), pp. 33–39.

109 Pifarré, *Barcelona i el Mar del Nord*, pp. 112–53; Carrère, *Barcelona 1380–1462*, 2: 58–59; Del Treppo, *I mercanti catalani*, pp. 137–42; Álvaro Ortega, *El reino de Mallorca y el mundo atlántico (1230–1349). Evolución político mercantil* (La Coruña, 2008), pp. 211–12, 237 and 254.

110 Pifarré, *Barcelona i el Mar del Nord*, pp. 158–218; Madurell, García, *Comandas comerciales*, pp. 42–43 and 297–98; García, Ferrer, *Assegurances i canvis marítims*, 2: 449–50. Carrère, *Barcelona 1380–1462*, 2: 57; Del Treppo, *I mercanti catalani*, pp. 132–37; Ortega, *El reino de Mallorca y el mundo atlántico*, pp. 207, 220–21, 231, 234 and 253.

purchases and the resulting deficit would not have been covered by “invisible exports” as a large part of the cargoes between Catalonia and the ports of the North Atlantic were carried on foreign ships.

However, links to Flanders in the first four decades of the fifteenth century remained weak,¹¹¹ which explains why, in a context of expansion, the Courts of Barcelona in 1432 again analysed the workings of Catalan foreign trade. A group of Barcelonan merchants and skippers, headed by Lluís Sirvent, presented the parliamentarians with an innovative project to strengthen the presence of the businessmen from the Crown of Aragon in the two most profitable markets of the time, Alexandria and Bruges. The proposal consisted of fitting out a large merchant galley, at the expense of the *Diputació del General*, to do a double voyage every year fully loaded to the west and to the Levant.¹¹² According to its proponents, this regular line—inspired in the Venetian *mude*—would not only speed up the rate of sailings and business, but would also increase the security of the contracts, given that, in the various ports of call, the merchants would have a guaranteed cargo. According to the project’s promoters, on the voyage to Flanders, the galley of the *Generalitat* would carry spices and other goods to a value of 70,000 Barcelonan pounds, 20,000 corresponding to a home-grown product, saffron. On the homeward leg, it would carry cloth to a value of 50,000 pounds, as well as copper, tin, madder and other goods, with a total value of another 50,000 pounds. After a brief stop in Barcelona, it would sail on, with local cloth, coral and other articles worth 80,000 pounds, to the Levant where they would buy spices and oriental silk cloth, then Sicilian sugar, all worth 10,000 pounds.¹¹³ The return journey would guarantee the *Generalitat* tax income of 9,225 pounds, 7,500 from the western leg and the remaining 1,725 from the eastern stage. This was a case of trying to stimulate the freighting market, controlled until then by private ship-owners, by introducing a powerful public player. A galley belonging to the *Generalitat*, skippered by Armengau Grimau from Perpignan, made the first voyage to Flanders between June 1435 and March 1436. No documentary evidence for the second stage of the journey has survived, so it probably never took place.¹¹⁴

111 Del Treppo, *I mercanti catalani*, pp. 108–09.

112 *Cortes de los antiguos reinos*, 17: 416–20; Jaume Vicens Vives, “La economía de los países de la Corona de Aragón en la Baja Edad Media,” in *Coyuntura económica y reformismo burgués*, ed. Jaume Vicens Vives (Barcelona, 1969), p. 91; Carrère, *Barcelona 1380–146*, 2: 60 and 266; Del Treppo, *I mercanti catalani*, pp. 68–69.

113 Carrère, *Barcelona 1380–146*, 2: 60, 132; Del Treppo, *I mercanti catalani*, pp. 69, 123–24.

114 Del Treppo, *I mercanti catalani*, pp. 124–25.

The simultaneous attempt to increase the Catalan naval presence in the North Atlantic and the Levant with galleys from the *Generalitat* defined a programme that private ship-owners soon took on, although this never fully met its planned targets. In fact, from 1435 on, despite the periodic rise in privateering attacks and piracy in the English Channel and off the coasts of Egypt, it was private Catalan galleys that frequently linked Bruges and the Near East with a call in Barcelona. The *Generalitat*, in contrast, reserved its fleet (as mentioned above) for voyages to the Levant. During the short period from 1436 to 1444, the Barcelonan notarial documentation contains references to eight return journeys between the opposite ends of the Catalan commercial network and eight other outbound voyages to Flanders. Despite the clear increase in the number of sailings, the number of movements from the port of Barcelona to the Atlantic was only 50% as high as those heading to the Eastern Mediterranean. This figure rises to 65% if the City of Majorca's role as an outer harbour for the Catalan capital for the oceanic voyages is taken into account.¹¹⁵

However, this period of growth and creativity was followed by a slight drop over the next decade. In this situation of a spontaneous concentration of shipping in the Western Mediterranean, the initiative to intensify links with the English and Flemish ports corresponded to the sovereign. In 1451, Alfonso the Magnanimous decided to dedicate some of his galleasses to the routes to the West. The port of origin was always Naples, not Barcelona. The galleasses called successively in Palermo, the City of Majorca, Barcelona, Valencia, Malaga, Cadiz, Southampton and Bruges on the outward voyage, and in Sandwich, Cadiz, Malaga, Valencia, Barcelona, the City of Majorca and Cagliari, on the return.¹¹⁶ The interests of the Catalan merchants and ship-owners did not fully coincide with those of the sovereign, who still recognised Barcelona as the main trade centre of Catalonia, but denied it the role of the leading centre for exports from the Crown of Aragon, and put it on the same footing as Valencia. Despite this, some historians have claimed that the last years of Alfonso's reign were a period of economic recovery, while the trade structures and productive system were not exhausted and still had the power to react.

These experts claim that the collapse of overseas trade and the economy of Catalonia as a whole came about in the 1460s with the civil war. Between 1462 and 1472, the clash between the followers of John II and those of the *Diputació del General* closed the Valencian, Balearic, Sardinian and Sicilian ports to the

115 Del Treppo, *I mercanti catalani*, pp. 95 and 126–27.

116 Constantin Marinesco, "Les affaires commerciales en Flandre d'Alphonse v d'Aragon, roi de Naples (1416–1458)," *Revue Historique* 221 (1959), 35–37 and 43–44; Hinojosa, "Las rutas del Atlántico," p. 332.

ships and businessmen from the Principality and forced the *Diputació del General* to consign a large part of the fleet to defending the coast. This naval mission forced the Catalan merchants to use foreign ships for their longer and more dangerous journeys, beginning with Tuscan galleys. Another important consequence of this collapse in commercial shipping in Catalonia was that Valencia replaced Barcelona as the central hub of the foreign trade system of the Crown of Aragon, as the port of departure for traffic through the North Atlantic to Flanders and England. These journeys tended to involve calls in the ports of Denia, Xabia, La Vila Joiosa or Alicante to take aboard nuts, rice and molasses. As well as local and Catalan merchants, there were Tuscans, Ligurians and Lombards among the charterers.¹¹⁷ While the country's fleet was unable to cover the local demand for freighting, a considerable part of the cargos continued to be carried between the Valencian ports and the North Sea in Venetian and Tuscan galleys and Genoese and Castilian ships, with the consequent negative effect on the balance of payments.

The commercial agents and ships on these regular Italian lines found a varied supply of products of great interest on their calls into Valencians ports, almost halfway between their respective starting points and the ports on the North Sea. Outbound, they loaded grain, saffron, nuts, rice and sugar, and then raw materials for the manufacturers in their homeports and salt on the homeward voyage. With a more dynamic economy than Barcelona and better placed on the westward routes from the Italian republics for Ligurian, Tuscan and Lombard businessmen, in the second half of the fifteenth century, Valencia became one of the "*aree intermedie*" defined by Gabriella Rossetti, a place that was not among the main international traffic hubs, but had become very adequate for the circulation of goods and capital given its good geographical position and the favourable links between the economy, politics and taxation.¹¹⁸

3.5 *The Proliferation of the Consulates*

The jurisdictional independence that the merchants and ship-owners had obtained from the sovereign before 1300 increased during the Late Middle Ages. This is illustrated by the growth and spread of the exclusive tribunals and the development of specific traits. The Sea Consulates (*consols de mar*) grew from two prior to 1300 (Barcelona and Valencia) to seven, with the creation of new ones in the City of Majorca, Tortosa, Girona, Perpignan and Sant Feliu de Guixols. The consulates replaced the local *Costums de Mar* with a

¹¹⁷ Igual, *Valencia e Italia*, p. 315.

¹¹⁸ Gabriella Rossetti, "Incontro GISEM 1986. Relazione introduttiva," *GISEM* (1984–1989), *Bollettino*, 1 (1989), 26–27; Igual, *Valencia e Italia*, p. 317.

single code, the *Llibre del Consolat de Mar*, the genesis of which¹¹⁹ was, however, very complicated. The final version of the text appeared in Barcelona in 1340 after numerous additions from various sources. From the legal point of view, it is a very balanced summary that combines some elements of Roman law and the many norms generated during the central part of the medieval period with the development of sailing and trade around the Mediterranean. Despite this, the legislation always lagged behind the changes and transformations in trade practices. The first versions of this code, drawn up in the second half of the fourteenth century, regulated seaborne transport of goods and the economic exploitation of the ships in great detail, but did not mention two financial instruments that were then becoming widespread, namely bills of exchange and insurance policies. It was not until well into the sixteenth century that this mercantile legislation included the 1484 ordinances of Barcelona about insurance.

The *Llibre del Consolat de Mar* enjoyed great international prestige due to its high legal quality. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, it became the standard text for maritime law. It was translated into Italian (1479), Castilian (1539), French (1577), Dutch (1704) and German (1790). The invention of the printing press facilitated its spread around the ports of Europe. Given the number of editions in Catalan (nine between 1484 and 1592) and the translations, it follows that maritime law is one of the fields of knowledge where the contribution of the Catalan lands to universal culture has been most successful.

The overseas consulates also increased considerably in number in the latter period of the Middle Ages: thirty-three were opened in the fourteenth century and twenty-nine in the following hundred years. This network of corn exchanges, with the corresponding court of justice and law of extraterritoriality, very exactly reflects the territorial expansion of the Crown of Aragon's foreign trade, and its geographical distribution identifies the areas it was concentrated in.

119 Arcadi Garcia, "Estudi jurídic," in *Llibre del Consolat de Mar*, eds. Germà Colón, Arcadi Garcia, 4 vols. (Barcelona, 1984), 3/1: 264–70; Aquilino Iglesia, "Del 'Mare internum' al 'Mare Mediterraneum': el seu 'ius maritimum'," in *Un mar de Lleis. De Jaume I a Lepanto*, ed. Daniel Duran (Barcelona, 2008), pp. 191–94.

The Commercial Influence of the Crown of Aragon in the Eastern Mediterranean (Thirteenth–Fifteenth Centuries)

Damien Coulon

Lo exercici mercantivol [es] molt necessari a nostra Nació, com sia un foment, cap e principi de tot lo negoci, e perturbats los afers de Levant, en gran parts son desviats tots los altres.¹

El comercio con Oriente fue siempre, sin duda, “foment, cap e principi de tot negoci” y fue también por ello la principal causa estructural de la depresión catalana en particular y del mundo mediterráneo en general.²

Despite the 550 years that separate these two quotes, the first from the representatives of the Catalan merchants in 1453 and the latter by a renowned specialist in the economic history of thirteenth-century Catalonia, they show particularly clearly the basic role that the long-distance trade with the Eastern Mediterranean played in the Crown of Aragon, both in the Late Middle Ages, then later in the historiography.

Paradoxically, the thesis of the crisis or Catalan economic decline in the Late Middle Ages, the focus of the cited work by Gaspar Feliu, has not particularly favoured the study of trade with the Orient, but rather quite the opposite. In fact, for many researchers,³ the decline could not favour contacts over long distances and meant the end of that kind of relations, which then surely did not merit being studied in detail. On the contrary, the debate that grew up

1 “The mercantile exercise [is] very necessary for our Nation, as it was a promotion, aim and beginning of all business, and perturbed the affairs of [the] Levant, to a great extent all the others are diverted”. Antoni de Capmany, *Memorias históricas sobre la marina, comercio y artes de la antigua ciudad de Barcelona*, ed. Carme Batlle, Emili Giralt, 3 vols. (Barcelona, 1962), 2/1: 241 (doc. 370) (20 August 1453).

2 “Trade with the Orient was always, undoubtedly, “promotion, aim and beginning of all business” and was also thus the main structural cause of the Catalan depression in particular and of the Mediterranean world in general”. Gaspar Feliu, “La crisis catalana de la baja Edad Media: estado de la cuestión,” *Hispania* 64/2–217 (2004), 457.

3 See especially the works that Gaspar Feliu summarises in the article cited above, pages 436–50.

around the question of the Catalan crisis meant focusing first on Catalonia, then on its role in the Crown of Aragon, but leaving aside the theme of relations with the Eastern Mediterranean that could seem peripheral in that context. This explains why, throughout the second half of the twentieth century,⁴ few historians paid much interest to that question,⁵ while thousands of documents (especially notarial) on this theme lay waiting in the archives.

This present editorial task allows me to return to the question of the relations with the Orient, to examine it in a broad manner, in other words not only from the Catalan point of view, but rather within the framework of the Crown of Aragon, where various ports and cities formed often close relations within this wide area that put Europe, Asia and Africa into contact. In this perspective, it is also possible to return to the question of the economic decline, comparing in particular the activities of the different ports of the Crown in the Late Middle Ages and perhaps qualifying its effects.

Thus, I first propose to present the different states that dominated the Eastern Mediterranean and the riches that attracted not only merchants from all over the Crown of Aragon, but also, and even earlier, from the main ports of Italia, like Venice and Genoa. Then, in broad traits, the circumstances in which merchants of the Crown developed their contacts in those distant lands despite the competition of notably well organised rivals, and how these evolved between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries can be analysed. Finally, we can return to a problematic focused on the Crown, examining in more detail how the merchants from the various ports in its domains organised their business and the role the monarchy played in these relations.

1 States, Routes and Products in the Eastern Mediterranean

Three quite different political and economic areas in the Eastern Mediterranean stood out at the end of the Middle Ages. First, there was the area that

4 In the first half of the twentieth century, the subject of the relations with the Eastern Mediterranean had attracted some historians who wrote the first syntheses or published documents focussed specifically on the role of the Catalans; see especially: Lluís Nicolau d'Olwer, *L'expansió de Catalunya en la Mediterrània oriental* (Barcelona, 1926); Antoni Rubió i Lluch, *Diplomatari de l'Orient català* (1947; reprint: Barcelona, 2001).

5 As well as the above-cited article by Gaspar Feliu, see below the various articles by: Amada López de Meneses (alias Magdalena Sáez Pomés), Ángeles Masià de Ros, *La Corona de Aragón y los estados del Norte África* (Barcelona, 1951); Josep Trenchs Odena, "‘De Alexandrinis’. El comercio prohibido con los musulmanes y el papado de Aviñón durante la primera mitad del siglo XIV," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 10 (1980), 237–320.

corresponded to the old Byzantine Empire, centred around its capital, Constantinople, which was in serious political decline, while different groups of Italian merchants took on an ever more important role in that state from the early twelfth century. Thus, they became indispensable middlemen in the supply of the Empire and also on the military level with their fleets, especially after the famous fourth crusade when Constantinople was conquered in 1204 by the Venetians, enraged at being excluded from the Empire, after a last outburst of Byzantine independence.

However, the leading military power who gradually imposed itself was the Turks, who had been in Asia Minor since the eleventh century. Taking advantage of the political difficulties and military weakness of the Byzantines, they moved into the Balkans from the mid-fourteenth century. However, in the period that concerns us here, and despite their power, they did not play such an important role in trade as the Italians, or even the Greeks, until the mid-fifteenth century.

In spite of these important political-military events, the part that corresponded to the old Byzantine Empire, which it is better to call 'Romania',⁶ the name used in western documents from the epoch, continued to play a basic role on the commercial level. In fact, schematically, the famous Silk Road from Eastern Asia arrived there. This was of growing importance from the 1240s on, thanks to the Mongol expansion that unified the territories between the China Sea and Eastern Europe. This route, relatively safe for that epoch, ended on the shores of the Black Sea and Constantinople.

In this context of a strong commercial attraction and decline or an often chaotic situation in the political field, the Venetians were able to conquer and take over large islands like Crete and Euboea, which they called Negroponte, and also ports in the Peloponnese, while the Genoese controlled other islands, like Chios, and important ports like Phocaea on the Aegean Sea, and Caffa (Feodosia) in Crimea, the end of an important branch of the Silk Road. Finally, both nations, especially the Genoese after 1261, were represented in Constantinople in the Galata or Pera neighbourhood on the north shore of the Golden Horn.

Another important economic area was the coast of Syria-Palestine. Another branch of the Asian Silk Road arrived there from the north, and, from the south, the important trade route of the spices, coming from Southern Asia through the Red Sea. However, from the end of the eleventh century, that area had been characterised by the conquest and development of crusading states, the leading one being the Kingdom of Jerusalem, which included the most

6 Romania was the name used by the European Medieval sources to refer to the Byzantine Empire.

active port of the area, Saint John of Acre. The Italian merchants who supplied victuals and brought troops from the West, indispensable for the survival of those Christian states, had also settled there and in the other coastal cities. Given this essential role, the crusading princes had rewarded the merchants with commercial advantages, like reductions in taxes or commercial franchises, stores to keep their goods and whole streets and neighbourhoods, as in 'Romania'. These merchants were Genoese, Venetians, Pisans and some others from ports in Provence and Languedoc, like Marseilles and Montpellier.

However, the Christian states were progressively conquered, first by Saladin at the end of the twelfth century, then by his successors, the Ayyubids, and from 1260, by the new Mamluk dynasty, then masters of Syria and also Egypt until 1517. When they took over the last crusader city, Saint John of Acre, in 1291, Beirut became the most important port on the coast, being as it was, better located with regard to the Syrian capital, Damascus.

The third important commercial area in the Eastern Mediterranean was Egypt. It was the only one exclusively under Muslim control in the period in question. Egypt was also on the route of the spices that came from Southern Asia, passing through the Red Sea, the Nile valley and ending in its main port of Alexandria. There, the western merchants, once again mainly Italians until the start of the thirteenth century, also enjoyed advantages as they did in the other ports in the Eastern Mediterranean oriental, although these were not so important. They did not have their own neighbourhoods in these ports, but "only" reductions in taxes, franchises and corn exchanges.

It evidently needs to be explained why the distant spices, nowadays simply considered condiments, played such an important role in trade and, more generally, in the medieval economy. In reality, the range of articles known under this name was much wider than today. It extended to foodstuffs like sugar, products for pharmaceutical use, like gums and various roots (galbanum, galangal, Chinese lacquer tree, white turmeric,⁷ etc.), but also raw materials like cotton and dyes, like indigo or brazilin. In short, as shown in the medieval trade manuals, all the articles that came from the East, either the Near East or the Far East, tended to be called spices.⁸ However, as they came from far away, the businessmen had understood that they could speculate more with their prices, as only they knew them well in Europe. As the historian Fernand Braudel emphasised in his time, "*plus ces chaînes s'allongent, plus elles échappent aux*

7 For a presentation of these articles and spices in general, see: Miguel Gual Camarena, *Vocabulario del comercio medieval* (Barcelona, 1976).

8 See for example: Miguel Gual Camarena, ed., *El primer manual catalan de mercaderia, siglo XIV* (Barcelona, 1981).

contrôles habituels".⁹ So, higher profits could be obtained with these than from other articles, especially when they had become the most-widely consumed products in Europe, basically from the eleventh and twelfth centuries.¹⁰ We must highlight the especially lucrative nature of the spice trade and, to a lesser extent, that of cloth from the East, to understand its great success and its duration beyond the end of the Middle Ages. Thus, the western merchants (mainly Italians from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries) were dependent on the supply of oriental products, mainly obtained in the Eastern Mediterranean, whose sources they could not control directly given that the majority of these spices were from much further away, in South Asia.

2 General Evolution of Trade between the Crown of Aragon and the Eastern Mediterranean

2.1 *Development (end of the twelfth–thirteenth Century)*

Earliest News

We have documentary evidence from the twelfth century of oriental products in the Crown of Aragon, although its merchants had not participated directly in transporting them. In fact, spices can be found in the tariffs of the first *lleuda* from Barcelona that dates from around the mid-twelfth century, and in the list of the tolls in the Ebro valley, set before 1196.¹¹ However, the latter document indicates clearly that some of these came from Ceuta, Bougie and Valencia, which shows that they came from the Levant by a route still mainly in Muslim hands at the end of the twelfth century, and not yet directly thanks to either the Catalans or Italians. In fact, as we have noted, the Venetians, Pisans and Genoese took advantage of their hold on whole neighbourhoods in the cities of the Holy Land and the Byzantine Empire, and their already well-developed

9 "the longer these mercantile chains become, the more they escape from the rules and habitual controls". Fernand Braudel, *La dynamique du capitalisme* (Paris, 1985), p. 58.

10 For the consumption of spices in Catalonia, see: Antoni Riera, "Per trobar aromatitzants, per reunir condiments, s'explora l'univers sencer". Les espècies orientals a Catalunya al segle XII," in *Els catalans a la Mediterrània oriental a l'edat mitjana*, ed. Maria Teresa Ferrer (Barcelona, 2003), pp. 359–87.

11 Pepper and cinnamon appear in the first document, while the second mentions brazilin, indigo, lac and *especies*; Jaume Sobrequés, Sebastià Riera, "La lleuda de Barcelona del segle XII," *Estudis Universitaris Catalans* 26 (Barcelona, 1984), 341; Gual Camarena, *Vocabulario del comercio medieval*, pp. 107–10 (doc. 10); Riera, "Per trobar aromatitzants," p. 362.

contacts with the main port in Egypt, Alexandria, to supply a large part of the Eastern Mediterranean and Europe with oriental products.¹²

However, from the end of the twelfth century, the first evidence appears of direct relations between the Crown of Aragon and the Levant. In fact, at the end of the 1160s, the well-known Jewish traveller, Benjamin of Tudela, indicated that Barcelona and Montpellier (which would become part of the Crown in 1204) were frequented by numerous merchants, those from furthest away coming from Egypt and the "Land of Israel", in other words, the Crusader states in that epoch.¹³ Meanwhile, in 1187, a shared consulate for merchants from Marseilles, Saint-Gilles, Montpellier and Barcelona was created in the crusading port of Tyre in the north of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. According to the known sources, this was the first Catalan consulate. However, it was created in a rather particular context of the siege by Saladin, which forced its lord, Conrad of Montferrat, to request naval help from the businessmen from Provence, Languedoc and Catalonia. This consulate was originally shared by the merchants from the mentioned cities, but we do not know specifically how it functioned. Moreover, there are no existing Catalan sources dealing with this institution and as the confirmation of the consular privilege from the mid-thirteenth century only refers to Marseilles, its real existence for the Catalans can be doubted.¹⁴

The earliest surviving contracts appeared shortly after, in other words, at approximately the same time as the first contacts of merchants from the Crown with the Maghreb: a Barcelonan mercantile society in 1212 and an af-freightment of a Catalan ship in 1219 from Marseilles to Ultramar, in other words, the Holy Land.¹⁵ The first royal norms were promulgated then, includ-

12 Willhelm Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam, 1967); Eliyahu Ashtor, *Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1983).

13 *Libro de viajes de Benjamín de Tudela*, ed. Ramon Magdalena Nom de Déu (Barcelona, 1989), pp. 56–57. In the same tale, among the many peoples who could be found in the great port of Alexandria, Benjamin de Tudela cites those of Aragon which, in that context, could indicate that these were really Catalan merchants. *Libro de viajes de Benjamín de Tudela*, p. 121.

14 Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, 1: 320. For the consulate in Tyre, see also: Damien Coulon, "Los consulados catalanes en Siria (1187–1400)," in *XVIII Congrés Internacional d'Història de la Corona d'Aragó, La Mediterrània de la Corona d'Aragó. Segles XIII–XVI. VII centenari de la sentència arbitral de Torrellas. 1304–2004*, (València, sept. de 2004), ed. Rafael Narbona, 2 vols. (Valencia, 2005), 1: 179–88.

15 Josep Maria Madurell, Arcadi Garcia, *Societats mercantils medievals a Barcelona*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1986), 2: 10–11 (doc. 3); Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, 1: 186; Amada López de Meneses, "Los consulados de Alejandría y Damasco en el reinado de Pedro el

ing the certificate of 1227 that prohibited the use of foreign bottoms to sail to *transmarina* lands, Alexandria and Ceuta from Barcelona, although some Barcelonans were ready to move there.¹⁶ This document confirms a certain regularity in the distant trade relations from Barcelona, notably with the Levant; but it also shows that they still had to be protected from foreign competition, especially from the Italians, who fulfilled an even more active role as intermediaries between the Crown of Aragon and the Eastern Mediterranean, thanks to their large fleets and numerous commercial privileges.

Growth

However, the development of the commercial adventure in the Eastern Mediterranean that affected various cities of the Crown can be dated from the thirteenth century. First among these were the merchants from Montpellier, who managed to obtain commercial franchises in the Crusader port of Saint John of Acre in 1191, where they also had their own consul who represented their interests permanently. They also obtained commercial advantages in the Christian kingdom of Cyprus in 1236 and the Crusader port of Tripoli in 1243. In the latter, they were represented by another consul, while they also established contacts with Egypt.¹⁷

To a large extent, this new recognition of the role of Montpellier was due to the efforts of a dynamic businessman and burgher of the city, Ramon de Conques, who had dedicated himself personally to achieving this. That is why he was also chosen by King James I, who gave him the title of ambassador to negotiate for a corn exchange and another consulate in Alexandria in benefit of the all subjects of the Crown. He managed to obtain this from the Mamluk sultan in 1262.¹⁸

Ceremonioso," *Estudios de Edad Media de la Corona de Aragón*, 6 (1956), 84; Damien Coulon, "El desarrollo del comercio catalán en el Mediterráneo oriental durante el reinado de Jaime I," in *Jaume I. Commemoració del VIII centenari del naixement de Jaume I*, ed. Maria Teresa Ferrer, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 2013), 2: 661. For trade relations with the Maghreb, see: Charles E. Dufourcq, *L'Espagne catalane et le Maghrib aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles (1212–1331)* (Paris, 1966); Carme Batlle, "Mercaders de Barcelona al nord d'Àfrica durant el regnat de Jaume I," in *Jaume I. Commemoració del VIII centenari del naixement de Jaume I*, ed. Maria Teresa Ferrer, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 2013), 2: 677–703.

16 Capmany, *Memorias históricas*, 2/1: 7–8 (doc. 5).

17 Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, 1: 324, 328 and 334; and Coulon, "El desarrollo del comercio catalán," p. 665.

18 López de Meneses, "Los consulados de Alejandría y Damasco," 138 (doc. 1); and Coulon, "El desarrollo del comercio catalán," pp. 663–64.

However, despite this vital role, James I chose to grant the *Consellers* of Barcelona the famous privilege to appoint consuls “*ad partes ultramarinas*”, extended shortly after to the consuls in ‘Romania’ (August 1268).¹⁹ That decision (studied below) shows first that the Catalans had not been inactive in the trade with Egypt and ‘Romania’, which is confirmed by some contracts, which became more numerous from the mid century, whose main destinations were Egypt and Ultramar. Particularly notable in this task were members of the great Barcelona families like the Marquets.²⁰

Finally, despite that privilege referring to ‘Romania’, the activities of the merchants from the Crown apparently declined there. In fact, the first consul for the Crown subjects was only elected in 1281, while the investments in trade with ‘Romania’ remained more limited than those with the Maghreb and also very likely, those with the Levant. In consequence, the families drawn to the former area were not so rich.²¹

To sum up, at the end of the 1260s, Crown subjects from various cities (mainly Montpellier and Barcelona and also Majorca) had developed trade relations, especially with Saint John of Acre, Alexandria and, to a lesser extent, Constantinople, which they consolidated in an economic context of expansion. However, the nature of the phase that started in the last third of the thirteenth century was quite different.

2.2 *A Long Chaotic Phase (1269–1369)*

The New Crusading Spirit and its Repercussions on Trade with the East

As is known, 1269 was the departure of James I’s crusade to the Holy Land. Although the king returned after reaching Majorca, part of his army reached its destination. This expedition represented a radical change in the policy of good contacts with the Mamluks in Syria and Egypt, and began shortly before a ban on trade with them was imposed.

19 Capmany, *Memorias históricas*, 2/1: 38–39 and 47–49 (docs. 19 and 23).

20 Ferran Soldevila, *L’almirall Ramon Marquet* (Barcelona, 1953), p. 13; Josep Maria Madurell, Arcadi Garcia, *Comandas comerciales barcelonesas de la baja Edad Media* (Barcelona, 1973), pp. 164–165 (doc. 19); and Damien Coulon, “La corona de Aragón y los mercados lejanos mediterráneos (siglos XII–XV),” in *La Corona de Aragón en el centro de su historia. Aspectos económicos y sociales (1208–1458)*, ed. Angel Sesma (Saragossa, 2010), p. 287, n. 33.

21 Stephen P. Bench, “Early Catalan Contacts with Byzantium,” in *Iberia and the Mediterranean World of the Middle Ages, Studies in Honor of R. I. Burns S. J.*, eds. Paul E. Chevedden, Donald J. Kagay, Paul G. Padilla, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1995), 1: 138.

This new policy was, in fact, interrupted with the accession of Peter the Great in 1276. Official treaties between the new kings Alfonso the Liberal and James II, on one hand, and the sultans of Cairo on the other were still signed in 1290 and 1293, basically to protect trade (see first part of section 4 in this chapter). However, the consequence of the fall of the last Crusader port, Saint John of Acre, conquered by the Mamluks in 1291, was a stiffening of the ban on trade by Pope Nicholas IV (1288–1292). In reality, limits had been set by the popes since the end of the twelfth century, but these mainly referred to certain specified products like iron, wood, arms or foodstuffs. However, from 1291 on, Nicholas IV and his successors wished to ban any kind of trade by Christians with the Mamluks and other Muslims, under the threat of excommunication. While that policy did not unduly concern the kings of the Crown of Aragon or the Kingdom of Majorca, the Christian king of Cyprus took advantage of the situation to arm galleys and seize the Christian ships that sailed for Egypt or Syria, including some Catalan and Majorcan ones.²²

As these examples show that like the others, the merchants from the Crown did not follow the papal prohibitions scrupulously, but they attempted to avoid leaving any traces, including written ones, of their activities, so it is much more difficult for historians to reconstruct the trade relations in that period, particularly those with Egypt and Syria. However, significantly, we do see a new geography of commercial contacts appearing in the Eastern Mediterranean: Catalans began to appear in the Christian kingdom of Lesser Armenia, in Cilicia on the coast of Anatolia north of Cyprus, at least after 1274, while others went to 'Romania', or even ports in Crimea,²³ all still in Christian hands.

New Strategies by the Merchants of the Crowns of Aragon and Majorca

Evidently, the Papacy did not have the means to enforce this strict policy not even to control the activities in all the Christian ports. Perhaps that is why, in the Treaty of Anagni between Pope Boniface VIII and James II in 1295 that

22 See: Capmany, *Memorias históricas*, 2/1: 143 (doc. 72); Jean Richard, "Le royaume de Chypre et l'embargo sur le commerce avec l'Égypte (fin XIII^e—début du XIV^e siècle)," *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres. Comptes Rendus des Séances de l'Année* 3/1 (1984), 124–25. Other examples in: Catherine Otten, "Chypre un des centres du commerce catalan en Orient," in *Els catalans a la Mediterrània oriental a l'edat mitjana*, ed. Maria Teresa Ferrer (Barcelona, 2003), p. 137.

23 Laura Balletto, *Notai genovesi in Oltremare, Atti rogati a Laiazzo da Federico di Piazzalunga (1274) e Pietro di Bargone (1277, 1279)* (Genoa, 1989), pp. 47–48; 57–58 (docs. 35 and 41); and Daniel Duran, "Els catalans i els mallorquins a la mar Negra i a la Tartària," in *Els catalans a la Mediterrània oriental a l'edat mitjana*, ed. Maria Teresa Ferrer (Barcelona, 2003), p. 193.

ended the open conflict for the Sicilian Vespers between the Crown of Aragon and the papal power, the pope granted the king and his agents control over trade. This trade was still prohibited, and as it was known that the merchants continued their business in Muslim lands, a complex system of fines was put in place to punish these activities, the fines being collected by agents of either the king or the pope.²⁴

The surviving lists of fines show that from the early fourteenth century, Catalan merchants again began to trade fairly regularly with the Mamluks. These traders included various members of the most powerful families in Barcelona, such as the Carbos, Fivallers and still the Marquets. Moreover, they had conserved their corn exchange in Alexandria, as confirmed by an Irish pilgrim who passed through there in 1323.²⁵ Finally, the origins of the merchants can be found in those lists in the archives of the Crown of Aragon and the Papacy. The Catalans, and especially the Barcelonans among them, dominated, with a much smaller number of around ten Majorcan merchants and ship-owners throughout the first half of the fourteenth century, with an even smaller number of merchants from Montpellier.

Despite that possibility of continuing business while paying fines, the merchants of the Crowns of Aragon and Majorca also had another solution to fall back on: the island of Cyprus, which still belonged to a Christian dynasty, the Lusignan, that remained there until the end of the fifteenth century. In fact, Cyprus is quite close to the coast of Syria and could act as a bridgehead on the spice route before the theoretically forbidden Muslim countries. That situation explains the island's very active role after the disappearance of the Christian states in the Holy Land. In fact, it attracted both the Italian, Genoese and Venetian merchants, and those from the Crowns of Aragon and Majorca. We also know that, in 1291, the subjects of the king of Aragon obtained a favourable customs tariff from King Henry II of Cyprus.

24 Masià de Ros, *La Corona de Aragón y los estados del Norte África*; Trenchs, "De Alexandrinis," pp. 237–320; Coulon, *Barcelone et le grand commerce d'Orient*, pp. 87–97; Josep Baucells, *Vivir en la Edad Media. Barcelona y su entorno en los siglos XIII y XIV (1200–1344)*, 4 vols. (Barcelona, 2005), 2: 1740–82; Damien Coulon, "La documentation pontificale et le commerce avec les musulmans," in *Les territoires de la Méditerranée VI^e–XVI^e siècle*, ed. Annliese Nef (Rennes, 2013), pp. 161–92.

25 "Le voyage de Symon Semeonis d'Irlande en Terre sainte", trans. Christiane Deluz in: *Croisades et pèlerinages. Récits, Chroniques et voyages en Terre Sainte, XII^e–XVI^e siècle*, ed. Danielle Régnier-Bohler (Paris, 1997), pp. 959–95, more precisely, p. 973. The pilgrim also stated that merchants from Venice, Genoa and Marseilles also had their own corn exchanges in 1323.

As trade with Cyprus was not banned by the Papacy, there is a large quantity of surviving documentation (notarial contracts and books of accounts)²⁶ that show the active role of the Catalans on the island, especially in its main port of Famagusta, an activity that was particularly intense in the fourteenth century. The contracts signed by the Catalans often linked the port of Famagusta with Candia on Crete, where they temporarily had a consul. However, in other cases, they used Cyprus as an official destination, while they really sailed on, generally to Syria or Alexandria, changing ship in Famagusta to sidestep the surveillance of the ecclesiastic authorities. Finally, it can be noted that in the particular case of the accounts of the very powerful company run by the Catalan businessman, Pere de Mitjavila, the voyages to the Muslim Levant were not even hidden: between 1334 and 1342, he chartered a ship to Alexandria, two to Beirut and three to Cyprus.

With the theoretically ban on trade with the Muslims, 'Romania' had again become an interesting destinations for merchants from the Crowns of Aragon and Majorca, but after moments of acute crisis. In fact, a first expedition, led by Admiral Roger of Lauria against Greek possessions in the Aegean in 1292, was followed by that of the Almogavars, mercenaries of the Crown of Aragon. In his famous chronicle, Ramon Muntaner described and popularised the violent reaction after the murder of their leader, Roger de Flor in 1305, well known under the name of the Catalan Revenge (*Vengança Catalana*). They fought in Greece until 1311, when the Duchy of Athens was set up, followed by that of Neopatria (1319).²⁷ These serious events led to the flight of the few Catalan and Majorcan merchants who had tried to set up business in the Aegean, Constantinople and even the Black Sea.

The despatch of ambassadors, who were really merchants, by King James II did allow a treaty of reconciliation between the Crown of Aragon and the Byzantine Empire to be signed in 1315, which also included reduced customs tariffs. However, despite these efforts, the area of 'Romania' remained dangerous, as shown by the cases of piracy, of which some Catalan and Majorcan

26 See, for example: Josep Maria Madurell, Arcadi Garcia, *Comandas comerciales*, pp. 229–234 (doc. 99) (list of 27 orders from 1349); Michel Balard, ed., *Notai Genovesi in Oltremare. Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto (11 ottobre 1296–23 giugno 1299)* (Genoa, 1983), pp. 43–45; 174–181 (docs. 33 and 149–51). Among the books of accounts, see: Josep Plana, "The Accounts of Joan Benet's Trading Venture from Barcelona to Famagusta: 1343," *Επετηρίς του Κέντρου*, 19 (1992), pp. 105–68.

27 Ernest Marcos, "Els catalans i l'Imperi bizanti," in *Els catalans a la Mediterrània oriental a l'edat mitjana*, ed. Maria Teresa Ferrer (Barcelona, 2003), pp. 53–59.

were victims, but also perpetrators.²⁸ However, from the 1340s, the situation of the exchanges with 'Romania' improved: ships from Barcelona sailed there more regularly—in one case, a detailed book of accounts has survived —, and new signs of the presence of some Catalans in the Black Sea also appear.²⁹

In 1344, Pope Clement VI finally agreed to soften his severe policy of prohibiting trade with the Muslims, which, on the other hand, he had no power to enforce rigorously. That traffic was again permitted but with licences granted by the pope. In this context, that same year, the influential businessman, Pere de Mitjavila, managed to obtain a monopoly from the king of Aragon on trade with Egypt and Syria in exchange for the large sum of 1 500 Aragonese florins.³⁰ His brilliant career could have grown even more had he not been struck down by the Black Death in 1350.

The Black Death and Conflicts

Apparently, the epidemic of the Black Death that broke out in Europe in 1348 did not immediately affect the long-distance trade with the Eastern Mediterranean despite the death of Pere de Mitjavila. In fact, various other businessmen were ready to divide up his old privileges. However, limits on the frequency of sailings and activities were noted shortly after due to an continuous string of conflicts. The war with Genoa (1351–1360) led to the Battle of the Bosphorus in 1351, where the Genoese faced the Catalans allied who were with the Venetians and the Byzantines. Although the result was inconclusive, the conflict seriously affected trade in the area. Three years later, the Genoese threatened Barcelona directly, which prevented all sailings to the Levant that year. A long conflict with Castile broke out in 1356, which perpetuated this highly unfavourable context for trade. The final blow was the attack on Alexandria by the Cypriot king, Peter I, on October 1365, in which Catalan and Italian merchants took part and whose outcome was the interruption of trade with the great Egyptian port for various years because of reprisals by the sultan of Egypt.

28 Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, 1: 451–52; Rubió, *Diplomatari de l'Orient català*, pp. 140–141 (doc. 115); Marcos, "Els catalans i l'Imperi bizantí," p. 61; Duran, "Els catalans i els mallorquins a la mar Negra," p. 195; Maria Teresa Ferrer, "Els mallorquins a la Mediterrània oriental a l'edat mitjana," in *El Regne de Mallorca: cruïlla de gentes i de cultures (segles XIII–XV)*. XXVI Jornades d'Estudis Històrics Locals, ed. Maria Barceló (Palma of Majorca, 2008), p. 56.

29 Duran, "Els catalans i els mallorquins a la mar Negra," p. 196; Daniel Duran, *Manual del viatge fet per Berenguer Benet a Romania 1341–1342. Estudi i edició* (Barcelona, 2002).

30 Coulon, *Barcelone et le grand commerce d'Orient*, pp. 98–99.

The twenty years between 1350 and 1370 were undoubtedly the hardest for long-distance trade of the Crown of Aragon,³¹ especially with Egypt and Syria, and marked the end of a century-long, very irregular, and sometimes chaotic phase.

2.3 *A New Phase of Development: End of the Fourteenth Century–End of the Fifteenth Century*

End of the Fourteenth Century–Beginning of the Fifteenth. The Apogee?

Then, after two decades of serious difficulties, a new, much more favourable, phase began. In fact, although we cannot pin down the date or the conditions with any precision, an official reconciliation between the subjects of the Crown and the Mamluk sultanate took place, very likely around 1370. New bases for improved commercial relations were created, and these allowed a slow but inexorable trend towards recovery.

Meanwhile, the Genoese seized the active Cypriot port of Famagusta in 1373 and held it for almost a century, until 1464. Other merchants thus lost a strategic market. However, as relations with the Mamluks had improved, the port of Beirut replaced Famagusta in the organisation of the traffic to the Levant for the subjects of the Crown and the Venetians.³²

From the early 1370s, the number of sailings to Alexandria and Beirut increased, while the average level of investments in Egypt and Syria went up. In the early years of the fifteenth century, we see up to 15 ships from Barcelona sailing to these destinations each year, which had never happened previously and outshone sailings to any other eastern destination. Moreover, relations between other parts of the Crown and the Levant also underwent a clear growth in the same years, although not to such a large extent. We can see this in the cases of Majorca and Perpignan-Collioure, from where a respective yearly average of two and one ship(s) sailed at the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth centuries. Some trade to the Levant have also been noted from Valencia, but these were on Tuscan or Catalan ships.³³

31 In those years, the average amount of investment in the Mamluk sultanate was the lowest in Barcelona; see: Coulon, *Barcelone et le grand commerce d'Orient*, p. 301. For the effects of the cited conflicts on trade between Barcelona and Egypt and Syria, see: Coulon, *Barcelone et le grand commerce d'Orient*, pp. 170–71.

32 Moreover, after the change in pontifical policy in 1344, it was no longer really necessary for the Christian merchants to call in to Cyprus.

33 Ferrer, "Els mallorquins a la Mediterrània oriental," pp. 51–53; Pierre Macaire, "Mallorca y el comercio con el Mediterráneo oriental," *Estudis Balearics* 15 (1984), 65; Damien Coulon, "Perpiñán en las relaciones de gran comercio con el Levante mediterráneo en la baja Edad Media," in *Els catalans a la Mediterrània medieval. Noves fonts, recerques i perspectives*, eds.

Thanks to the large number of contracts of orders —that first show the rise in traffic— we know what these Catalan ships were carrying, as we shall see in greater detail below. On the outward voyages, they carried considerable quantities of woollen cloth, especially Catalan. Far behind this, but sometimes in a proportion of a quarter of the value of the cargo, we find coral. This was a good complement for the medium quality cheap cloth, since it was often polished and worked in beads or rosaries. Coral was thus a luxury item. We must also highlight that this trade in coral to the Levant took off in the 1380s. It sustained, to a large extent, the boom we note in relations with Egypt and Syria, as it was a speciality of Barcelonan, rather than the Italian, merchants until the mid-fifteenth century.

On the return journey, the merchants brought large quantities of spices, the true commercial target of those distant relations. During the period under consideration, pepper and ginger dominated, followed by cinnamon and cloves. However, a varied range of other products from the Near East and South Asia were also imported and these were also given the generic name of spices, as mentioned above.

We also note development on the route to Constantinople at the end of the fourteenth century. The number of ships that left Barcelona was again more regular, with an average of one or two ships a year. It is not by chance that, after a gap of almost a century, a consul once again took over the post of representative of the Crown subjects there from 1383. In these years, we also have evidence of regular trade by Majorcans with the Byzantine capital, from where they returned with numerous slaves, these being from Greece but also from Asia Minor, the Caucasus and Russia.³⁴ Moreover, other consulates for the subjects

Lluís Cifuentes, Roser Salicrú, Mercè Viladrich (Rome, 2015), pp. 195–216; Angela Orlandi, *Mercaders i diners: la correspondència datiniana entre València i Mallorca (1395–1398)* (Valencia, 2008), pp. 441–462 (docs. 174–759 and 533–536 (doc. 199); Enrique Cruselles, *Los mercaderes de Valencia en la Edad Media (1380–1450)* (Lleida, 2001), p. 25.

34 Ships sailing from Majorca to Constantinople: Claude Carrère, *Barcelone, centre économique à l'époque des difficultés*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1967), 2: 851–52 (table 1); Mario Del Treppo, *I mercanti catalani e l'espansione della corona d'Aragona nel secolo XV* (Naples, 1972), pp. 608–13. Consul in Pera-Constantinople, Daniel Duran, “La fi del sistema consular i les seves repercussions en el català: el cas dels consolats de Pera i Constantinoble,” *Barcelona Quaderns d'Història* 4 (2001), 163. Slave trade: Daniel Duran, “Els mallorquins a la Romania (segles XIII–XVI),” in *El regne de Mallorca: cruïlla de gentes i de cultures (segles XIII–XV)*, XXVI *Jornades d'Estudis Locals*, ed. Maria Barceló (Palma of Majorca, 2008), pp. 245–46; Duran, “Els catalans i els mallorquins a la mar Negra,” pp. 198, 200; Ferrer, “Els mallorquins a la Mediterrània oriental,” pp. 57 and 65.

of the Crown in 1404 appeared on Chios, and then in Modon (Methoni, in the Peloponnese), which were under Genoese and Venetian domain respectively.

Thus, the period between the last decade of the fourteenth century and the early years of the fifteenth represented the high water mark of relations between the Crown of Aragon and the Eastern Mediterranean, a phenomenon that was also noted in other large western ports like Genoa and Venice.³⁵ So, we must highlight that the mid-fourteenth century crisis did not last long, at least in the field of long-distance trade with the East. On the contrary, the recovery seems finally quite fast, as the good level of 1330–1340 was reached again in 1380–1390 and then exceeded.

However, after that period of stability and apogee, new difficulties arose, especially in Syria after 1405, where the emirs disputed the sultan's power, and this began to affect the traffic through Beirut.³⁶ A real crisis erupted in 1416, when the new king, Alfonso the Magnanimous, organised a privateering expedition against Alexandria, theoretically as a reprisal for the punishment of the Catalan consul.³⁷ This finally led to limits on the trade with the Mamluks and the abandoning of the consular post there for almost fifteen years.

The New Role of Rhodes

The Catalan merchants were, however, able to use another point of support for their eastern trade: the island of Rhodes. In reality, they did wait for the events of 1416 to enhance the position in their commercial network of the island that had belonged to the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem since 1306. In fact, Rhodes already regularly appeared in the merchants' contracts, but mainly as a port of call on the way to the Levant or Constantinople, at least from the 1380s on.

At the same time, the influence of the friars from the Crown of Aragon in the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem was growing. This evolution explains the 1421 election of the Catalan Antoni Fluvià as Grand Master of the Order, a post he held until his death in 1437. Moreover, bear in mind that the island of Rhodes is in a strategic position at the bifurcation of the routes to the East, to Constantinople in one direction, and to Cyprus, Beirut and Alexandria in the

35 See, for example: Eliyahu Ashtor, *Levant Trade in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1983), pp. 114–35.

36 In contrast with what was always presented in the traditional historiography (see still: Feliu, "La crisis catalana," p. 458), the attack by Timur, the powerful monarch of Transoxiana, against Syria in the winter of 1400–1401, did not mark the beginning of the decline of relations with that country. Coulon, *Barcelone et le grand commerce d'Orient*, p. 173.

37 Coulon, *Barcelone et le grand commerce d'Orient*, p. 204–05.

other. Alfonso the Magnanimous' justified his aggressive new policy towards the Mamluks in Syria and Egypt by the certainty that the merchants could still enjoy access to the spices from the Orient in Rhodes, as Famagusta could no longer fulfil this role after being conquered by the Genoese in 1373.

On another hand, the Hospitallers of Saint John needed regular contacts with the Christian West to obtain the incomes from their network of commanderies and receive supplies of arms, as the Eastern Mediterranean was becoming increasingly dominated by the Muslims, especially the Turks, who, given to their vocation, the knights had to fight. In this context, the priory of Catalonia played a growing role.³⁸ This explains why, after 1416–1417 and basically until the end of the fifteenth century, the island became the main destination for the merchants from the Crown on their way to the Levant.

The growth in importance of Rhodes had unequal repercussions on the trade with Constantinople and 'Romania', which was irregular from Barcelona, as on the succession of the consuls in Constantinople. In contrast, a clear increase is seen in the traffic between Majorca and 'Romania', as detailed below. On one hand, the Mamluk sultanate of Egypt and Syria was not completely abandoned, but the journeys there had become dangerous because of the risks of reprisals after the 1416 expedition. Then, in 1430, a new treaty was signed with the Mamluk sultan of Egypt and Syria, renewing the rights of the king's subjects to do business and allowing the appointment of a consul in Alexandria, but Sultan Barsbay did not respect the terms of this agreement. In fact, in 1430, he returned to a policy of a monopoly on the spices, which he confiscated and sold to the westerners at a price above that of the market. That attitude again provoked a long cycle of tensions with, and aggressions against, the Mamluks and that favoured the maintenance of trade principally through Rhodes, which was safer.

New Crises: The Wars of Alfonso the Magnanimous and the Catalan Civil War

As we shall see below, the ambitious policy of conquest of the kingdom of Naples by Alfonso the Magnanimous seriously affected relations to the east, especially during the 1430s (see second part of chapter 4th).

In fact, the twenty years between the conquest of Naples in 1442 and the start of the Catalan Civil War were not so bad for Barcelona's trade relations,

38 Pierre Bonneaud, *Le prieuré de Catalogne, le couvent de Rhodes et la couronne d'Aragon, 1415–1447* (Millau, 2004); and particularly: Pierre Bonneaud, "Hospitaliers catalans en Méditerranée au cours du XV^e siècle," in *Les ordres militaires et la mer*, ed. Michel Balard (Paris, 2009), pp. 93–102.

and, to a different extent, those of Valencia, with Rhodes and Alexandria, as shown by the long lists of ships that sailed to these destinations in this period³⁹ despite two attempts by the Mamluks to besiege Rhodes first in 1440 and then, more seriously, in 1444. In reality, since 1433–1434, a new system of regular double voyages had been established thanks to the renting of the galleys belonging to the *Generalitat* of Catalonia. These journeys consisted of regular sailings to the Levant and then to England and Flanders to distribute the eastern products there. These galleys could be used for both trade and war. We know that one participated in the defence of Rhodes in 1444. These arrangements allowed some 15 double voyages to Levant and Flanders, and 23 with galleys to the Eastern Mediterranean up to 1447.⁴⁰ After a last military push to consolidate the conquests in Southern Italia between 1451 and 1453, and thanks to protectionist measures, the trade with the Levant, especially from Catalonia, grew again between 1454 and 1460. Thus, the fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453 did not have such serious consequences for the Crown's trade.

This contrasts with the radical change during the Catalan Civil War from 1462 on. For the first time since the papal prohibitions and perhaps even since the beginnings of regular traffic with the Eastern Mediterranean, no sailings from Barcelona to that part of the world can be found for various consecutive years, almost between 1465 and 1476; and after that long decade, the traffic never returned to pre-war levels. This long crisis also finally led to a redistribution of the roles of the different ports and economic centres in the Crown, harming particularly that of Barcelona.

Elements in Response to the Question of the Decline in Trade with the East

In my opinion, what should be highlighted in the panorama of the relations between the Crown of Aragon and the Eastern Mediterranean at the end of the Middle Ages is the phenomenon of the long lasting nature of traffic to that area from its beginnings in the thirteenth century despite the difficulties and

39 Carrère, *Barcelone, centre économique*, 2: 863–69 (table Ib); Del Treppo, *I mercanti catalani*, pp. 626–35. An annual average of over 5 ships sailed from Barcelona for Rhodes or Alexandria in these twenty years. For Valencia, see: Jacqueline Guiral, *Valence, port méditerranéen au XV^e siècle* (Paris, 1986), pp. 151, 181 and 342; Ashtor, *Levant Trade*, pp. 340 and 356 (merchants from Valencia in Alexandria in 1448–1449 according to the contracts of Venetian notaries in Alexandria).

40 Damien Coulon, "Lluís Sirvent (vers 1387–1444), homme d'affaires, ambassadeur et promoteur de lignes régulières de grand commerce barcelonais," in *Les Échanges en Méditerranée médiévale*, eds. Elisabeth Malamut, Mohamed Ouerfelli (Aix-en-Provence, 2012), pp. 221–27.

even some moments of crisis, but which were limited in time. Those on-going relations seem to belie the theory of economic decline that is also defended for the area of the Levant by the historian Eliyahu Ashtor.⁴¹

Without denying these difficulties, they must also be put into perspective. In fact, E. Ashtor justifies the situation of decline or crisis, in particular through the commercial competition of the western nations that took large quantities of fabrics to the Levant, provoking the ruin of the textile industry there. This proof enables the phenomenon of crisis in the West and especially in the Crown of Aragon to be qualified, but also highlights that the exchanges were possible in the long term. In fact, despite the real difficulties in Egypt and Syria, the large quantities of spices from South Asia still had to travel through those countries where western merchants, and the Catalans in particular, still also had the means for exchanges. As the specialist in the history of Egypt, Jean-Claude Garcin, showed some time ago, although most of the interior of the country underwent a decline at the end of the Middle Ages, its ports, especially those of the Mediterranean, were still characterised by a certain dynamism that is almost exclusively explained by the exchanges, as by external productive activities.⁴² Despite its difficulties, the Levant remained a consumer area that however had goods to exchange in almost unlimited quantities in time, as they had to pass through there to reach the Mediterranean and as the sultans could impose high prices on the spices, thanks to their commercial monopoly or *madjar*.⁴³ Despite the fragility due to its special length, while there was demand and the means to exchange, this great commercial flow did not run much greater risks than perturbations or eventually temporary crises, which it always overcame.

41 Eliyahu Ashtor, "L'exportation des textiles occidentaux dans le Proche Orient musulman au bas Moyen Âge (1370–1517)," in *Studi in memoria di Federigo Melis*, 5 vols. (Naples, 1978), 2: 303–75; and Ashtor, *Levant Trade*. Gaspar Feliu bases himself especially on the works of Eliyahu Ashtor to justify his analysis in terms of the decline or crisis of Catalan trade to the Levant: Ashtor "La Crisis catalana," p. 448, n. 44, and p. 458, n. 79.

42 Jean-Claude Garcin, "La 'méditerranéisation' de l'empire mamlouk sous les sultans bahrides," *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 48 (1974), 109–16, 115–16; and Jean-Claude Garcin, "Transport des épices et espace égyptien entre le XI^e et le XV^e siècle," *Les transports au Moyen Age*, in *Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l'Ouest* 85 (1978), 305–14. Still at the level of the city of Alexandria, the contrast between the vitality in the port and the run-down appearance of the interior can be noted in different sources. Damien Coulon, "Alexandrie, pôle du grand commerce médiéval au miroir des archives barcelonaises XIII^e–XV^e siècle," in *Alexandrie Médiévale*, eds. Christian Decobert, Jean-Yves Empereur, Christophe Picard, 4 vols. (Cairo, 2011), 3: 167–83.

43 Moreover, the sultans of Egypt and Syria strictly prohibited the Christian merchants from entering the Red Sea, so their countries had a stranglehold on the route of the spices.

3 The Distribution of Business between the Economic Centres of the Crown

We must now go into greater detail about the different possible itineraries, after these lines of general presentation that highlight the role of Barcelona and Catalonia. Evidently, this must be relativised as the other ports and kingdoms of the Crown of Aragon did not remain inactive.

3.1 *Rivalries between Cities of the Crown in the Trade with the Eastern Mediterranean*

However, the existence of various large dynamic ports in the Crown inevitably led to rivalries between them in the long-distance trade with the Eastern Mediterranean, that were furthermore fuelled by temporary phases of independence from the Crown. Various revealing episodes show this well.

We have noted above that the merchants from Montpellier had developed their own relations with the crusader states of the Holy Land at the end of the twelfth century, shortly before it was taken over by the Crown of Aragon. Moreover, over the following century, the dynamic businessman, Ramon de Conques, earned new economic advantages for his fellow countrymen in Cyprus and Egypt, where he was sent in 1262 by King James I to obtain a grain store and a consulate for all the merchants of the Crown in Alexandria—see *supra*. However, we also know that the people of Montpellier revolted against the king's authority in the great Egyptian port while Ramon de Conques was there two years later.⁴⁴ We do not know the reasons behind that brief sedition, but we should not forget that that same year of 1264, James I had finally named a citizen of Barcelona, Guillem de Montcada, as the first consul in Alexandria. As the relevant document states, he had authority over all the king's subjects, "*incluidos los mercaderes de Montpellier*", who are the only ones specifically named, in other words, the only ones marked out.⁴⁵ There were surely other manifestations of the rivalries between merchants from Montpellier and then Barcelona, but as the city in Languedoc became part of the independent

44 Alexandre Germain, *Histoire du commerce de Montpellier*, 2 vols. (Montpellier, 1861), 1: 253 (doc. 38). This is a remission granted by James I in December 1264 to the merchants of Montpellier who had rejected his authority in Alexandria while Ramon de Conques was there. The document also lets it be understood—but this is still a hypothesis—that the businessman might have headed a revolt by the small community from Montpellier. See also: Coulon, "El desarrollo del comercio catalán," p. 666.

45 "including the merchants from Montpellier". Faustino D. Gazulla, "Jaime I y los estados musulmanes," in *Discursos leídos en la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* (Barcelona, 1919), p. 71, n. 152; Amada López de Meneses, "Los consulados de Alejandria y Damasco," pp. 136–137 (doc. 2); and Coulon, "El desarrollo del comercio catalán," p. 666.

Kingdom of Majorca after 1276, and then France, these became part of the broader setting of competition between states.⁴⁶

We have also noted that in the development of trade relations with the Eastern Mediterranean in the thirteenth century, the merchants from Majorca played a relevant role during the period their kingdom was independent.⁴⁷ However, the conflict broke out with the city of Barcelona shortly after the reincorporation of the Kingdom of Majorca into the Crown of Aragon at the end of the 1340s. One of the main problems was related to the consulates that the merchants from both cities had appointed in the same places, not only in the Eastern Mediterranean, but also in Italy and the Maghreb. In the Levant, the problem was solved by the intervention of King Peter the Ceremonious, who promised to respect the prerogatives of the Barcelonans there in detriment of the Majorcans from 1351.⁴⁸ However, in 1384, he had again to intervene when the new Mamluk sultan of Egypt and Syria recognised a Majorcan, Simó Reya, as the consul of Alexandria, who was dismissed in favour of a Barcelonan, as was usual.⁴⁹

While the Catalans had perhaps not named any consuls in Constantinople since the end of the thirteenth century, they could do so again regularly from 1383, but they then resided in the neighbouring city of Pera, under Genoese control, where the Majorcans had apparently previously had consuls.⁵⁰

46 We know, for example, that Montpellier had its own consuls on the island of Cyprus at least at the end of the thirteenth century. Catherine Otten, "Chypre un des centres du commerce," p. 135.

47 The earliest known name of an ambassador sent by James I to the Mamluk sultanate of Egypt is that of the Majorcan Bernat Porter in 1256. Pau Cateura, "Mundos mediterráneos: el reino de Mallorca y el sultanato mameluco (siglos XIII–XV)," *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma, III. Historia Medieval* 13 (2000), 94; Ferrer, "Els mallorquins a la Mediterrània oriental," p. 44; Coulon, "El desarrollo del comercio catalán," p. 62. We also know that the Majorcans maintained relations with Egypt and Syria despite the papal prohibitions, which were most severe between 1291 and 1344, for example: Capmany, *Memorias históricas*, 2/1: 143 (doc. 72); Richard, "Le royaume de Chypre," pp. 124–25. The famous manual of trade by the Tuscan Francesco Balducci Pegolotti highlights the relations between the islands of Cyprus and Majorca around 1340: Francesco B. Pegolotti, *La pratica della mercatura*, ed. Alan Evans (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), pp. 99–100.

48 Capmany, *Memorias históricas*, 2/1: 327–328 (doc. 161). See also: Maria Teresa Ferrer, "El consolat de mar i els consolats d'Ultramar," in *L'expansió catalana a la Mediterrània a la baixa Edat Mitjana*, eds. Damien Coulon, Maria Teresa Ferrer (Barcelona, 1999), p. 69.

49 López de Meneses, "Los consulados catalanes de Alejandría y Damasco," pp. 153–54 (doc. 16–17); Ferrer, "Els mallorquins a la Mediterrània oriental," pp. 51–52.

50 Duran, "La fi del sistema consular mallorquí," p. 163.

3.2 *The Efforts to Coordinate Commerce*

The rivalries between ports, open or still contained, evidently harmed their dynamism and explain the efforts made to coordinate their activities. In fact, we particularly note a progressive sharing of the trading destinations according to the different ports and countries of the Crown during the second half of the fourteenth century.

This shows a clear specialisation by the merchants from Barcelona in relations with Egypt and Syria, especially with the ports of Alexandria, Saint John of Acre and then Beirut, or, depending on the phases, with Cyprus (during the most acute stage of the ban on trade with the Muslims) or Rhodes, from 1415–1420 on. This itinerary was the main axis for all the business of the Crown of Aragon in the Eastern Mediterranean. It was justified by the basic role that spices played in the western economy, in other words, in the Crown and, from there, in the other European destinations where they were redistributed. Although these relations have been dealt with in depth above, it remains for them to be related to domestic economic activities, especially in Catalonia.

In fact, a phenomenon must be highlighted that the economic historiography of Catalonia has perhaps not emphasised enough or related sufficiently with foreign trade and its economic weight. This was evidently the cloth production that arose in various places in the Crown and especially in Catalonia from the middle or end of the thirteenth century, and that developed throughout the Late Middle Ages, despite the shortage of manpower resulting from the demographic crisis caused by the Black Death in the mid-fourteenth century. In fact, the productive capacity had responded quite rapidly to the needs of the domestic market, especially in the period of demographic difficulties, as the outlet for a large part of production was foreign trade. But, as we know, productive centres had also appeared in the rest of Europe, especially in Flanders, Languedoc, Lombardy and Tuscany, often predating those in the Crown of Aragon. Thus, the main outlets were not these markets that also supplied Western Europe, often with higher quality, but at centres of consumption around the Mediterranean and notably in the Levant. In fact, from the mid-fourteenth century, cloth was by far the leading item on board the Catalan ships, often making up over half the cargo by value. Thanks to the numerous notarial sources, it can be estimated that, at the start of the fifteenth century, Catalan ships were carrying thousands of cloth to the Eastern Mediterranean every year.⁵¹ These excellent opportunities to export cloth also explain, for

51 It has been estimated that a single ship could carry over 1,000 Catalan clothes on a voyage to the Levant; as an annual average of 10 to 15 ships docked there at the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth centuries, it can be stated that thousands of Catalan

example, the regular participation, *a priori* unexpected, of a place like Perpignan in the trade with the Levant, thanks to the port of Collioure.⁵² In this case, cloth was by far the largest proportion of the cargos, compared with what was shipped from Barcelona. In other words, it can be said that a high demand was maintained and sustained in various Mediterranean markets including Sicily, the Maghreb, 'Romania' and especially in the Levant, and supplying this demand explains a large part of the dynamism of the textile industry in the Crown. That accounts for "*el papel central y motor*" that trade with the east played for the whole Catalan economy,⁵³ at least from the mid-fourteenth century through to the middle of the following century.

In the Eastern Mediterranean, the Catalans, especially the Barcelonans, and to a lesser extent, those from Roussillon, had managed to reserve for themselves relations with the destinations where the largest amounts of spices arrived, in other words the main sources of wealth. Meanwhile, the merchants from Majorca and Valencia dedicated themselves to relations with other countries and ports they had also visited regularly for a long time, the Majorcans mainly with the Maghreb and the Valencians with the Kingdom of Granada, as was well demonstrated.⁵⁴ Thus, this rather original share was logical, as it that allowed each centre to enjoy its specialised trade area, from where they extracted specific products, and to reduce the risks of rivalries between subjects of the Crown.

However, the diversity of commercial destinations in the Eastern Mediterranean, also allowed other relations to develop. In fact, the Majorcans knew how to take advantage of the opportunities to trade with Constantinople and 'Romania', where the Venetians and Genoese had however been working for a long time. We have noted above that they had a consul in the city of Pera, opposite Constantinople, before the Barcelonans restored this post in 1383. We have documentary evidence of a consul for the Majorcans, who was really Genoese, in 1341, and also of early contacts with Constantinople from the end of the thirteenth century.⁵⁵ In the second half of the fourteenth century, they exploited one of the special riches of that area: slaves, brought from Greece

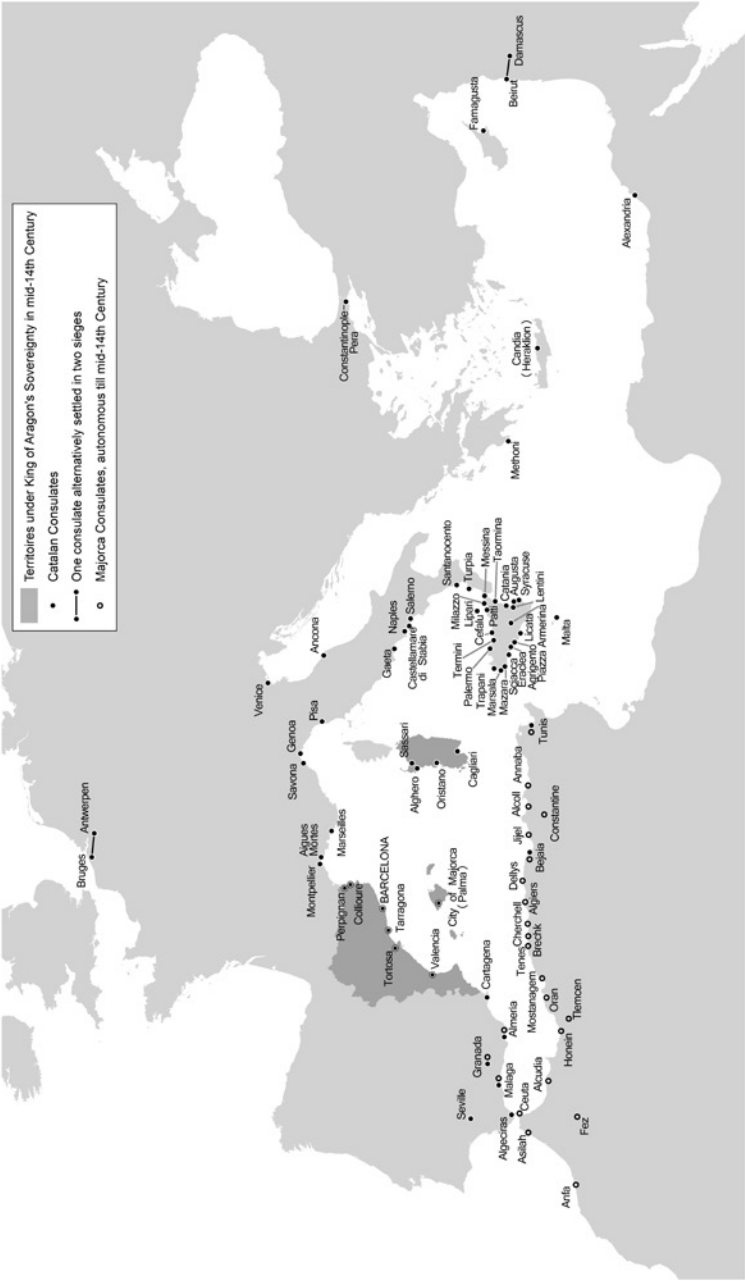
clothes were exported to the Eastern Mediterranean every year; see Coulon, *Barcelone et le grand commerce d'Orient*, p. 314.

52 Damien Coulon, *Grand commerce, groupes urbains et individu dans un centre intermédiaire de Méditerranée occidentale: Perpignan à la fin du Moyen Âge*, Mémoire d'Habilitation à diriger des recherches [Université Paris 1] (Paris, 2011).

53 "the central driving force". Feliu, "La crisis catalana," p. 459.

54 Maria Dolores López Pérez, *La Corona de Aragón y el Magreb en el siglo XIV* (Barcelona, 1995), pp. 172–73 and 852.

55 See Duran, "Els mallorquins a la Romania," p. 243; Duran, "La fi del sistema consular mallorquí," p. 163.



MAP 10.1 *Catalan Consulates.*

MAP BY DAMIEN COULON, BRILL AND SERVEI CIENTÍFICOTÈCNIC DE CARTOGRAFIA I SISTEMES D'INFORMACIÓ
GEOGRÀFICA DE LA UNIVERSITAT DE LLEIDA.

but more so from Asia Minor, the Caucasus and Russia, and that the Genoese had been trading in for at least a century. Thanks to those bases, the Majorcans managed to open commercial relations with 'Romania' and even sent more ships there than the Catalans, for example, between 1418 and 1435,⁵⁶ apparently without creating rivalries with them, which can be understood, as this was not the main trading area for the merchants of the Crown in the Eastern Mediterranean.

4 The Role of the Monarchy

The phenomenon of the distribution of the trade relations with various geographic areas obviously shows a higher intervention: that of the monarchy. What role did it play more precisely at the level of framing or assistance for the commercial movement to the East?

4.1 *Reciprocal Help between the King and the Merchants*

Various authors have emphasised the important symbiotic relation between the kings and the urban powers, dominated by the mercantile bourgeoisie, especially from the thirteenth century on.⁵⁷ In short, the cities and their merchants offered their help to the monarch, mainly to finance his costly military projects, while the latter defended their mercantile interests, especially in the Mediterranean, even through certain military conquests, which the merchants could, in turn, make use of as new bridgeheads for their activities. A good illustration of that interpretation can be found in the old historiographic theme of the *ruta de las islas* of the Western Mediterranean, which prolonged the *ruta*

56 Daniel Duran, "Monarquia, consellers i mercaders. Conflictivitat en el Consolat d'Ultramar, instrument i manifestació de l'expansió del comerç català," in *L'expansió catalana a la Mediterrània a la baixa Edat Mitjana*, eds. Damien Coulon, Maria Teresa Ferrer (Barcelona, 1999), pp. 35–36; Duran, "Els mallorquins a la Romania," p. 244; Carrère, *Barcelone, centre économique*, 2: 853–61 (figure 1b); Del Treppo, *I mercanti catalani*, pp. 614–23; Macaire, "Mallorca y el comercio," pp. 65–66. The French traveller, Bertrandon de La Broquière, who visited Constantinople and Andrinople, then the capital of the Turks, in 1433, stated that some merchants from the Crown of Aragon, especially Catalans, were living there. Hélène Basso, Jacques Paviot, eds., *Le voyage d'Orient* (Toulouse, 2010), pp. 140 and 154.

57 For example, see: Carme Batlle, *L'expansió baix medieval, segles XIII–XV* (Barcelona, 1988), pp. 78–82 and 241–47; Jaume Sobrequès, *Història de Barcelona. 3. La ciutat consolidada (segles XIV i XV)* (Barcelona, 1992), 3: 273–312, and Stephen P. Bench, *Barcelona and its Rulers* (Cambridge, Eng., 1995).

oriental de las especias.⁵⁸ However, various historians refuted the latter theme, despite the coherence of the itinerary, because they saw in it an artificial association, reconstituted *a posteriori*, between two phenomena of expansion that were in reality distinct: on one hand, the military territorial conquests on the large islands of the Western Mediterranean, basically by nobles of the Crown, and, on the other, trade relations by merchants with the great ports of the Eastern Mediterranean.⁵⁹ The relations between the king and his merchants must therefore be considered carefully.

In the long term, one can, nevertheless, highlight a real collaboration between the kings and the businessmen of the Crown. It is no longer necessary to show that the merchants from the cities often tended to give financial assistance to the repeated petitions by the kings in the Courts, evidently with advantages for them, in a logic of negotiation. More precisely, some merchants usually returned from their eastern voyages with luxury goods, personally requested by the king or queen.⁶⁰

In return, the kings committed themselves directly to supporting their merchants in the framework of various diplomatic negotiations. We can already see this with the official mission that James I sent to Egypt in 1262, to obtain a corn exchange and a consulate in Alexandria. The bilateral treaties signed with eastern monarchs almost always included the defence of the interests of the merchants with the more habitual terms of diplomatic alliances. For example, the treaty signed in 1290 and confirmed in 1293 with the Mamluk sultanate in Cairo, defined the new commercial advantages the merchants from the Crown could enjoy (in particular, they could export goods theoretically prohibited by the Papacy), while the kings of Aragon committed themselves to warn the sultans of any new crusade. Finally, the sultans promised to allow those Christian pilgrims who had a safe-conduct from the king of Aragon to enter into their lands.⁶¹ In the Treaty of Anagni with Pope Boniface VIII in 1295, that reconciled the Crown of Aragon with the Papacy, James II skilfully looked after his own interests, those of his merchants and those of the pope. In fact, he agreed

58 "route of the islands"; "eastern spice route". Jaume Vicens Vives, *España. Geopolítica del estado y del imperio* (Barcelona, 1940).

59 Del Treppo, *I mercanti catalani*, pp. 1–8; José Enrique Ruiz Doménec, "Ruta de las especias / ruta de las islas. Apuntes para una nueva periodización," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 10, (1980), 689–97.

60 Among numerous examples, see: Coulon, *Barcelone et le grand commerce d'Orient*, pp. 482 or 529.

61 Coulon, *Barcelone et le grand commerce d'Orient*, pp. 44–45. The treaty of 1290 was signed by Alfonso the Liberal and the sultan al-Manṣūr Qalawūn and confirmed in 1293 by their respective successors, James II and al-Ashraf Khalil.

to receive the fines paid by those who traded with Egypt and Syria and who no longer risked excommunication.⁶² Theoretically, the fines were intended to finance the fight against the Nasrid Kingdom of Granada, but, in reality, they became a kind of tax that filled the coffers of the royal treasury and so, despite everything, the merchants were free to dedicate themselves to their business. Throughout the fourteenth century, these bases created a framework of good diplomatic relations with the Mamluk sultans, who the kings of Aragon regularly sent missions that prolonged the friendship between the two parties, thus enabling the merchants of the Crown to dedicate themselves to their work under conditions of political agreement.

We note a similar overall friendly policy towards the eastern Christian monarchs, but without the same diplomatic difficulties. In 'Romania', after installation themselves in the duchies of Athens and Neopatria, the Almogavars had finally recognised the authority of the king of Sicily.⁶³ These circumstances favoured the signing of the 1315 treaty of reconciliation between King James II and the Byzantine emperor, Andronikos II. A matrimonial strategy⁶⁴ was woven with the kings of Cyprus, which the merchants from the Crown, who encountered a very favourable reception on the island, took advantage of indirectly.

To sum up, it can be stated that as the eastern countries were far away, they were not seen as potential threats for the Crown of Aragon; and as rich merchandise could be obtained there, it was worth keeping good diplomatic relations with them to favour trade contacts. This can also explain that even at the level of more mundane relations, we have documentary evidence of numerous personal interventions by the kings in favour of their merchants with the authorities in the eastern countries to solve minor conflicts, problems with the customs, confiscations of goods, theft, etc.⁶⁵ They show that almost all the kings of Aragon were willing to commit themselves to help their merchants in concrete, surely in return for just rewards.

However, it must be highlighted that the first significant political measures favoured the Barcelonans, among the different merchants of the Crown. The important measures of 1227, that obliged a Barcelonan ship, and not a foreign

62 In reality, the king could receive the fines from the merchants who exported any goods except arms, iron, horses or victuals. Coulon, *Barcelone et le grand commerce d'Orient*, pp. 30 and 87–88.

63 Marcos, "Els catalans i l'Imperi bizanti," p. 59.

64 For example, King James II remarried in 1315, this time to Marie of Lusignan, sister to the Cypriot king, Henry II, while in 1353, Eleonor, cousin to Peter the Ceremonious of Aragon, married King Peter I of Cyprus.

65 See, for example: Coulon, *Barcelone et le grand commerce d'Orient*, pp. 49, 52–53.

vessel, to be used to export goods to Alexandria or Ceuta from the leading Catalan ports evidently protected and benefited its merchants and seamen in a period of fragile beginnings. Notably, the decision to grant the municipal council of Barcelona the power to nominate the consuls of Ultramar, in other words the Holy Land, as well as those in Syria and Egypt, and also 'Romania', in 1266 and 1268 respectively, indicates a clear favour by King James I, as the consuls had authority over all the Crown's subjects. In 1351, in the context of the reincorporation of the Kingdom of Majorca, Peter the Ceremonious again supported Barcelona to put an end to the rivalry between Barcelona and the City of Majorca regarding the appointment of these consuls.⁶⁶ Given that this privilege lasted until the end of the Middle Ages, it clearly favoured the great Catalan port, consolidating its power compared with the others, and thus contributed to sharing the trade destinations as mentioned above.

4.2 *Moments of Clear Divergences*

However, the detailed study of the relations with the East shows key moments and even whole periods of rupture between the monarch and merchants.

One must start first with the crusade of James I, which began in 1269 and shows a complete change of attitude towards the Mamluks in Syria and Egypt. This is mainly explained by the death in 1266 of Manfred, son of the Emperor Frederick II, who attempted to succeed him in Southern Italy and Sicily, and who was also James' ally (Manfred's daughter Constance had married Prince Peter in 1262) against the Papacy. However, Manfred, rather isolated diplomatically in the Christian world, also had an ally in the Mamluk sultan Baybars.⁶⁷ Manfred was thus the diplomatic link between James I and the sultan. After Manfred's death, the logical alliance between the king and sultan fell apart. This radical political change completely modified the conditions of trade with the sultanate, even if this did not wholly disappear, as we have seen. An original compromise between the position of papal ban and that of the merchants only came about with the Treaty of Anagni in 1295, signed by James II, as mentioned above.

Other ruptures or tensions between the king and the merchants can be noted in moments of acute conflict. For example, in 1392, when Prince Martin took a powerful fleet to Sicily to place his son on the throne there, the number of ships sailing to the east decreased that year and the following

66 Capmany, *Memorias históricas*, 2/1 : 327–328 (doc. 161); Duran, "La fi del sistema consular mallorquí," p. 156.

67 See the chronicle of the ambassador Ibn Wasil: Edgar Blochet, "Relations diplomatiques des Hohenstaufen avec les sultans d'Égypte," *Revue Historique* 80 (1902), 51–64.

one.⁶⁸ Evidently, the logic of rupture between the interests of the king and those of his merchants in the long term can be qualified, as, after it had been pacified, the island became a more solid base for the trade with the Eastern Mediterranean.

With the reign of Alfonso the Magnanimous, one can note the long and short-term tensions coming together. When he acceded to the throne in 1416, the king not only decided, as we have seen, to order a privateering raid to avenge the humiliation of the consul in Alexandria, but also imposed a tough new policy of systematic reaction to the Mamluk sultan's reprisals to the incidents that occurred, in a complete break with the long tradition of friendship, and this led to the absence of the consul of the Catalans there until 1430. This situation provoked a mobilisation of the merchants who demanded that peaceful relations be restored and finally managed to achieve the negotiation of a new official treaty in 1430, which basically renewed the 1293 one, but which the sultan Barsbay then did not respect, as we have seen. Meanwhile, in the 1430s, Alfonso the Magnanimous steadily became more deeply committed to his ambitious conquest of the Kingdom of Naples. He concentrated all his attention and the Crown's naval forces there. In particular, after his spectacular defeat by the Genoese at Ponza in 1435, the king requisitioned all the largest ships to carry out his war aims, which limited or even paralysed the long-distance traffic. We can see this especially during 1436, when not a single ship left Barcelona or Majorca for the East, a truly exceptional situation. Then, as we have seen, the use of the galleys belonging to the *Generalitat* to organise the trade with the Levant and Flanders directly served the interests of Alfonso the Magnanimous, because that meant he also simultaneously had fighting ships. In fact, the generalisation of the use of the galleys in long-distance trade, especially during 1430–1450, corresponded to a kind of militarisation of the eastern trading activities.

To sum up, the end of the reign of James I and most of Alfonso the Magnanimous' were characterised by a clear divorce between the monarch and the merchants of the Crown, even when they were able to find forms to adapt, such as the use of the galleys or the reorganisation of their businesses with the island of Rhodes, instead of going to Egypt in the latter case. Both examples show that the kings could switch their attitude brusquely for political reasons, breaking with the traditional relations of trust with the eastern monarchs, and directly jeopardising the fruitful interests of the merchants. So, the merchants complained openly (in 1453, for example) and it cannot be consid-

68 Coulon, *Barcelone et le grand commerce d'Orient*, p. 172.

ered that the aims of the kings and businessmen of the Crown in the Eastern Mediterranean coincided throughout the Late Middle Ages.

In conclusion, the most original aspect of the commercial projection of the Crown of Aragon, not only in the east, but also to all the Muslim countries in the Mediterranean, was surely its extension to various port cities, principally Barcelona, the City of Majorca and Valencia. As we have seen, despite the rivalries between these ports, especially until the reincorporation of the Kingdom of Majorca, their merchants could develop specialised relations in different, but complementary, directions. While Barcelona dominated in the Levant (Rhodes, Cyprus, Egypt and Syria), Majorca consolidated its position in the Maghreb and Valencia in the Nasrid sultanate of Granada and, to a lesser extent, in the Maghreb. Moreover, the commercial network diversified towards Constantinople and 'Romania', where the Catalans and sometimes even more the Majorcans also wove relations, but which did not however reach the level of earlier periods. Faced with the inevitable rivalries between the three great ports, the monarchs, who also depended on the financial support of their merchants, managed to convince them to share and specialise in their activities and commercial destinations.

With the support of the monarchy, the Barcelonans and people from Perpignan in their wake, managed to impose themselves in the eastern markets over the leading traders of the Late Middle Ages, the Venetians and Genoese, who had been trading there for much longer —since the twelfth or even the eleventh centuries. Thanks also to the distribution of activities noted above, the Catalans could concentrate their efforts in the area of the Levant and rise to third place behind the Venetians and Genoese, who were alone able to send more ships there.

Especially in Catalonia, but also in the rest of the Crown, foreign trade played a growing role in the growth of the economy. If only the activities within the Crown are taken into account, one cannot really measure the fundamental importance of the business, nor place in doubt the question of the decline or a long crisis in the state, and more precisely in Catalonia. The decisive and intense relations described above sketch out a very closely connected Mediterranean world, where the main ports of the Crown of Aragon played a basic role during the last three centuries of the Middle Ages. However, this outgoing economy was evidently very dependent on the markets it was linked to; a situation that could be considered as fragile as each important change in the network could affect business and which provoked the majority of the difficulties we have detailed. However, until the Catalan Civil War, the businessmen of the Crown generally knew how to adapt to the changes and maintain a high level of activity.

In conclusion, do these lines allow us to talk about a commercial empire of the Crown of Aragon in the Mediterranean? On one hand, the smaller number of consulates in the eastern part compared with the western, compared with the ones belonging to the Venetians and Genoese, who, on the other, still controlled whole territories like Crete or strategic ports like Caffa in Crimea, lead me personally to prefer another image —that of networks. Although still not perfectly adequate, it does however seem more appropriate given its flexibility, capacity of development along long routes and their nature as a group, bringing together men who shared activities, values and a language. Moreover, the image of networks allows the situation to be analysed at various scales and from different perspectives: that of the Crown or of only one part, like Catalonia or the Kingdom of Majorca. However, we must note that each of these retained its specific features and complementary itineraries. In other words, the image of a network seems to me to reflect better the complexity of the projection of the Crown of Aragon in the Mediterranean and especially in the east.⁶⁹

69 For the notion of the commercial network in the Middle Ages, see especially: Damien Coulon, Christophe Picard, Dominique Valérian, eds., *Espaces et réseaux en Méditerranée, VI^e–XVI^e siècle*, 2 vols [vol. I *La configuration des réseaux*, vol. II *La formation des réseaux*] (Paris, 2007); Damien Coulon, “Barcelona entre redes mercantiles marítimas y terrestres de gran comercio en la baja Edad Media,” *Barcelona Quaderns d’Història* 18 [*Presència i lligams territorials de Barcelona. Vint segles de vida urbana*] (2012), 147–63.

The People: Labourers and Rulers in an Expanding Society

Maria Bonet

Many forms of social organisation were shared throughout the regions in the medieval Crown of Aragon, in both country and city. The expansion of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries led to the movement of its people into conquered regions. At the same time, the ruling class imposed institutional and ideological mechanisms in order to control peasants, workers, and members of the subaltern classes effectively. Even so, socio-economic changes brought benefits to labourers, who achieved greater levels of visibility, social mobility and made their demands heard.

1 The Peasants. Colonisations, Reconfigurations and Conflicts

Rural societies in the Crown of Aragon were very varied, in line with the diversity of the geography and the way a range of formulas of dependence had been imposed by the feudal lords there. Moreover, migrations, settlements, reconfigurations of rural societies and conflicts shaped the transformations of the rural world in these regions. The mobility of the people and the socio-economic dynamism of the peasantry characterised agrarian populations from the twelfth century. Besides the social conditions of the peasantry were marked by colonisation of the territories conquered in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which affected those who emigrated to the new lands, the ones who remained, and, most dramatically, those who were dispossessed and subjected by the conquerors.

Thus, in the regions of Old Catalonia and Upper Aragon, which provided the men and women who settled the conquered lands, forms of serfdom proliferated, as well as abusive demands known as bad customs (*mals usos*, *malas costumbres* or *censos malos*).¹ The Catalan peasants' desertion of their landlords,

1 Carlos Laliena, "Cambio social y reorganización institucional en la Corona de Aragón en torno a 1200," in *La Península Ibérica en tiempos de las Navas de Tolosa*, eds. Carlos Estepa, María Antonia Carmona (Madrid, 2014), pp. 339–43.

both to new lands and nearby villages,² considered a real human crisis, contributed to the expansion of serfdom from the end of the twelfth century, when lords tried to stop the process of emigration.³ This came from the lords' need to optimise their peasants' work in order to secure more resources.⁴ However, by accumulating *masos rònecs* ("abandoned tenures") other peasants enriched themselves until the middle of thirteenth century. In this way, a well-off peasantry, made up, among others, of bailiffs and *pagesos grassos* ("wealthy peasants"), grew and consolidated itself as a rural elite,⁵ and therefore, rural society in the northern half of Catalonia became patently heterogeneous.⁶ In Aragon, however, the lords had problems in maintaining their domination and with the servile subjection of the peasantry at the beginning of thirteenth century.⁷

The process of serfdom in Old Catalonia was institutionalised and consolidated through legal formulae that restricted the freedom of the peasant. Thus, the *ius maletractandi* of 1202 prevented peasant from denouncing mistreatment by the lords in a court and a statute of 1283 established the payment that peasants were obliged to satisfy if they wanted to abandon their tenancies.⁸ Servitude was redeemed by paying the *remença*, which gave rise to the Catalan serfs being called *remences*, but this term also designated the capacity to become free.⁹ In the middle of the thirteenth century, Pere Albert made a distinction between the conditions of the peasantry of Old and New Catalonia. The former were subject to greater dependence, could not marry or abandon their farms and even "*lurs fils són homes de lurs senyors*", while the latter could leave their tenancies freely.¹⁰ The lords favoured the deployment of legal instruments, such as population charters, to guarantee that the peasants stayed to ensure a specific concentrated settlement, and finally to guarantee

2 José María Font Rius, *Cartas de población y franquicia de Cataluña*, 2 vols. (Madrid-Barcelona, 1983), 2: 135–38.

3 Pere Benito, *Senyoria de la terra i tinença pagesa al comtat de Barcelona (segles XI–XIII)* (Barcelona, 2003), p. 466.

4 Lluís To, "Le mas catalan au XII^e siècle: genèse et évolution d'une structure d'encadrement et d'asservissement de la paysannerie," *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale X^e–XII^e siècles* 36/2 (1993), 175–77.

5 Benito, *Senyoria*, pp. 303, 315, 438, 739.

6 Josep Maria Salrach, "La comunitat pagesa," in *Història agrària dels Països Catalans. II. Edat Mitjana*, eds. Emili Giralt, Josep Maria Salrach (Barcelona, 2004), p. 519.

7 Laliena, "Cambio," pp. 345–346.

8 Jaume Vicens Vives, *Historia de los Remensas (en el siglo XV)*, Barcelona, 1978, pp. 27–29.

9 To, "Le mas," p. 169.

10 "Their sons belongs to their lords". Elisabet Ferran, *El jurista Pere Albert i les 'commemoracions'*, (Barcelona, 2006), p. 172.

the viability of the domain, especially for the needs imposed by the conquered lands. The expansion of so-called franchises in New Catalonia did not mean a weakening of lordship. On the contrary, it coincided with the oppressive behaviour of the northern lordship.¹¹ From the middle of the twelfth century and throughout the thirteenth, lords granted population charters to peasants in New Catalonia with the aim of concentrating the population in certain places, fixing some incomes and dependence to the lord, as well as defining rural elites.¹² These formulae for framing the peasants also occurred in lands in Southern Aragon, where peasant migration was heavy in the half century after the conquest.¹³ Indeed, they were also used in the process of Christian settlement in the Valencia region.¹⁴

In the colonised areas, ensuring the viability of new occupations was a priority to maintain or expand production rates. The lords encouraged the formation of rural oligarchies, as active agents in their interests, to whom, for example, they entrusted the distribution of land in the form of tenures.¹⁵ The means for obtaining manorial incomes may have seemed less oppressive, but they were heavy nonetheless. Moreover, in the colonised regions, certain arbitrary demands were maintained despite the lords' tendency to abandon them,¹⁶ such as corporal punishment for those who did not pay their rents.¹⁷ On the other hand, population charters fostered military obligations, especially in recently-conquered frontier lands,¹⁸ which has led to villagers being identified

11 Paul. H. Freedman, *Els orígens de la servitud pagesa a la Catalunya medieval* (Vic, 1993), pp. 155–58.

12 Most of the 400 population instruments were destined to New Catalonia and 15% to Old Catalonia. José María Font Rius, *Cartas de población y franquicia de Cataluña*, 2 vols. (Madrid-Barcelona, 1969), 1; Maria Bonet, "Las dependencias personales y las prestaciones económicas en la expansión feudal de la Cataluña Nueva (siglo XII)," *Hispania* 66/223, (2006), 425–82.

13 María Luisa Ledesma, *Cartas de población del Reino de Aragón en los siglos medievales* (Saragossa, 1991); Laliena, "Cambio," p. 350.

14 Enric Guinot, *Cartes de poblament medievals valencianes* (Valencia, 1991).

15 Maria Bonet, "Las cartas de población y la renta feudal en el dominio hospitalario del Montsià (siglo XIII)," in *Miscel·lània en homenatge al P. Agustí Altisent* (Tarragona, 1991), pp. 551–71.

16 Bonet, "Las dependencias," pp. 470–2.

17 The non-payment of the tithe entailed corporal punishment in the Hospitaller commandery of Ulldescona, that was commuted to a fine in 1243. Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, órdenes militares, código 604B, f. 113–15.

18 Ledesma, *Cartas*, pp. 146–148, 193, 193–197, 227, 228–231, 231–233, etc; Font Rius, *Cartas*, 1: 324–325; Juan Utrilla, "La sociedad de frontera en el Aragón Meridional en los siglos XII y XIII: Cristianos, mudéjares y judíos," in *La historia peninsular en los espacios de frontera:*

as soldier-peasants.¹⁹ One consequence of this service was that a group of men from Catalan and Aragonese settlements near the Valencian frontier attacked the Muslim population of the Plana Baixa after they had rebelled.²⁰ Thus, country people occasionally participated as “instruments” of their lords, becoming a proper subaltern class, due to the fact that their lords definitely did not have the means to impose their domination without the cooperation and control exercised by the colonists in the conquered regions, as happened in New Catalonia and Valencia. The peasant families who made up the local elites developed client networks with their lords and neighbours, over whom they exercised power by economic and political means, for example, through the control of municipal powers throughout the last medieval period.²¹

Relationships whose origins were in vassalage served to reinforce and activate connections between lords and peasants. So, peasants, whether freemen or serfs, rich or poor, were required to swear loyalty in the various territories comprising the Crown of Aragon.²² Population charters sometimes indicated that peasant communities were obliged to take oaths of fealty, although this requirement was occasionally applied to specific elements, such as the *divisores* or dealers, as happened in Southern Catalonia and Valencia.²³ The introduction of new lords into a dominion was confirmed by an oath of loyalty, as occurred in the Order of Montesa in Valencia, and oaths were even taken in Muslim communities or *aljamas*, as at Xestalgar at the end of the fourteenth century.²⁴ *Remença* peasants also recognised their dependence and accordingly took oaths of fealty in the fourteenth century.²⁵ In fact, county law, in *usatge*

las “*extremaduras históricas*” y la *transierra* (siglos XI–XV), eds. Francisco García Fitz, Juan Francisco Jiménez, (Caceres-Murcia, 2012), pp. 330–31.

19 Josep Torró, *El naixement d'una colònia. Dominació i resistència a la frontera valenciana* (1238–1276) (Valencia, 1999), p. 35.

20 Jaume I, “Llibre dels feits del rei Jaume I,” *Les quatre grans cròniques*, ed. Ferran Soldevila (Barcelona, 2008), pp. 395–97.

21 Enric Guinot, “Oligarquías y clientelismo en las comunidades rurales del sur de la Corona de Aragón (siglos XIII–XV),” *Hispania* 70/235 (2010), 409–30.

22 For Aragon see: Carlos Laliena, *Siervos medievales de Aragón y Navarra en los siglos XII y XIII* (Saragossa, 2012), pp. 294–96.

23 Font Rius, *Cartas*, 1: 340–342, 367–369, 383–384, 442–444, etc.; Guinot, *Cartas*, pp. 99, 111–112, 113–114, 114–116, 116–117, etc.

24 Luis García-Guijarro, *Papado, cruzadas y órdenes militares, siglos XI–XIII* (Madrid, 1995), pp. 181–183; Manuel Pastor, *Xestalgar: memòria escrita d'un senyoriu valencià* (Barcelona, 2004), p. 222.

25 Rosa Lluch, *Els remences: la senyoria de l'Almoina de Girona als segles XIV i XV* (Girona, 2005), pp. 49–64.

50, required an oath to be sworn to the lord by *omnes homines*, specifically referring to knights and peasants.²⁶ Thus, lords managed to link their dependents to their own person, and even the *remences* who took oaths promised not to move elsewhere.²⁷ However, the peasants used the oaths of fealty as part of their strategies of resistance against or negotiations with their lords.²⁸

In the occupied lands, the Christian peasantry were more homogenous than in their places of origin, at least during the decades following the conquest. In Majorca and Valencia, there was no Christian serfdom. However, the enslavement of Andalusians was so widespread that it almost caused their social extinction in Majorca, while in Valencia, the rural Muslim population suffered a progressively heavy loss of liberties, with restrictions placed on their movements and the payment of very burdensome rents.²⁹ Nothing could be further from the rather benevolent image offered by Christians, such as those writing for the royal circles.³⁰ In Valencia, the majority of the population was Muslim until the middle of the thirteenth century, even if the demographic balance began to tip in favour of the Christians in the second half of that century. By the middle of the fourteenth century, Muslims represented only a third of the population.³¹ In these regions and those parts of Aragon and Catalonia with a Muslim population, ethnic-religious distinctions were indicative of an important differentiation in the heart of the peasantry of the conquered territories.³² There was also territorial differentiation with some areas being predominantly Christian while others were Muslim, as had already happened during the

26 Fernando Valls, *Los Usatges de Barcelona* (Malaga, 1984), p. 85.

27 Lluch, *Els remences*, p. 53.

28 Laliena, *Siervos*, p. 295. The Godall villagers' opposition to their lords was expressed in their attempt to reject their annual oath of fidelity. They were confirmed in their franchises precisely in exchange for validating the oath. AHN, código 662B, f. 80–4 and 85–86.

29 Josep Torró, "Jaume I: el temps de les grans conquestes (1213–1276)," in *Història medieval de la Corona d'Aragó*, ed. Ernest Belenguier, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 2007), 1: 124; Josep Torró, "Del almagram a las particiones de frutos. Las cargas agrarias en las aljamas musulmanas del reino de Valencia," in *Los tributos de la tierra. Fiscalidad y agricultura en España (siglos XII–XX)*, ed. Rafael Vallejo (Valencia, 2008), pp. 185–222.

30 Robert I. Burns, "Spanish Islam in Transition: Acculturative Survival and its Price in the Christian Kingdom of Valencia, 1240–1280," in *Islam and Cultural Change in the Middle Ages*, ed. Speros Vryonis (Wiesbaden, 1975), pp. 87–105.

31 Pierre Guichard, *Al-Andalus frente a la conquista cristiana. Los musulmanes en Valencia (siglos XI–XIII)* (Valencia, 2001), p. 578.

32 Antoni Furió, "Una pagesia dividida: diferències jurídiques i desigualtats econòmiques," in *Història. Política, Societat i Cultura dels Països Catalans. La forja dels Països Catalans, segles XIII–XV*, eds. Ernest Belenguier, Coral Cuadrada (Barcelona, 1996), p. 187.

feudalisation of Aragon and Catalonia in the twelfth century.³³ Moreover, where mixed populations occurred, segregation was evident, and where Christian colonists were predominant, Muslims completely lost their power to organise themselves. Some communities, or *aljamas*, continued to exist in places where collective seigniorialisation³⁴ had taken place, in mountainous regions, although not only there, especially in the Southern half of the Kingdom of Valencia. After the conquest of Valencia, Muslims were expelled from the city centres, and removed from rich, irrigated parts of the countryside. Following the Muslim revolt in 1248 led by al-Azraq, expulsion was officially announced, which thus reactivated the Muslim rebellions, although this measure proved only to be of limited effectiveness.³⁵

Throughout the territories of the Crown of Aragon, peasants began to have a voice and presence from the twelfth century onward.³⁶ People in the countryside started to protest and organise themselves, despite many initiatives by the lords to exploit and dominate them. Besides, their individualisation, visibility and finally rights were consolidated when they managed to obtain individual agrarian contracts, such as the *establiments agraris*,³⁷ and collective ones, such as franchise charters, which gave them certain sorts of guarantees. This was, however, no obstacle to the lords' disputing these improvements, by enumerating duties (*capbreuació*) or initiating legal proceedings cases against their tenants, who had clearly become stronger by this time.³⁸ Feudalism, understood as a social system based on personal dependences and compulsory economic benefits, consolidated itself as the Crown of Aragon expanded. To sum up,

33 Carlos Laliena, "Expansión territorial, ruptura social y desarrollo de la sociedad feudal en el valle del Ebro, 1080–1120," in *De Toledo a Huesca. Sociedades medievales en transición a finales del siglo XI (1080–1100)*, eds. Carlos Laliena, Juan Utrilla (Saragossa, 1998), pp. 209–11; Pascual Ortega, *Musulmanes en Cataluña. Las comunidades musulmanas de las encomiendas templarias y hospitalarias de Ascó y Miravet (siglos XII–XIV)* (Barcelona, 2000).

34 Guichard, *Al-Andalus*, p. 655.

35 Enric Guinot, "La construcción de una nueva sociedad feudal: la repoblación del Reino de Valencia en el siglo XIII," in *La Península Ibérica en tiempos de las Navas de Tolosa*, eds. Carlos Estepa, María Antonia Carmona (Madrid, 2014), pp. 384–86.

36 Thomas Bisson, *Tormented Voices. Power, Crisis, and Humanity in Rural Catalonia, 1140–1200* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998).

37 Josep Maria Salrach, "Mercat i mercats," in *Història agrària dels Països Catalans, II. Edat Mitjana*, ed. Josep Maria Salrach (Barcelona, 2004), pp. 405–10; Carlos Laliena, "Dinámicas de la crisis: la sociedad rural aragonesa al filo de 1300," in *La Corona de Aragón en el centro de su historia, 1208–1458. Aspectos económicos y sociales*, ed. José Ángel Sesma, (Saragossa, 2010), pp. 74–80.

38 Benito, *Senyoria*, pp. 585–611.

the peasantry experienced important changes as a result of their resistance and negotiations, their increasing visibility, which also came from putting the contracts in writing, and that in turn, led to the emergence of a sector of the peasantry that functioned as a proper subaltern class to their feudal overlords.

Rural society evolved and underwent an outstanding restructuring, especially from the second half of the thirteenth century until the middle of the fourteenth. The growing population, the effects of the family and the market in land, changed the size of peasants' holdings, as well as their division. This led some into extremely difficult circumstances while others enjoyed a certain increase in wealth throughout the Crown of Aragon.³⁹ The parcelling of arable land had already affected the peasant economies in Old Catalonia, Upper Aragon, and even Valencia in the thirteenth century, bringing with it growing debt.⁴⁰ Additionally, urban and market growth had effects on the fragmentation of landholding in the vicinity of Perpignan, Barcelona, Lleida and Valencia, where half the holdings changed hands as a result of commercial transactions.⁴¹

Social conflicts involving the rural populations were varied, some being strictly local while others arose from solidarity between various groups of people from different parts. When talking about the territories of the Crown of Aragon, it is worth mentioning the systematic attacks on Muslim peasants at the hands of Catalan and Aragonese settlers. These increased in intensity between 1248 and 1278, although the sacking of *aljamas*, some of which were in the country, others in the city, also took place at later dates, and were mixed up with political conflicts, such as the War of the Union of 1347.⁴² During the War of the Two Peters against Castile, Muslims occasionally rose up against their lords, as they did against the abbot of Valldigna. They even paid homage to the king of Castile for which they were severely punished, some by enslavement and in general, their living conditions grew worse.⁴³

39 Furió, "Una pagesia," pp. 187–92; Ferran Garcia-Oliver, "L'expansió (1200–1350)," in *Història agrària dels Països Catalans, II. Edat Mitjana*, ed. Josep Maria Salrach (Barcelona, 2004), pp. 91–111.

40 Ferran Garcia-Oliver, *Terra de feudals*, (Valencia, 1991), pp. 96–101 and 129–131; Ferran García-Oliver, *La vall de les sis mesquites. El treball i la vida a la Valldigna medieval* (Valencia, 2003), pp. 86–92.

41 Enric Guinot, "La Corona d'Aragó a la Mediterrània: crisi política i expansió marítima (1270–1305)," in *Història medieval de la Corona d'Aragó*, ed. Ernest Belenguier (Barcelona, 2007), 1: 157–59.

42 Torró, *El naixement*, pp. 69–71 and 85–99; Maria del Carmen Barceló, *Minorías islámicas en el País Valenciano. Historia y dialecto* (Valencia, 1984), pp. 65–68.

43 Barceló, "Minorías," pp. 66–8; Garcia-Oliver, *La vall de les sis mesquites*.

Conflict between peasants and lords was a leading factor in the relationship between producers and owners. Feudal lords attempted to increase control over their jurisdictions and incomes, sometimes through arbitrary demands, and even robbery, and simultaneously, there was an increase in taxation in the last quarter of the thirteenth century that fell on peasant output.⁴⁴ However, certain events from the end of the thirteenth century and others from the beginning of the fourteenth, indicate the rural population's ability to respond, with interventions by the rural oligarchies,⁴⁵ sometimes related to other urban elites, as occurred in the Camp de Tarragona against the lords between 1276 and 1282, which were sometimes put down harshly.⁴⁶ These examples of resistance were the result of the peasantry's better organisation, as could also be seen from the formation of properly institutionalised communities, and their overall ability to make their claims heard, and occasionally to achieve solutions.

After the start of the demographic crisis in 1348, relations between peasantry and lords became more conflictive as a result of the decrease in peasant numbers and their redistribution and social reconfiguration, and occasionally ended in revolts. In addition, forms of rural settlement were altered, as shown by the abandonment of some villages and other populated places scattered around Old Catalonia and Aragon, as well as the disappearance of *alquerías* (rural settlements) in the kingdom of Valencia, especially in the mountainous regions. This was the outcome of mortality and internal migration, like the movements to cities and towns, and those that caused a redistribution of the rural population.⁴⁷ Moreover, changes in the system of revenues benefited some peasants, who intervened directly in the market, even in the credit market,⁴⁸ against landlords who stayed away from it, although they still tended

44 Laliena, "Dinámicas de la crisis," pp. 66–68, 87–89.

45 Guinot, "Oligarquías," 418.

46 Carme Batlle, "Una conjura dels tarragonins en contra de l'autoritat (1276)," *Butlletí Arqueològic* 133–44 (1976–77), 203–07; Maria Lluïsa Ramos, "Sobre alguns conflictes socials a Tarragona i comarques properes durant els sis primers anys de la dècada de 1280 a través de la documentació conservada a la Cancelleria Reial," *Quaderns d'història tarraconense* 12/131 (1993–1994), 67–95.

47 Josep Fernández, Antoni Riera, "La crisis econòmica i social al camp," in *Història agrària dels Països Catalans. II. Edat Mitjana*, ed. Josep Maria Salrach (Barcelona, 2004), pp. 123–25.

48 Pere Ortí, Lluís To, "Serfdom and Standards of Living of the Catalan Peasantry before and after the Black Death of 1348," in *Serfdom and Slavery in the European Economy, 11th–18th centuries*, ed. Simonetta Cavaciocchi (Florence, 2014), pp. 166–67.

to update their incomes without a clear success.⁴⁹ Despite the differences in the benefits between the regions, emphyteusis had a positive effect on agricultural production. Even in the Valencian lordships, the division of profits stimulated an increase and diversification of production.⁵⁰ However, at the end of the Middle Ages, the institutional framework of feudal relations and incomes showed was notably homogeneous across the territories of the Crown of Aragon, while socio-economic differentiation within the peasantry increased.⁵¹

The servile peasantry of Old Catalonia enjoyed remarkable economic resources, as is shown from their payment of marital assigns, and living standards even rose after 1348. In addition, the serfs on these farms always had easy access to market towns, where peasants from the region obtained goods and services, thus making the rural economy remarkably dynamic. In this context, the *remença* conflict can be explained not strictly as a revolt of a peasantry living on the edge of starvation, but as the result of the demands of dynamic social elements in the local economy.⁵² The number of abandoned *masos* ("farmhouses") increased in Old Catalonia after the population crisis and these were occupied by surviving neighbours, who disputed them with the lords, while there was a recovery in some sectors of the peasantry. Landlords promoted mechanisms to reinforce servitude in order to guarantee continuity in the exploitation of these abandoned farms as a response to the peasants' actions.⁵³

The resistance of the *remences* crystallised in the first revolutionary crisis from 1380 to 1413 and there were successive periods of greater confrontation and war from the middle to the end of the fifteenth century.⁵⁴ The revolutionary movement, made up by rich and poor peasants, violently demanded the abolition of the "bad customs". Kings John I and Martin I were receptive to the *remences'* complaints, although in 1413 the monarchy was obliged to rule against the peasants. In 1455, Alfonso the Magnanimous suspended the condition of *remença* and *mals usos*, after a series of hesitations. Thus, these Late Medieval struggles had a political and military dimension, as when the *remences* supported King John II during the Catalan Civil War. The rural oligarchies of

49 Enric Guinot, *La baja edad media en los siglos XIV–XV. Economía y sociedad* (Madrid, 2003), pp. 43–49.

50 Paulino Iradiel, "La economía de la Corona de Aragón a finales de la edad media," in *Los Reyes Católicos y la monarquía de España*, ed. Lucía Vallejo (Madrid, 2004), p. 128.

51 Fernández, Riera, "La crisis," pp. 141–43; Guinot, "Oligarquías," 424.

52 Ortí, To, "Serfdom," pp. 155–73.

53 Vicens, *Historia*, pp. 35–44; Pierre Vilar, *Catalunya dins l'Espanya moderna* (Barcelona, 1978), pp. 253–59; Lluch, *Els remences*, p. 412.

54 Vicens, *Historia*, 49–59 and 61–116; Vilar, *Catalunya*, 153–59.

Old Catalonia negotiated with the king and his circle for more than a century, and finally, King Ferdinand II satisfied the petitions of the moderate *remençes* in 1486 and abolished such abuses as the *ius prima nocti*, the obligation to breast-feed a lord's children imposed on *remença* women,⁵⁵ the right to mistreat and finally he established the redemption of the "bad uses". On the other hand, coercion and the use of violence by the lords increased in other territories, as in fifteenth-century Aragon, where these were backed by laws enacted by the king and the Courts, which aimed to hold the serfs in their domains and repress unruly peasants by force.⁵⁶

The actions of the lords and the pressure on the peasantry from increased taxation, as well as other financial problems, led to uprisings, which combined the disaffection of different social sectors and directed their discontent against specific objectives. In Majorca, the peasantry participated in the revolt of 1391, the so-called *forana*, when they reacted against the increase in *censals* and raised claims against the king's jurisdictional officer, the *veguer de fora*.⁵⁷ He continued to be a symbol of abuses against the peasantry, and in another peasants' revolt in 1450, they asked for and managed to obtain the suppression of this post.⁵⁸ In another vein, the Jews were also identified with the cause of the adversities suffered by the peasants. Thus, in the Jewish pogroms of 1391, peasants and other members of the poorer urban classes, in Barcelona and Girona, set out to burn the written documents that could support Jewish money-lenders against their creditors and properties.⁵⁹

55 "Declaramos que los dichos seniores no puedan tomar por didas para sus fijos o otras cualesquiera creaturas las mujeres de los dichos pageses de *remença* ... Ni tampoco puedan la primera noche que el pagés prendre mujer dormir con ella". Teresa Vinyoles, Marta Sancho, José Ignacio Padilla, Immaculada Ollich, Dolors López, Prim Bertran, *Història Medieval de Catalunya* (Barcelona, 2005), p. 118.

56 Esteban Sarasa, *Sociedad y conflictos sociales en Aragón: Siglos XIII–XV. Estructura de poder y conflictos de clase* (Madrid, 1981), pp. 149–60.

57 Josep Francesc López, "La revolta de 1391: efectivament crisi social," in *XIII Congrés d'Història de la Corona d'Aragó (Palma de Mallorca 27 setembre–1 octubre 1987)* (Palma of Majorca, 1989–1990), 1: 111–23; Guillem Morro, *Història de les dissensions civils a la Mallorca baixmedieval (1350–1550)* (Palma of Majorca, 2012), pp. 51, 62–4.

58 Antoni Planas, "El Veguer de Fora (1301–1450)," *Bolletí de la Societat Arqueològica Lul·liana*, 51 (1995), 45–88.

59 Christian Guilleré, "Juifs et chrétiens à Gérone au XIV^{ème} siècle," in *Actes de les Jornades d'Història dels jueus a Catalunya* (Girona, 1990), pp. 46–49; Trabal, Riera, "La crisis," p. 146.

2 City and Town Dwellers. Institutionalisation, Regional Projection and Conflicts

Cities and towns flourished as urban classes and their elites consolidated and diversified there. These were significantly shaped by businessmen, who defended their interests and privileged condition through an important institutional deployment, in turn strengthening their city's territorial projection, often through economic domination and exploitation. In this sense, urban societies dominated the region from the centrality of the town, boosted by the urban patriciate and favoured by the social, legal and economic heterogeneity of its inhabitants. All this was occasionally marked by social conflicts that were especially manifest in the Late Middle Ages. The Crown of Aragon was remarkably urbanised as a whole, with cities and towns accounting for 25 per cent of the population of Catalonia and Valencia, somewhat similar in Majorca but lower in Aragon.⁶⁰ The development of cities and towns in the old territories, such as Barcelona, and the highly urbanised Andalusian lands, foreshadowed the role of cities after the conquests as authentic regional centres with their notable network of market towns and villages, which facilitated the intersection between countryside and city. The market towns formed a network in twelfth-century Catalonia,⁶¹ and the same occurred in areas of Aragon, Majorca and Valencia.⁶²

The conquerors found a central axis for their expansion into new lands in the Andalusian cities, where, after the occupation, county and royal powers set legal conditions to favour their citizens by granting mercantile privileges and providing new institutions that strengthened coordination and leadership. In addition, the new institutional norms sought to ensure that urban life developed peacefully, given the congested population and the needs of their activities, which were subject to a constructive competitiveness. After all, the Christians had imposed *tabula rasa* conditions in the conquered lands.⁶³ Thus, the population charters issued to the inhabitants of Tortosa and Lleida by Count Ramon Berenguer IV in 1149 and 1150 laid the foundations for their

60 Guinot, *La baja edad*, p. 82.

61 Josep Maria Salrach, "El mercat de la vila. Mercat de productes," in *Història agrària dels Països Catalans. II. Edat Mitjana*, ed. Josep Maria Salrach (Barcelona, 2004), pp. 434–36.

62 José Ángel Sesma, "Pequeñas ciudades y grandes villas en el ordenamiento del espacio aragonés," in *Les sociétés urbaines en France méridionale et en péninsule Ibérique au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1991), pp. 37–50.

63 Robert Bartlett, *La formación de Europa. Conquista, colonización y cambio cultural, 950–1350* (Valencia, 2003), pp. 134–35.

governmental, social and economic development. These principles were applied in more detailed legislation in the cities conquered in the thirteenth century, as in the cases of Majorca and Valencia.⁶⁴ An authentic body of urban law was generated, in some cases extending beyond the limits of their political territories. For example, the very complete *fueros de Teruel*, close and contemporary to Cuenca's, were applied in the most distant regions of the two kingdoms, the so-called *Extremaduras*, and these also promoted the council and other aspects of urban life.⁶⁵ In addition, the conquered cities obtained rights over their territorial limits, as happened with Teruel in 1177⁶⁶ and Valencia, where the *fueros* established other rights and privileges.⁶⁷ Institutional conditions in favour of citizens were also attributed to such other places as Barcelona and Tarragona in the mid-twelfth century, although the largest movement towards municipal organisation took place at the end of the twelfth century and in the first quarter of the thirteenth, as in Girona, Cervera, Perpignan, Lleida, which were parts of the royal domain,⁶⁸ and in Saragossa, Teruel and Jaca.⁶⁹ From the middle of the thirteenth century, many leading cities reached an almost definitive municipal organisation and were also granted privileges. These included Barcelona, Lleida, Cervera, Perpignan, Tarrega, Montpellier, Montblanc, Teruel, Jaca, Daroca, Valencia and the City of Majorca.⁷⁰ This growth in municipal institutions can be seen on Majorca, where the island passed from the control of the City of Majorca to come under various councils in the last quarter of the thirteenth century.⁷¹ These processes meant that citizens took leading roles in the municipal charges and the population had a presence in the council through their representatives from the end of thirteenth until the first quarter

64 Font Rius, *Cartas*, pp. 121–26 and 129–32; Josep Maria Font i Rius, *Estudis sobre els drets i institucions locals en la Catalunya medieval* (Barcelona, 1985), pp. 141–61 and 639–53.

65 Utrilla, "La sociedad," pp. 333–34; Jesús Lalinde, *Los Fueros de Aragón*, (Saragossa, 1978), pp. 62–63; Bartlett, *La formación*, pp. 234–39.

66 Ledesma, *Cartas*, pp. 135–36.

67 "Del terme del regne e de la ciutat de València" [1.2]; "De les pastures e del vedat" [2]. <<http://www.jaumeprimer.uji.es/cgi-bin/fursv/1238-71.pdf>>: 1.2>.

68 Font Rius, *Estudis*, pp. 487–89. Paul H. Freedman, "An unsuccessful attempt at urban organization in Twelfth-century Catalonia," *Speculum* 44/3 (1979), 476–91.

69 Maria Isabel Falcón, "Origen y desarrollo del municipio medieval en el reino de Aragón," *Estudis Baleàrics* 31 (1988), 81–82.

70 Carme Batlle, "Esquema de l'evolució del municipal medieval a Catalunya," *Estudis Baleàrics* 31 (1988), 65; Falcón, "Origen," 73–82.

71 Álvaro Santamaría, "El municipio en el reino de Mallorca," *Estudis Baleàrics* 31 (1988), 5–36.

of the fifteenth centuries.⁷² The division into three *mans* or “hands” in many municipalities shows clearly how certain groups were represented in urban life and participated in political decision making. The characteristics of the participants in each *mà* varied slightly from one place to another, but in general, the *mà major* included the most outstanding citizens, the *ciutadans honrats* and gentlemen, the *mà mitjana*, merchants, wealthy craftsmen and citizens, and the *mà menor*, other craftsmen, and sometimes peasants and merchants.

Catalan cities and towns found a means for extending their urban activities in the conquest of the City of Majorca, as did the Catalans and Aragonese in Valencia. In the City of Majorca, houses and workshops were granted to people from Barcelona, Tortosa, Lleida, Tarragona, Marseilles and others in the king’s division of properties, known as the *repartiment*,⁷³ while in Valencia, people from Saragossa, Tarazona, Daroca, Calatayud, Teruel and Jaca and other places in Catalonia were included, although many houses finally remained empty.⁷⁴ This strategy, promoted by King James I, favoured the occupation of large cities, which was the other side of the policy of emptying the country of its the Muslim population, as in their immediate expulsion from Valencia and Borriana and other places, even after capitulation agreements had been signed. The plan to bring in Christian’s to repopulate the cities was not wholly successful and led to the formation of Mudejar urban neighbourhoods called *morerías*, as in the city of Valencia.⁷⁵

After the conquest of Majorca, the Barcelonans obtained mercantile franchises there, and the council of Barcelona, as a mouthpiece of the merchants’ interests, negotiated their confirmation in the thirteenth century in exchange for financial aid to the monarch.⁷⁶ Barcelonan merchants were also awarded privileges in Sicily in the fourteenth century and they had a strong presence in Sardinia after the conquest of 1323.⁷⁷ Furthermore, Majorcan and

72 Rafael Narbona, “Algunas reflexiones sobre la participación vecinal en el gobierno de las ciudades de la Corona de Aragón (siglos XII–XV),” *Res Publica* 17 (2007), 113–50.

73 Guillem Rosselló, “Mallorca 1232: colectivos urbanos, órdenes militares y reparto de botín,” *Aragón en la Edad Media* 19 (2006), 461–83.

74 < <http://www.jaumeprimer.uji.es/cgi-bin/repartiment.php> >.

75 Torró, *El naixement*, pp. 89–90; Josep Torró, “Guerra, repartiment i colonització al regne de València (1248–1249),” in *Repartiments medievals a la Corona d’Aragó: segles XII–XIII*, eds. Enric Guinot, Josep Torró (Valencia, 2007), pp. 201–76.

76 Antoni Riera, *La Corona de Aragón y el reino de Mallorca en el primer cuarto del siglo XIV. Las repercusiones arancelarias de la autonomía balear (1298–1311)* (Madrid-Barcelona, 1986), pp. 199, 264 and 53.

77 Antoni Riera, “Barcelona en els segles XIV i XV, un mercat internacional a escala mediterrànea,” *Quaderns d’Història* 8 (2003), 70, 74.

Valencian citizens were granted privileges in the Catalan-Aragonese market.⁷⁸ The Catalan consulates throughout the Mediterranean theoretically represented the interests of all the subjects of the Crown, but were the source of many conflicts, like those between Majorcans and Barcelonans.⁷⁹ In addition, mercantile interests were intertwined with military activity, and the city of Barcelona was even authorised to declare war on Genoa by King Alfonso the Benign, taking charge of the costs along with other maritime cities like the City of Majorca, Valencia and Tortosa.⁸⁰ Conquests boosted the development of banking among merchants, bankers and officials in the main cities of the Crown of Aragon, as happened after the conquest of Naples with people from Barcelona and Valencia, in Naples and Palermo.⁸¹ Adverse contexts, such as the Catalan Civil War (1462–1472), forced Catalan merchants, especially those from Barcelona, to move to other cities such as Valencia, Naples or even Perpignan, in order to maintain the business and privileges they had before the conflict. After the war, Barcelonans went into decline, while “Catalan” merchants continued as a leading economic, social and political group in Naples.⁸²

Municipal activity developed from the middle of the thirteenth century and as a result, the life of the inhabitants was fully regulated in large volumes like *Els costums de Tortosa* (1272–1277), the *Recognoverunt Proceres* of Barcelona

78 Riera, *La Corona*, pp. 53 and 200.

79 Mario del Treppo, “I catalani a Napoli,” in *Studi di Storia Meridionale in Memoria di Pietro Laveglia*, eds. Giovanni Vitono, Carmine Carlone (Salerno, 1994), pp. 31–112.

80 Josefina Mutgé, “Contribució de València a la guerra catalanogenovesa de 1330 a 1335,” in *XVIII Congrés d’Història de la Corona d’Aragó, València 2004. La Mediterrània de la Corona d’Aragó, segles XIII–XVI. VII centenari de la sentència arbitral de Torrellas, 1303–1304*, ed. Rafael Narbona, 2 vols. (Valencia, 2004), 1: 310.

81 Mario del Treppo, “Stranieri nel regno di Napoli. Le élites finanziere e la strutturazione dello spazio economico e politico,” in *Dentro de la citta. Stranieri e realtà urbane nell’ Europa dei secoli XII–XVI*, ed. Gabriella Rossetti (Naples, 1989), pp. 179–233; David Igual, “Entre Valencia y Nápoles. Banca y hombres de negocios desde el reinado de Alfonso el Magnánimo,” *En la España Medieval* 24 (2001), 105 and 122. All this happened when the economic policy of Alfonso the Magnanimous aimed to *integrazione dei mercati dei regni aragonesi di là e di qua del Tirreno* in the so-called “Aragonese common market”. Mario del Treppo, *I mercanti catalani e l’espansione della Corona d’Aragona nel secolo XV*, (Naples, 1972), pp. 600–05.

82 Antonio Aura, “Los mercaderes catalanes en la ciudad de Valencia durante la guerra civil del Principado,” in *XVIII Congrés d’Història de la Corona d’Aragó València 2004. La Mediterrània de la Corona d’Aragó, segles XIII–XVI. VII centenari de la sentència arbitral de Torrellas, 1303–1304*, ed. Rafael Narbona, 2 vols. (Valencia, 2004), 1: 1115–27; Treppo, “I Catalani,” pp. 96–97.

(1284)⁸³ and, under its influence, the *Establiments de la ciutat de València*.⁸⁴ Other legislative works, like the *Privilegio General de Aragón* of 1283, established regulations that were applied to the citizens and inhabitants of the towns of Aragon and Valencia, dealing with questions of justice, military organisation and the relationship with the king.⁸⁵ These texts established the mechanisms for governing the cities and regulated the citizens' lives in many facets, such as legal questions and security, defence, city administration and other matters related to private and commercial law. In addition, citizens were concerned to affirm and expand their domination in such key issues as their mercantile privileges and institutions. They even "bought" them when the king had urgent financial needs. This happened during the preparations for the Sardinian war in 1321–22, when Barcelona, Tortosa, Girona and Tarragona obtained mercantile privileges on Sardinia and Corsica.⁸⁶ The municipal legal texts defined the condition under which someone could become a citizen, which was essential for controlling who participated in the city privileges and under which conditions, and was made explicit in the oath of fealty that differentiated them from mere residents.⁸⁷ Finally, a whole host of matters were regulated, ranging from supplying the city, sales prices,⁸⁸ labour relationships,⁸⁹ craft activities,⁹⁰ and also the customs and morals of the population. These legislative corpus were expanded and enriched, when cities consolidated themselves as centres of power and achieved regional control. Moreover, these texts influenced the regulations of smaller places, such as the *Recognoverunt*, in Girona, Lleida or Vic, or even in other places like Cagliari, forming "families" of urban rights.

Towns and cities, and their leading groups, projected themselves in their regions, achieving different levels of domination. Urban centres dominated their

83 Jesús Massip, *Costums de Tortosa* (Barcelona, 1996); *Privilegios reales concedidos a la ciudad de Barcelona* (Barcelona, 1971).

84 Antoni Furió, Ferran García-Oliver, *Llibre d'establiments i ordenacions de la ciutat de València (1296–1345)* (Valencia, 2007).

85 *Estas son las cosas de que son spullados los ricos hombres, mesnaderos, cavalleros, infanciones, ciudadanos, e los hombres de las villas de Aragón, de Ribagorça, e del regno de Valentia, e de Teruel*, <<http://www.jaumeprimer.uji.es/cgi-bin/arxiu.php?noriginal=000354>>.

86 Manuel Sánchez, *El naixement de la fiscalitat d'estat a Catalunya (segles XII–XV)* (Girona, 1995), pp. 92–93.

87 Jean Pierre Barraqué, *Saragosse à la fin du Moyen Âge. Une ville sous influence* (Paris, 1998), pp. 134–35; Massip, *Costums*, pp. 43–44.

88 Furió, *Llibre*, for instance, *dels preus de la caça e volateria*, pp. 54 and 61–63.

89 Massip, *Costums*, pp. 87–91.

90 Furió, *Llibre*, pp. 91–93 (*ordinacions dels parayres*), 93–95 (*ordinacions del office dels tintorers*) and 100 (*ordinacions fetes per los corders*).

hinterlands and created a certain regional unity through the market, credit, notary activities and subjection to the judicial, administrative and religious authorities. Areas of influence overlapped, although a pyramidal relationship was established where the larger centres covered smaller ones.⁹¹ In Catalonia, this urban projection could be seen in the complex institution of *veinatge* or *carreratge*. Some Catalan towns were considered as neighbourhoods or streets of the cities and their inhabitants enjoyed the same rights and privileges as the cities that protected them, although they also acquired the same military and fiscal duties. This was particularly remarkable in Barcelona, which gathered more than seventy localities under its influence.⁹²

On the other hand, emerging urban economic groups began to organise themselves into corporate associations and to shield their interests by means of rules and privileges, as happened in Catalonia from the beginning of the thirteenth century with the guilds, such as the mill-stone makers in the quarries on Montjuïc in Barcelona.⁹³ King James I sanctioned rights linked to the professions, intervened in favour of the activity of the merchants of Saragossa, authorising their statutes as the confraternity of *Santa Maria de los predicadores*, and he also promoted the participation of artisans on the council of Valencia along with the power to organise themselves.⁹⁴ However, there were also municipal rules that prevented the formatting of trade guilds for butchers, fishermen, sailors, carpenters, blacksmiths and others in the city of Tortosa. King James I even forbade throughout his kingdoms “*a causa de los abusos de*

91 José Ángel Sesma, “Pequeñas ciudades,” pp. 37–50; José Ángel Sesma “Las ciudades en Argón y la Cataluña interior: población y flujos económicos (1150–1350,” in *La población de Aragón en la edad media (siglos XIII–XV)*. *Estudios de demografía histórica*, eds. José Ángel Sesma, Carlos Laliena, (Saragossa, 2004), pp. 55–90.

92 Maria Teresa Ferrer, “Viles i llocs a Barcelona a l’edat mitjana. El carreratge,” in *XVII Congrés d’Història de la Corona d’Aragó: El món urbà a la Corona d’Aragó del 1137 als decrets de Nova Planta (Barcelona-Lleida, 2000)*, ed. Salvador Claramunt, 3 vols. (Barcelona, 2003), 3: 293–314; Flocel Sabaté, *El territori de la Catalunya medieval. Percepció de l’espai i divisió territorial al llarg de l’edat mitjana* (Barcelona, 1997), pp. 202–11.

93 Antoni Riera, “La aparición de las corporaciones de oficio en Cataluña,” in *Cofradías, gremios, solidaridades en la Europa medieval. XIX Semana de Estudios Medievales* (Pamplona, 1993), p. 297.

94 María Isabel Falcón, “Las cofradías de oficio en Aragón durante la edad media,” *Medievalismo* 4 (1994), 60–62. Paulino Iradiel, “Corporaciones de oficio, acción política y sociedad civil en Valencia,” in *Cofradías, gremios, solidaridades en la Europa medieval. XIX Semana de Estudios Medievales* (Pamplona, 1993), pp. 260 and 265.

los cofrades”, and this continued through successive reigns.⁹⁵ Such prohibitions came about through the alliance of certain powers to restrain the rise of those who led the leading trades, as happened in Valencia, where opposition came from the nobility and the king, and even from the bourgeoisie middle class or *mà mediana*.⁹⁶ Corporative regulations of all sectors increased in the fourteenth century, subject to state control in Catalonia until the middle of the century,⁹⁷ and still proliferated in the fifteenth, when corporations increased their production and participation in urban life. Guilds organised the lives and work of their associates, placed their members in an operational hierarchy, in categories such as *mestre, oficial, menestral* (“master, officer and artisan”) and subjected them to rigid regulations governing the activity of the profession. This organisation shared characteristics, such as the relationships of dependence, monopoly and exclusivism, with traditional feudal social patterns.⁹⁸ Despite all this, people of all kinds and origins, slaves, workers and others outside the professions, were admitted into corporations, as was the case of the craftsmen of Barcelona and, to some extent, these associations sought welfare and social protection for their members. The model of Barcelona was followed in other Catalan towns and cities.⁹⁹ Even if women’s work was subject to the demands of their husbands, it was present, in fact, in all craft sectors and in all positions, including participating in the *cofradías* or guilds. In addition, some women had different jobs from their family’s, and they were clearly present, even predominant, in some professions, such as baking and domestic service.¹⁰⁰ Queen Mary encouraged women to participate in certain professions, such as medicine, and widows to continue with family craft and commercial activities.¹⁰¹

95 Massip, *Costums*, pp. 85–86; “because of the abuses by the members of the brotherhoods”. Falcón, “Las cofradías,” p. 66.

96 Iradiel, “Corporaciones,” p. 267.

97 Riera, “La aparición,” p. 313.

98 Rafael Narbona, “La complexitat de les poblacions urbanes,” in *Història. Política, Societat i Cultura dels Països Catalans. La forja dels Països Catalans, segles XIII–XV*, eds. Ernest Belenguier, Coral Cuadrada (Barcelona, 1996), p. 215.

99 Pierre Bonnassie, *La organización del trabajo en Barcelona a fines del siglo XV* (Barcelona, 1975), pp. 184–85 and 34–35.

100 Bonnassie, *La organización*, pp. 106–108; Carmina García, “Mozas sirvientes en Zaragoza durante el siglo XV” in *El trabajo de las mujeres en la Edad Media hispana*, eds. Ángela Muñoz, Cristina Segura (Madrid, 1988), pp. 275–85.

101 Carmina García, “El trabajo de las mujeres en la Corona de Aragón en el siglo XV: valoración y defensa del mismo por la reina María de Castilla,” *Temas medievales* 20 (2012), 31–66.

The urban bourgeoisie became a proper economic and political oligarchy, whose sources of wealth were mercantile, financial and rental, based on rural and urban properties. This social group exercised almost exclusive control over municipal life in fifteenth-century Catalonia, while in other places like Valencia or Xativa, the knights also played a role.¹⁰² A few families at the head of some cities blocked admission to other cadres, as did some institutions like *la matrícula de ciutadans i mercaders* ("the matriculation of citizens and merchants") in Barcelona in 1479.¹⁰³ However, the weight of the urban patricians varied between cities and regions of the Crown of Aragon, and it was not until the fifteenth century that the mercantile patricians played a leading role in the cities in Aragon. In contrast, knights were admitted to municipal posts in Valencia, as also happened in Barcelona.¹⁰⁴

Social conflicts in the cities were recurrent in the Late Middle Ages. Some were basically spontaneous uprisings, like those caused by famines, such as in Barcelona in 1334 and 1343 when *mort als rics* was the cry.¹⁰⁵ Other, however, affected other various places in the Crown of Aragon and arose from the sum of disputes of a horizontal and vertical nature, as happened with the crisis of the Unions, which was followed by most of the Aragonese towns and Union of Valencia, with the city of Valencia taking a leading role in 1347–1348. The urban oligarchies opposed the king's policies, and several clashes took place between royal troops and urban militias of Valencia from October 1347 to the following spring. The Valencian Union was supported by the Mudejars and by other places of the kingdom, and the outcome was favourable to the Union, which even took the king, Peter the Ceremonious, prisoner.¹⁰⁶ A total of 4,000 members from 40 guilds had sworn the Union.¹⁰⁷ At the end of 1348, the king defeated the unionist army in Mislata and repressed the revolt, expelling the representatives of the corporations from the municipal council.

The demographic crisis and the consequent social dynamism exacerbated the recurrence of conflicts, which were expressed in institutional and political terms. These revolts were the result of the claims of leading and emerging

102 Guinot, *La baja edad*, p. 129.

103 Flocel Sabaté, "Ejes vertebradores de la oligarquía urbana catalana," *Revista de Historia Medieval* 9 (1998), 138–39.

104 Iradiel, "Corporaciones," pp. 267–8; Batlle, "Esquema," pp. 69–71.

105 "Death to the rich". Joan Busqueta, "Les lluites socials," in *Història. Política, Societat i Cultura dels Països Catalans. La forja dels Països Catalans, segles XIII–XV*, eds. Ernest Belenguier, Coral Cuadrada (Barcelona, 1996), pp. 288–89.

106 Guinot, *La baja edad*, pp. 131–32.

107 Iradiel, "Corporaciones," p. 269.

groups, but were also embraced by social groups with a more vertical structure. In fact, social outbursts were often led by people linked to the so-called *mà menor o mitjana*, as in Lleida in 1380, and in other municipalities in the last decades of the fourteenth century, who opposed the management by the urban oligarchy.¹⁰⁸ Urban violence became such a problem for the maintenance of order that it entailed a renewed confirmation of privileges and institutions in Aragon cities, such as Daroca, Saragossa, Huesca and Teruel at the end of the century. Some royal decrees were issued with the aim of halting the violence, and against the rioters and criminals, as well as tackling the *banderías*.¹⁰⁹ Majorca and Barcelona experienced major conflicts in the mid-fifteenth century, the revolt of the *Forans* in the former and the struggle between the *Biga* and the *Busca* in the latter. In Barcelona, there was an ongoing conflict between the urban patriciate, the “*Biga*” (the bankers, wealthy merchants and rentiers) and the more common people, the *Busca* (the master tradesmen, merchants and skilled workers) for control of the municipality, which was increasingly subject to the oligarchy’s interests in the fifteenth century. Although Alfonso the Magnanimous installed the *Busca* in the power in 1453, they were obstructed by the *Biga*, who controlled other institutions.¹¹⁰

3 On the Edge of Society. Slaves, Marginalised People and Religious Minorities

These medieval societies also included diverse groups that were segregated, marginalised and persecuted, besides those who by their legal or labour status were at the expense of their masters. On the margins of society, diverse groups acted as elements of economic support and functional otherness in relation to the main groups. This was the case of the Jews through the exercise of their professions, typically merchants, money-lenders and artisans, who also participated in the expansionist movement. A series of mercantile and fiscal privileges promoted the settling of Jews in the kingdoms recently conquered by King James I, where Jewish settlements flourished. In addition, they held positions of responsibility in the king’s administration until the *Privilegio general* of

108 Sabaté, “Ejes vertebradores,” p. 138.

109 Sarasa, *Sociedad*, pp. 184–88.

110 Carme Batlle, *Barcelona a mediados del siglo XV. Historia de una crisis urbana* (Barcelona, 1976).

1283 removed many of their rights.¹¹¹ However, James I had imposed measures of physical segregation, which reinforced their separation and differentiation from Christians, such as living in specific neighbourhoods, wearing distinctive clothing, not having contact with Christians for certain activities, like having a Christian slave, and not charging excessive interest on loans.¹¹² The consolidation of the Jewish minority broke the possible Muslim and Christian polarity in the conquered lands, and introduced a third element into the ethnic-religious distinction. In this sense, Jews worked as a subaltern class to the development of power and new economic activity, unlike what was happening with the Muslims. Even so, anti-Judaism increased and led to the harassment of Jews, as in Calatayud, Monzon or Huesca, and so-called debates such as the “disputation of Barcelona” of 1263, whose purpose was to correct their mistakes and convince them and was resolved in the court of the king. The apparent Christian ‘victory’ was no such thing, according to the Jewish sources, who referred to it as “a clear Jewish victory”.¹¹³ Other Christian attacks in the ideological terrain were aimed at dismantling the “falsities of the Talmud”, such as in the “Disputations of Tortosa” in 1414.¹¹⁴

The Jewish *aljamas*, self-governing and dependent only on royal administrators, maintained their group cohesion by applying Hebrew law to their members and developing their own taxation, although they also finally had to pay tax to the king. However, they were not homogeneous societies and there were differences between their members, as well as between the *aljamas*, which underwent a greater fragmentation as fiscal pressure increased. Even though dissensions and struggles in the *aljamas*, as in those of Aragon in the second half of the thirteenth century, helped to keep Jewish communities alive and active.¹¹⁵ In the fourteenth century, hostility towards Jews increased and

111 José Hinojosa, “Los judíos en la Corona de Aragón. La recuperación de la memoria histórica en torno a una minoría,” in *Minorías étnico-religiosas na Península Ibérica. Períodos medieval e moderno*, eds. Maria Filomena Lopes, José Hinojosa (Lisbon, 2008), pp. 93–142.

112 [66] *Juheu ne sarrahí no deu ni pot comprar servu que sie christià*, [513]; *Juheus, sarrahins, no prenen per usures sinó tant solament IIII diners per XX solidos e-l mes* (“[Neither] Jews nor Muslims can buy a Christian servant”; “Jews and Muslim lenders can only take four shillings for twenty pence per month”). <<http://www.jaumeprimer.uji.es/cgi-bin/fursv/1238-71.pdf>>. For ambivalent policies of the king see: Asunción Blasco, “Jaime I y los judíos de Aragón,” *La sociedad en Aragón y Cataluña en el reinado de Jaime I*, ed. Esteban Sarasa (Saragossa, 2009), pp. 97–134.

113 Harvey Hames, “Reconstructing Thirteenth-Century Jewish-Christian Polemic. From Paris 1240 to Barcelona 1263 and Back Again,” in *Medieval Exegesis and Religious Difference*, ed. Ryan Szpiech (New York, 2015), pp. 115–27.

114 Antonio Pacios, *La Disputa de Tortosa*, 2 vols, (Madrid-Barcelona, 1957), 1: 335–43.

115 Blasco, “Jaime,” pp. 124 and 126–29.

coincided with stricter concentration into neighbourhoods, which they even requested to be closed in for greater protection.¹¹⁶ Christian discourse against Jews was radicalised in the context of the asymmetric economic and social progress of the two communities.¹¹⁷ Alongside the growth of large-scale commerce among the Christian bourgeois, the Jews were more involved in regional or local mercantile activity.¹¹⁸ The animosity against the Jews was fuelled by the incendiary discourses of mendicant preachers, like Vincent Ferrer, who fostered popular discrimination against Jews and Muslims, calling them “the greatest enemies”.¹¹⁹ All this hostility culminated in assaults and looting of the *aljamas* in 1391 that affected most cities and towns in the Crown of Aragon, except places like Saragossa. The Christian attitudes towards the Jews took a turn towards greater intolerance. This led to massive conversions and culminated in the traumatic expulsion of 1492.¹²⁰ The pogroms were linked to other manifestations of class conflict, and during the uprising of 1391, bourgeois palaces were assaulted and the vicar and the bailiff’s archives were also burned in Barcelona.¹²¹ In fact, the assault on the Jewish neighbourhood was a clear expression of the social convulsions of the period,¹²² although the rejection of the Jewish identity must not be forgotten.

In contrast to the Jewish communities, the Mudejars were mainly engaged in agricultural activity in certain areas, such as in the interior valleys of Albaida and Seta, and around Alcoi further south, others near Valencia and Castello,

-
- 116 Flocel Sabaté, “L’espace des minorités ethniques et religieuses: les juifs dans les villes catalanes au Bas Moyen Âge,” in *Morphologie et identité sociale dans la ville médiévale hispanique*, ed. Flocel Sabaté, Christian Guilleré (Chambery, 2012), pp. 241–43.
 - 117 Flocel Sabaté, “Jewish Neighborhoods in Christian Towns (Catalonia, Late Middle Ages),” in *Intricate Interfaith Networks in the Middle Ages. Quotidian Jewish-Christian contacts*, ed. Ephraim Shoham-Steiner (Turnhout, 2016), pp. 153–91.
 - 118 Ferran García-Oliver, “De Perpinyà a Elx. Desenvolupament econòmic i geografia de les aljames,” in *Xudeus e conversos na história. Actas do Congresso Internacional. Ribadavia 14–17 de outubro de 1991*, ed. Carlos Barros (Santiago de Compostela, 1994), pp. 247–61.
 - 119 Sabaté, “Jewish Neighborhoods,” pp. 155–57.
 - 120 David Romano, “Los judíos de la Corona de Aragón en la primera mitad del siglo XV,” in *IV Congreso de la Corona de Aragón, Mallorca 25 Septiembre–2 octubre 1955*, 2 vols. (Palma of Majorca, 1959), 1: 239–44; José Hinojosa, “Los judíos en el reino de Valencia. Testigos de una historia secular,” *Revista de historia medieval* 15 (2006–2008), 15–20.
 - 121 Xavier Pons, “La cristianització dels calls de Barcelona arran dels avalots de 1391 i la seva integració a la resta de la ciutat,” in *XII Congrés d’Història de Barcelona* (Barcelona, 2011), pp. 1–20.
 - 122 Paulino Iradiel, “La crisis bajomedieval, un tiempo de conflictos,” in *Conflictos sociales, políticos e intelectuales en la España de los siglos XIV y XV. XVI Semana de Estudios Medievales (Nájera, del 4 al 8 de agosto de 2003)*, ed. José Ignacio de la Iglesia Duarte (Nájera, 2004), pp. 23–26.

and also in the south of the Aragonese Ebro valley as well as a few communities in Southern Catalonia. There were also Mudejars dedicated to specific crafts and a few of their communities were urban.¹²³ Measures limiting migration in the Late Middle Ages attempted to curb the loss of Mudejar population, which had been notable in the first half of the fourteenth century. These set conditions restricting the right to leave the kingdom of Valencia in 1347 and this was finally prohibited in 1403. Likewise, in 1442, the Muslims in Aragon were forced to remain in the kingdom.¹²⁴ The Mudejars were had to pay special taxes to both the feudal lords and royal agents. This impoverished them, even though, paradoxically, they were working fertile lands. The Muslims were able to maintain their religious practices, and in their *aljamas* the *alcadis* and *alfaquis* could apply Muslim law. In fact, segregation by religion and identity was an argument for imposing worse living conditions on their communities, which also resulted in a physical identification on their persons, through dress and hairstyles, as well as in the separation of their *aljamas*. Prohibitions on sexual relations with Christian women, on pain of death, reflect the extent to which a complete separation between them was sought. However, if a Christian fathered a son by a Muslim slave, the son was Christian, and both mother and child were free.¹²⁵ Christian animosity resulted in attacks on Muslim religious symbols, and finally in assaults on their places of residence, with proclamations like “baptism or death”, similar to those used against the Jews.¹²⁶ In addition, there was an attitude of suspicion because the Muslims were seen as potential allies of enemy Islamic countries, and therefore as a fifth column.¹²⁷ In 1393, King John I dictated a series of measures to protect *aljamas* from

123 Maria Teresa Ferrer, “Las comunidades mudéjares de la Corona de Aragón en el siglo XV: la población,” in *VIII Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo. De mudéjares a moriscos: una conversión forzada* (Teruel, 15–17 de septiembre de 1999) (Teruel, 2002), pp. 27–153; Rafael Narbona, Maria Teresa Ferrer, “La marginació social i la segregació religiosa,” in *Història. Política, Societat i Cultura dels Països Catalans. La forja dels Països Catalans, segles XIII–XV*, eds. Ernest Belenguier, Coral Cuadrada (Barcelona, 1996), pp. 230–231.

124 Maria Teresa Ferrer, *Els sarraïns de la corona d'Aragó. Segregació i discriminació*, (Barcelona, 1987), pp. 138 and 147–183; Sarasa, *Sociedad*, pp. 217–18.

125 Ferrer, *Els sarraïns*, pp. 1–15 and 17–37; Utrilla, “La sociedad,” p. 342. “*Tot cristià qui jaurà ab cativa sua e n'haurà fill o filla, que aquell fill o filla sia tantost batejat e que sien franschs la mare el fill o la filla*” (“Every Christian man who after lying with a slave woman belonged to him and that had a son or a daughter, this one must be baptised and the mother and the child must become free”) [803]. <<http://www.jaumeprimer.uji.es/cgi-bin/fursv/1238-71.pdf>>.

126 Sabaté, “L'espace,” p. 285.

127 Narbona, Ferrer, “La marginació,” pp. 234–35.

attacks and looting similar to those suffered by the Jews in many places.¹²⁸ The tension between the two communities, Christian and Muslim, increased in the fifteenth century, with episodes such as the assault on the Moorish quarter of Valencia in 1455, known as the *avalot de Corpus Christi* ("The Corpus Christi riot").¹²⁹

The economic growth encouraged social diversification, where situations of marginalisation proliferated, such as that which affected the urban proletariat and the slaves. In the cities and towns, the unemployed population increased. To survive, they would often engage in petty crime, soon clamped down on by the leading groups. From 1348, municipal ordinances were issued in Barcelona, Valencia and Saragossa designed to limit the presence of these unemployed people, who were branded as "vagrants and malefactors". They were occasionally employed, and constituted a significant labour pool for such activities as building work.¹³⁰ On the other hand, this poor floating population benefited from charity and assistance that municipalities provided through their hospitals, like the fourteen in Valencia.¹³¹ The concept of the poor developed in fourteenth-century societies and was used to describe the marginalised, such as vagabonds, beggars, prostitutes, sick people, and even agricultural workers or day labourers, referred to in the sources as those who "*no volen treballar o (...) no poden treballar*".¹³² In the views of Francesc Eiximenis, the poor were not part of society. Rather, they were the property of the society, which reflects how their marginality was defined. He also asked the Valencian authorities not to allow "*aquells que (no) son vers pobres de fet e han manifesta necessitat*"¹³³ to beg, and demanded that they be differentiated.¹³⁴

In the Late Middle Ages, the number of slaves in the Crown of Aragon increased, especially in the fifteenth century. This was mainly an urban phenomenon. They were employed in domestic service, but there were also slaves on farms, in urban workshops and in mercantile businesses. In some way, this extra workforce enabled the rise in agricultural and industrial wages to

128 María Luisa Ledesma, *Estudios sobre los mudéjares en Aragón* (Teruel, 1996), p. 10.

129 Manuel Ruzafa, "Façen-se cristians los moros o muyren," *Revista de Historia Medieval* 1 (1990), 87–111.

130 Narbona, Ferrer, "La marginació," pp. 219–24; Guinot, *La baja edad*, pp. 142–43.

131 Mercedes Gallent, "La asistencia sanitaria a los marginados," *Crimen et Clio* 9 (2012): 135–64.

132 "don't want to or (...) cannot work". Francesc Eiximenis, *Regiment de la cosa pública* (Barcelona, 1927), p. 127.

133 "Those who are not true people and have not a real necessity". Eiximenis, *Regiment*, pp. 124–27.

134 José Luis Martín, *Economía y sociedad en los reinos hispánicos de la Baja Edad Media*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1982), 1: 91–137.

be avoided.¹³⁵ Some figures such as the 1,700 slaves registered in Barcelona in 1424 reflect the importance of the phenomenon.¹³⁶ Booming Mediterranean trade in the fifteenth century encouraged the slave trade and consolidated this form of complementary work, although slave ownership was also a sign of prestige. Thousands of slaves of different races and religions were brought to the maritime cities of the Crown at that time. Sometimes young female servants predominated, as in Valencia, or male ones in Majorca, where they were used in the countryside. The importance they had in farm work as an alternative work force, sometimes substituting salaried workers, explains the slaughter of slaves during the peasant revolts of the fifteenth century.¹³⁷ In some revolts, slaves were not only targets, but also aggressors, as in the revolt against the Valencian Mudejars in 1455.¹³⁸

4 The Leading Minorities: Nobles, Churchmen, and Bourgeoisie

The various social groups were subject to the leading minorities, feudal landowners and urban patriciate. The organisation into estates and their political activity brought together nobles, churchmen and bourgeoisie, although with certain variations according to the territories. The nobles included the high nobility, the baronial class, the so-called *ricos hombres* and others, and the lesser nobility made up of knights, young nobleman, so-called *generosos* or *hombres de paraje*, who belonged to the military estate.¹³⁹ The Catalan and Aragonese noble families installed in Majorca and Valencia, who benefited from the division after the conquest (*repartiment*), were less consolidated, and did not always reside on the lands they had been granted. The change in scale arising from the incorporation of the conquered regions caused an increase in the ruling minorities of nobles and churchmen as they transferred members of their lineages and institutions into the new territories. The family, institutional, political and class cohesion of these people as it spread through different regions

135 Antoni Furió, "Esclaus i assalariats. La funció econòmica de l'esclavitud en la Península Ibèrica a la Baixa Edat Mitjana," in *De l'esclavitud a la llibertat. Esclaus i lliberts a l'edat mitjana*, eds. Maria Teresa Ferrer Mallol, Josefina Mutgé Vives (Barcelona, 2000), pp. 19–38.

136 Roser Salicrú, *Esclaus i propietaris d'esclaus a la Catalunya del segle XV. L'assegurança contra fugues* (Barcelona, 1998), pp. 74–75.

137 Furió, "Esclaus," pp. 29–32.

138 Ruzafa, "Façen-se," pp. 107–10.

139 José Ángel Sesma, "La nobleza bajomedieval y la formación del estado moderno en la corona de Aragón," in *La nobleza peninsular en la edad media. VI Congreso de estudios medievales* (Leon, 1999), pp. 343–430.

contributed to the success of the expansion. This extension of the ruling class cemented power relationships in and between territories. The outstanding presence of ecclesiastical leaders among the beneficiaries of the *repartiment* provided the indispensable stability, shielded by celibacy and obedience, for the imposition of new feudal realities in the conquered regions. On the other hand, the needs of the nobility led to greater flexibility in the rules on marriage in the middle of the thirteenth century; for example, the marrying of second sons, which brought about secondary lines and extended these families in the incorporated regions.¹⁴⁰

The new ecclesiastical institutions, regular and diocesan, established and developed in the twelfth century, were introduced into newly conquered lands, which functioned in an alternative and complementary way to the nobility and, in doing so, guaranteed the success of feudal expansion. In this way, the Cistercians of Santa Maria de Poblet founded monasteries throughout the kingdoms, first in Aragon with Santa Maria de Piedra, in Valencia lands, with Santa Maria de Benifassa and Sant Vicenç of Valencia, as well as La Real in Majorca.¹⁴¹ In addition, renewed ecclesiastical organisation led to the dissemination of norms on morality and dealing with religious “minorities”, on fixing orthodoxy, and even on the organisation of the institution through the provincial councils of the Tarraconensis archdiocese from 1229. The archdiocese encompassed all the territories of the Crown of Aragon in the thirteenth century, except Elne, but suffered major dismemberments as the dioceses of Aragon were attributed to the ecclesiastical province of Saragossa from 1318. Similarly, in the sense of the cohesiveness, the Hospitallers and Templars had a unitary administrative organisation that covered all the territories of the Crown until the abolition of the Temple, in line with the military needs of the conquest and subdual. At the head of these provinces, which were structured along political lines, were the master of Amposta and the provincial master in Aragon and Catalonia, and their members also belonged to the province rather than to the commandries.

Vassalatic loyalty was also an element of cohesion, or at least of organisation of powers. It was also a component of ruling class identity, as well as a source of controversy or confrontation. In the *Liber feudorum C* of the king of Majorca, several oaths of fealty sworn to him by the archbishop or the pabord

140 Blanca Garí, “Estrategias matrimoniales y organización de la nobleza de la Corona de Aragón en el siglo XIII,” in *Montpellier, la Couronne d'Aragon et les pays de langue d'Oc (1204–1349. Actes du XII^e Congrès d'histoire de la couronne d'Aragon, Montpellier 26–29 septembre 1985)*, 2 vols. (Montpellier, 1988), 2: 71–76.

141 Agustí Altisent, *Història de Poblet* (Poblet, 1974), pp. 101–11.

of Tarragona were recorded. This specific vassallatic link to the king of Majorca came from the fiefs of Ibiza and Formentera.¹⁴² Curiously, the king of Aragon swore oaths of fealty to the archbishop, because of the dominion of Tarragona.¹⁴³ Territories and hierarchies were intertwined and this provided a certain integration of powers. On another level, but with the same purpose of identifying power, the elites of the city and territory of Tarragona also swore oaths to their lord, the archbishop.¹⁴⁴

There were only a few lineages of the high nobility in the Crown of Aragon, some coming from ancient nobility, whereas others were new lineages from the thirteenth century. Their members participated in the military enterprises of the Mediterranean expansion, from Sicily to Naples and were often granted assets and military or administrative positions, and enjoyed jurisdictional prerogatives. Some of their members were outstanding prelates of the Church, for instance, the Rocabertís in the sees of Girona and Tarragona. The Aragonese lineages were Alagón, Foces, Jiménez de Urrea, Cornel and Híjar, while the Catalans were Montcada, Cardona, Pinós, Cabrera, Cervelló and Anglesola. On the other hand, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, there were counts and viscounts in Catalonia, like Empuries, Foix, Pallars, Urgell and Cardona, although in some cases the extinct dynasties were replaced by branches of the royal family. Important lineages like Llúria, Montcada, Sarrià and Próixita, settled in Valencia after the conquest.¹⁴⁵ Marital alliances and military activity contributed to the ramifications of some noble families in the different regions, as happened with the Arenós lineage, which spread from Aragon to Valencia, some of whose members participated in ventures by the king and the Almogavers.¹⁴⁶ The Entenza lineage developed in a similar way, but also passing through Sicily and branching out through Catalonia afterwards. Then there were the viscounts of Gallano, born of the Aragonese Liori family, with dominions in Valencia and Catalonia, who were involved in military and political action in Sicily, Sardinia and Naples.¹⁴⁷ The women were a key element in the process of territorialisation of noble families through marriage alliances and

142 Perpignan, Archives départementales des Pyrénées-Orientales, *Liber feudorum* C, ff. 42r, 42v, 61r, 61v, 64r-v, 87v-88r, 88r-v, 89r-v.

143 Tarragona, Arxiu Històric Arxidiocesà de Tarragona, *Llibre de la corretja*, n. 62 and 79.

144 AHAT, *Llibre de la corretja*, n. 51, 73, 77.

145 Sesma, "La nobleza," p. 363 and following.

146 Manuel Pastor, "El linaje Arenós y el señorío de Cheste en la Edad Media," *Revista de estudios comarcales* 6 (2003), 127–36.

147 Xavier Mesado, *Els vescomtes de Gallano: Un llinatge barional de la Corona d'Aragó en la baixa Edat Mitjana*, PhD Dissertation (Valencia, 2015), available online at: <<http://roderic.uv.es/handle/10550/49889>>.

even as relief for some family branches in extinction, as in the case of Teresa de Entenza and the County of Urgell in 1314. In addition, there were families from the lesser nobility who ascended to the high nobility during the fourteenth century, sometimes as a reward for services rendered to the monarchy. At the same time, new titles were created, with the result that the monarchical system was strengthened.¹⁴⁸ Hence, in the middle of fifteenth century, military activity and new institutions contributed to the consolidation of the Valencian nobility, which closed ranks around the monarchy and contributed to strengthening it.¹⁴⁹

Noble lineages, especially from the middle and lesser nobility, began to settle in cities and participate in some typically urban activities as well as municipal government, as in Late Medieval Aragon.¹⁵⁰ However, on some occasions, in some places, including Barcelona and Saragossa, the nobles were excluded from the city councils. The critical conditions of the second half of the fourteenth century affected the nobility especially and led to greater mobility and conflict between factions or bands, such as the *bandos* in Aragon, Valencia, and partly in Catalonia in the late fourteenth century, or in early fifteenth-century Sicily and sporadically against the king like during the crisis of the Union.

The urban patriciate, made up of so-called citizens and honest citizens, was the leading group in Late Medieval cities and reached control over, even occasionally a monopoly in, municipal governments. Its members were merchants, jurists, other qualified professionals, landowners, wealthy royal officials, as well as elements of the lesser nobility in certain cities. These members of the patriciate functioned as an oligarchy, that employed matrimonial and economic strategies to maintain control over urban affairs, and eventually they imposed themselves on the municipal government. Service to the king led to the most notable families being promoted to the noble estate, as happened with law professionals in Valencia recognised as knights by a privilege of 1420.¹⁵¹ On the other hand, in the middle of fifteenth century, economic and political circulation contributed to the full consolidation of the patriciate, who directed

148 Francisco de Moxó, "Jaime II y la nueva concesión de títulos nobiliarios en la España del siglo XIV," *Anales de la Universidad de Alicante. Historia Medieval* 9 (1992–1993), 133–43.

149 Carlos López Rodríguez, *Nobleza y poder político. El reino de Valencia (1416–1446)* (Valencia, 2005).

150 Carlos Laliena, María Teresa Iranzo, "Poder, honor y linaje en las estrategias de la nobleza urbana aragonesa (siglos XIV–XV)," *Revista d'Història Medieval* 9 (1998), 41–80.

151 Rafael Narbona, "La Corona d'Aragó al segle XV: la monarquia i els regnes," in *Història medieval de la Corona d'Aragó*, ed. Ernest Belenguier, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 2007), 1: 366–67.

and administered the kingdoms and was enriched with the great business of financial management. This was the case of Guillem March de Cervelló in the Neapolitan court of Alfonso the Magnanimous, who, even after being condemned for corruption, returned to be very close to King Ferdinand.¹⁵² Citizens also acquired lordships at the end of Middle Ages, when the delineation between the estates faded. In some cases, marriage bonds between noble and the bourgeoisie were promoted and noble models spread among the urban elites.¹⁵³

The ruling groups, shielded by their privileges and patrimonies, became intertwined until they formed a network of shared powers and implanted themselves across various territories. In this way, their members shared families, businesses and political representation, as well as the resources for subjugating the unprivileged elements of society.

152 Treppo, "I catalani," pp. 86–88.

153 Germán Navarro, "Ciudades y villas del reino de Aragón en el siglo XV. Proyección institucional e ideología burguesa," *Anales de la Universidad de Alicante. Historia Medieval* 16 (2009–2010), 195–221.

Islands and the Control of the Mediterranean Space

*Alessandra Cioppi and Sebastiana Nocco*¹

1 The “Catalan” Power in the Mediterranean Islands

The Mediterranean, Europe’s sea and gateway to Asia and Africa, has been for centuries the meeting ground of different cultures and civilisations. In the light of this “commuting” and “passage” nature, the meaning of “Mediterranean” is continuously redefined and extended; its borders remains the same, but deliberately mobile and beyond a sense of separation.

As a bridge to cross in order to join two opposite sides or a route to link distant lands, yesterday, as well as today, the Mediterranean has seen men, ideas and goods coming and going. Indeed, the farthest western ends of Asia reach into the Mediterranean Sea; Southern Europe, with the Italian Peninsula and its major islands, enters this sea; and, last but not least, the northern edge of Africa appears as a region “*del mondo antico strettamente integrata al mondo mediterraneo*”.²

A vast sea and a vast world, then, where rivalry, hostility and power struggles were reproduced but also a large gravitation basin where men became used to live collectively, to get lost and to find themselves again, to meet and to clash, layering and recomposing themselves under rhythms that, often unknowingly, shifted between the low tones of tolerance and the dark ones of intransigency.

Thus, the Mediterranean is characterised by continuous changes and, thanks to such alternating contacts, contrasts and interests, is consolidated as a constant and exclusive centre of a lively, agile and dominant economy between the eleventh and fifteenth–sixteenth centuries, when the wish for a new and “bigger”

1 Alessandra Cioppi is the author of the part 1 (“The ‘catalan’ power in the Mediterranean islands”) and Sebastiana Nocco is the author of the part 2 (“The strategic role of Mediterranean islands”).

2 “of the ancient world, tightly integrated with the Mediterranean world”. Salvatore Bono, “Il ‘Mediterraneo’ in un mondo globale”. Salvatore Bono, “In ‘Mediterraneo’ in un mondo globale,” in *Società globale e Africa musulmana. Aperture e resistenze*, ed. Anna Balducci (Soveria Mannelli, 2004), p. 45.

Mediterranean, known as Atlantic, prevailed.³ In this continent of only seawater or, in Braudel's words, in this "*successione di pianure liquide comunicanti per mezzo di porte più o meno larghe*";⁴ men of different identities and religions met, and paths, places and long-term experiences were drawn: connection links and trade routes, ports, emporia, markets, techniques, and tools, ideas and knowledge.

It is precisely for its dimension, somehow limited, that the Mediterranean has been the basis of history, sea of many travels, links, meetings and rivalries.⁵ Within the Mediterranean, there is no gulf that cannot be considered a small homeland and a world in itself; a mixing and a variety of "Mediterraneans":

non uno ma molti mari (...) non una sola cultura ma una serie di civiltà sovrapposte in seno a un solo Mediterraneo, caratterizzate da tratti per certi versi simili, dovuti alla prossimità di un mare comune, per altri invece decisamente differenti.⁶

This is, in essence, the multiform image of the *Mare Nostrum*, a concept of Roman memory, originated from the victory on Carthage, when Europe took over the Mediterranean. These concepts and visions were resumed, as it is known, by Byzantium and, later, reapplied by Pisa and the other maritime republics; by the Roman Germanic Empire made under Frederick II and, subsequently, by the maritime ambitions of the Crown of Aragon which, in the fifteenth century, transformed it into a Catalan sea.⁷

At the beginning of the fourteenth century, the chronicler Ramon Muntaner himself shows how the Mediterranean was a great attraction, and the ambition to dominate it was a shared feeling in the Catalan-Aragonese court. In the sermon sent to the dauphin Alfonso, son of the King of Aragon, James II the Just, while he was passing by the islands of Sardinia and Corsica for occupation, Muntaner prompted him to take control of the Mediterranean "*car la*

3 Giuseppe Petralia, "Le 'navi' e i 'cavalli': per una rilettura del Mediterraneo pieno medioevale," *Quaderni Storici* 103/1 (2000), 201–22.

4 "succession of liquid plains linked by gates more or less wide". Fernand Braudel, *Civiltà e imperi del Mediterraneo nell'età di Filippo II*, trans. Carlo Pischedda, 2 vols. (Turin, 1982), 1: 102.

5 Braudel, *Civiltà*, 1: 103.

6 "not just one but several seas (...) not one culture but a range of civilisation layered within a single Mediterranean, characterised by traits similar for some, due to the proximity of a shared sea, and completely different for others". Pedrag Matvejević, *Breviario mediterraneo*, trans. Silvio Ferrari, 5th ed. (Milan, 2004), p. 133.

7 Braudel, *Civiltà*, 1: 133–45.

mar cové tenga cell qui vol conquistar lo regne de Sardenya; e si ho fai, tremblar farà trastot lo món".⁸

Any attempt at tracing an outline of the Crown of Aragon's economic and territorial expansion between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, linking the many shores of Western Mediterranean and viewing the islands as essential platforms for the acquisition and control over such space, cannot ignore some initial interpretation issues. Until now, within the context of the Catalan-Aragonese expansionistic policy, scholarly consensus on the Mediterranean character of this expansion can be defined as general, but not equally consistent with regards to its application field, given the different spheres ascribed to it: from a limited, planning trend, mainly peninsular and insular, to an orientation toward the acquisition, *lato sensu*, of Levantine emporia. According to the first, in the Aragon's project of Mediterranean expansion, the problem of the East was not crucial and, in essence, it was not realised via the so-called *ruta de las islas* (Islands Route) (Balearic, Sardinia, Sicily) to reach the East. It was pursued simply to control the islands and strengthen political hegemony over Western Mediterranean; to this end, Aragon directed its greatest economic and military efforts.⁹ The second, instead, ascribes to the Catalans a clear vocation to the East via the 'insular diagonal' in the certainty that the Crown of Aragon consolidated its power along the *ruta de las especias* ("Spices Route") and most of its polity was grounded on the conservation and defence of the latter.¹⁰ In other words, Western Mediterranean

8 "since it is convenient to hold the sea for the one who wishes to conquer the Kingdom of Sardinia; and once he had done it and forthwith the entire world will shake". Ramon Muntaner, "Cronica," in *Les Quatre grans cròniques*, ed. Ferran Soldevila (Barcelona, 1971), p. 911 [chapter CCLXXII].

9 Vicente Salavert, *Cerdeña y la expansión mediterránea de la Corona de Aragón 1297–1314*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1956); Vicente Salavert, "Los motivos económicos en la conquista de Cerdeña," in *VI Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón. Relaciones económicas y comerciales en el Mediterráneo del siglo XII al XVI*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1959), 2: 433–45; Federico Udina, "La expansión mediterránea catalano-aragonesa," in *Segundo Congreso Internacional de Estudios sobre las Culturas del Mediterráneo Occidental* (Barcelona, 1978), pp. 209–24; Francesco Giunta, *Aragonesi e Catalani nel Mediterraneo*, 2 vols. (Palermo, 1959), 2: 7–52; Alvaro Santamaría, "Precisiones sobre la expansión marítima de la Corona de Aragón," *Anales de la Universidad de Alicante. Historia medieval* 8 (1990–1991), 187–255; Charles E. Dufourcq, *L'expansió catalana a la Mediterrània occidental. Segles XIII e XIV* (Barcelona, 1969).

10 Jaume Vicens Vives, *España, Geopolítica del Estado y del Imperio* (Barcelona, 1940), p. 111; Jaume Vicens Vives, "La economía de los países de la Corona de Aragón en la baja Edad Media," in *VI Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón. Relaciones económicas y comerciales en el Mediterráneo del siglo XII al XVI*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1959), 1: 103–35, and 105; Mario Del Treppo, "L'espansione catalano-aragonesa nel Mediterraneo," in *Nuove questioni di Storia Medioevale*, ed. Raffaello Morghen, 11 vols. (Milan, 1965), 2: 259–300;

was not a closed system. It acted as an intermediary between continental Europe and the East, but also between Atlantic Europe, and North Africa and always open to close, continuous contacts with most distant regions, was, by definition, "sea between lands" as well as "sea between other seas".¹¹

However, beyond any possible interpretation, in the context of Catalan-Aragonese expansion in Western Mediterranean, the issue of links between the Crown of Aragon and the East is of utmost relevance. This is not one of the key moments, rather a consequence of an expansion program that, after initial uncertainties, appears more and more defined and important.¹² 'Insular diagonal'; *ruta de las islas* and/or *ruta de las especias*; Mediterranean crossroads; search for a missing hinterland; speculation and profit originating from the commerce's dynamism; imperialism and dynastic rise of the House of Aragon; these are some of the expansion's themes constantly present in the current historiographical debate as, in reality, it is difficult to keep a tangible distinction between the objectives.¹³

The *ruta de las especias*, deployed along *ruta de las islas*, might be considered as a trade route closely linked to the political and military expansion of

Mario Del Treppo, *I mercanti catalani e l'espansione della Corona d'Aragona nel secolo XV*, 2nd ed. (Naples, 1972); David Abulafia, "L'economia mercantile nel Mediterraneo occidentale: commercio locale e commercio internazionale nell'età di Alfonso il Magnanimo," in *XVI Congresso di Storia della Corona d'Aragona. La Corona d'Aragona ai tempi di Alfonso il Magnanimo*, eds. Guido D'Agostino, Guido Buffardi, 2 vols. (Naples, 2000), 2: 1023–46; Damien Coulon, "Un tournant dans les relations catalano-aragonaises avec la Méditerranée orientale: la nouvelle politique d'Alphonse le Magnanime (1416–1442 environ)," in *XVI Congresso di Storia della Corona d'Aragona. La Corona d'Aragona ai tempi di Alfonso il Magnanimo*, eds. Guido D'Agostino, Guido Buffardi, 2 vols. (Naples, 2000), 2: 1055–79.

11 Abulafia, "L'economia," p. 1023.

12 Del Treppo, *I mercanti*, p. 1.

13 Vicente Salavert, "La expansión catalano-aragonesa por el Mediterráneo en el siglo XIV," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 7 (1970–1971), 17–37; Udina, "La expansión mediterránea," pp. 209–24; Geo Pitarino, "Espansione mediterranea della Corona d'Aragona," in *Segundo Congreso Internacional de Estudios sobre las Culturas del Mediterráneo Occidental*, (Barcelona, 1978), pp. 193–207; José Enrique Ruiz Domenec, "Ruta de las especias / ruta de las islas. Apuntes para una nueva periodización," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 10 (1980), 689–97; José Enrique Ruiz Domenec, "Significación del Mediterráneo en la Edad Media. Primer fragmento: cuestiones de lectura," *Revista d'Història Medieval* 3 (1992), 11–25; Jocelyn N. Hillgarth, "El problema del imperio catalano-aragonés (1229–1327)," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 10 (1980), 145–59; Marco Tangheroni, "Il 'Regnum Sardiniae et Corsicae' nell'espansione mediterranea della Corona d'Aragona. Aspetti economici," in *XIV Congresso di Storia della Corona d'Aragona. La Corona d'Aragona in Italia (secc. XIII–XVIII)*, eds. Maria Giuseppina Meloni, Olivetta Schena, 5 vol. (Sassari, 1993), 1: 49–88.

the Crown of Aragon and, almost its preferred one, particularly in the fifteenth century, when all the three islands were already under safe Aragonese domain. In fact, when between the end of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth century the presence of Catalan merchants in Alexandria and other Levantine centres begun taking the shape of a deep penetration in those emporia, the supremacy of the Iberian Confederation was yet not established on any of the main Mediterranean islands, which since then will provide the stops along the long "spice route". Thus, the ambition and initiative of Aragonese merchants alone had opened a window, without waiting for an intervention by the Aragonese monarchy to easy the path. They showed, vice versa, the Crown of Aragon's political and military expansion followed the economic and mercantile one deliberately in the establishment of the *ruta de las especias*.¹⁴ As a matter of fact, the identification of the *ruta de las islas* with the *ruta de las especias* implies a development of Aragonese history during the Late Middle Ages strongly conditioned not only by an economic premise, undoubtedly important in the motives of the Catalan-Aragonese expansion, but also by a geo-political imperative.¹⁵

The route of the islands that Catalan merchants followed to reach spice markets was also the irradiation path of Aragon's maritime and military hegemony, but it still has to be ascertained whether the islands' progressive conquest was chosen by kings under the pressure of mercantile class and for the acquisition of Levantine markets or not. At least, it has yet to be demonstrated that Barcelona's businessmen anticipated advantages from the political and military penetration in the Mediterranean greater than those obtained or achievable by themselves.¹⁶ This is not to deny the existence of potential contact points between mercantile interests and Aragonese kings' policy in the Mediterranean or their mutual interferences, but it is appropriate to keep the distinction between *ruta de las islas* and *ruta de las especias*, implying distinct spheres of interests and especially a different evaluation by merchants and the Crown on the importance of the island route for achieving their respective objectives.¹⁷

In 1311, James II's response to Clement V, concerning a crusade plan proposed during the council of Vienne, appears paradigmatic and to the limit of the aforementioned distinction. To the Pope prompting him to take quick and direct military action against the Muslim East, the king presented a

14 Marco Tangheroni, *Aspetti del commercio dei cereali nei paesi della Corona d'Aragona. La Sardegna* (Pisa, 1981); Giunta, *Aragonesi e Catalani*, 2: 26; Del Treppo, *I mercanti*, pp. 4–5.

15 Vicens Vives, "La economía," p. 105.

16 Abulafia, "Leconomia," p. 1043.

17 Hillgarth, "El problema," p. 157; Coulon, "Un tournant," p. 1069.

meaningful and convenient political strategy, involving a progressive conquest of the Mediterranean islands by the Crown of Aragon. Thanks to this solid programme of military expansion, Christian forces would have had access to a chain of supporting ports and provision centres until the occupation of the Holy Land.¹⁸ James II's Mediterranean policy was grounded on premeditated calculations whereby, after a pretended conquest of Granada:

et deinde procedendo versus Orientem per maritimam, semper adhereret insulis christianorum, scilicet Maiorice, Minorice, Sardinie et Sicilie, de quibus haberentur assidue victualia et refrescamenta et gentes ad fortificandum exercitum (...) et demum adquirendo posset ad Terram Sanctam, auxiliante Domino, perveniri.¹⁹

Interests and related goals notwithstanding, the Crown of Aragon's attention focuses, however, on the insular domain and the control it exerted on the western basin of the Mediterranean. The role of the islands in the marching toward the lands of the East appears clear: they are unparalleled strategic bases, capable to sustain any wide-ranging naval operation. The hold of the islands, thus, seems fully justified from hegemonic and military perspectives, and not because of commercial necessities. However, if this aspect was not directly pertinent to the Catalan penetration into the East, the islands of Majorca, Sardinia and Sicily were, nonetheless, important footholds and yards necessary for the limited autonomy of the ships employed on the trade routes of the *Mare Nostrum*.

Such planning provides a coherent development for the Catalan-Aragonese expansion in the Mediterranean from James I the Conqueror to Alfonso the Magnanimous.²⁰ Indeed, the expansionist policy of the Crown of Aragon initially tends to consolidate its maritime power and only later defines its sphere of influence. The sea route opens to monarchic politics when continental needs, explicitly Aragonese, come into play, in particular after the Treaty of Corbeil (1258) that marks the complete failing of Aragon's ultra-Pyrenees initiatives,

18 Salavert, *Cerdeña*, 1:126–33, especially p. 127.

19 “going ahead via sea toward East we find the Christians’ islands: Majorca, Minorca, Sardinia and Sicily; which will provide supplies and men for the army, and if we conquer them we will reach, God willing, the Holy Land”. Salavert, *Cerdeña*, 1:179, 519, n. 59.

20 Alan Ryder, *Alfonso the Magnanimous, King of Aragona, Naples and Sicily, 1396–1458* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 291–305; Claude Carrère, *Barcelone centre économique à l’époque des difficultés 1380–1462*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1967); Henry Bresc, *Un monde méditerranéen. Économie et société en Sicile, 1300–1450*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1986); Jacqueline Guiral-Hadziiossif, *Valence. Port méditerranéen au XV^e siècle, 1410–1525* (Paris, 1976).

those maritime being almost exclusively Catalan.²¹ The disjuncture between Aragonese and Catalan interests is not merely superficial, but it is rooted into the different social and economic structure of the Kingdom of Aragon and the Principality of Catalonia: one of a feudal character with a primarily agricultural economy, the other bourgeois with most mercantile interests and geared toward what we can define as the different geopolitical imperative that conditioned both states.

In such a complex context, Aragonese expansion unfolds over a pragmatic realisation plan that, at first, can appear fragmentary, almost suggested or conditioned by contingencies. In fact, Aragon's kings, even though aware of their possibilities, acted with a very clear concreteness. In these years, the young Aragonese monarchy was able to interpret the material and spiritual ferment that was troubling the Catalan world and managed to follow the interests of the mercantile class, supporting success efforts and fully embracing the growth perspective in the Mediterranean.²² However, the political-military expansion was not exclusive expression of the mercantile bourgeois' interests, but it also embodied those of the feudal Catalan, Aragonese, Valencian, Majorcan nobility, which played a substantial part following the boost of the House's ambitious politics. The very prestige of the ruling monarchy was a driving force, though it had to preserve internal balances between the different social classes and various states of the Confederation. When this was not the case or it resulted in negative output—such as it was the case for Peter the Great intervention in Sicily after the Vespers (1282)—, balances were lost and internal political crises rapidly broke out.²³

From the thirteenth century, the Catalan-Aragonese history is not anymore limited to events concerning the Iberian Peninsula and the traditional fight against Saracens (the so-called *Reconquista*), but it acquires Mediterranean, and thus European, relevance. During this time, the powers of the young Iberian kingdom are directed toward a territorial expansion on the continent and the conquest of Mediterranean maritime routes. This is the time when the Catalan economic expansionism begins acquiring a political meaning.

Following this trend and motivations, the policy of James I (1213–1276) and his successors gains a peculiar significance, at the same time when the

21 Ferran Soldevila, *Historia de Catalunya*, 2nd ed., 4 vols. (Barcelona, 1962), 1: 295–304; Ferran Soldevila, *Jaume I. Pere el Gran. Els gran reis del segle XIII* (Barcelona, 1955), pp. 30–37.

22 Salavert, *Cerdeña*, 1: 49; Bernat Desclot, "Crònica," in *Les Quatre grans cròniques*, ed. Ferran Soldevila (Barcelona, 1971), pp. 425–27 [chapter xxx]; Muntaner, "Crònica," pp. 691–92 [chapter xxix].

23 Giunta, *Aragonesi e Catalani*, 1: 7–70.

Kingdom of Aragon introduces itself to European attention and it does so with full awareness of its potentials for development and of the function it was due to play among the political powers operating in the Mediterranean.²⁴ James I was the king who creates such indispensable premises: working for empowering the Catalan fleet, which represented the future for the young kingdom; adopting measures for strengthening the position of Crown's merchants and ships against foreigner rivals—especially Genoese and Provençal—; aiming at an expansionist and protectionist politics to monopoly of the Catalan commerce.²⁵ Majorca was undoubtedly the first ring of the *ruta de las islas*, a chain of insular and peninsular possessions leading, across Sardinia, Sicily and the Greek islands, to the Aegean Sea. But this will take place in a different time and through different ways, alternating fortunes and clamorous contradictions.²⁶

Conceived as an operation against Saracen pirates, the Balearic exploit was sealed in 1230 by a royal privilege granting Barcelona's merchants full trade freedom and tax exemption in the islands of Majorca, Minorca and Ibiza.²⁷ In fact, Saracen presence posed a constant threat to Catalan maritime trade. Therefore, it was clear that Aragon, as a first step into the expansion process, was keen to eliminate this threat to its coasts and to put a foothold in those islands as a crucial element of Mediterranean commerce and a first base for the safeguard and security of the route to the East.²⁸

The occupation of the Balearic archipelago did not take a long time. Majorca fell in 1229, followed by Minorca in 1231 and Ibiza in 1235.²⁹ Prerogatives of crusading against the infidels and peninsular *Reconquista* dynamics

24 Jocelin N. Hillgarth, *The Spanish Kingdoms, 1250–1516: 1250–1410. Precarious Balance* (Oxford, 1976).

25 Jerónimo Zurita, *Anales de la Corona de Aragón*, ed. Angel Canellas, 9 vols. (Saragossa, 1967), 1: 427–30 [liber III, chapter I]; Hillgarth, “El problema,” 146–53.

26 Coulon, “Un tournant,” pp. 1069–71.

27 Jaume I, “Llibre dels Feits,” in *Les Quatre grans cròniques*, ed. Ferran Soldevila (Barcelona, 1971), pp. 27–31; Soldevila, *Jaume I*, pp. 20–25; Alvaro Santamaría, “La expansión politico-militar de la Corona de Aragón bajo la dirección de Jaime I: Baleares,” in *X Congreso de la Historia de la Corona de Aragón. Jaime I y su época*, ed. María del Carmen Ansón Calvo (Saragossa, 1979), pp. 93–146.

28 Alvaro Santamaría, “Determinantes de la conquista de Baleares (1229–1232),” *Mayurqa* 8 (1972), 65–133.

29 Zurita, *Anales*, 1: 453–56 [liber III, chapter VIII] (Maiorca); 1: 476–77 [liber III, chapter XIV] (Minorca); Jaume I, “Llibre dels Feits,” p. 62 (Ibiza); Alvaro Santamaría, “El reino de Mallorca (1276–1343),” in *Historia General de España y América*, eds. Salvador Moxó, Miquel Àngel Ladero, 19 vols. (Madrid, 1984), 4: 731–58.

notwithstanding, it must be noted that the significance of this expedition was prevailingly economic.³⁰ At the heart of James I's Balearic venture were, in fact, for the first time two joined reasons: on the one side, Majorca's occupation is a phase of the *Reconquista* process, on the other side, it also aims at gaining control over a market and territorial basis for safeguarding gradually developing mercantile expansion and commercial interests of the Crown's subjects.³¹

From what discussed above, albeit succinctly, it can be appreciated that the limit between political, dynastic and economic elements, driving Aragon's conquest of the islands to gain control over the Mediterranean, is not easily definable as they are very tightly linked to each other. Indeed, the search for markets for distributing commercial goods cannot be considered as the only and main reason for expansion, but it cannot be denied that the control even of a small archipelago would have increased the territorial basis of the Aragon Kingdom and its image as maritime power.³²

Incidentally, its rise coincided with the descending phase of the Norman state in Italy, following the death of Frederick II (1250); with the Genoa-Pisa clash for the supremacy over Western Mediterranean and dispute between Venice and Genoa for its eastern side. While the Papacy was looking into France and England for a prince that could serve its anti-Norman politics in South Italy,³³ James I was warily putting forward his mortgage on the Sicilian kingdom, setting in motion negotiations for a wedding between his son Peter and Constance, daughter of Manfred King of Sicily.³⁴ The union (1262) was, at that time, an act of great bravery and an astute political move because, as Soldevila stated:

el qui havia iniciat l'expansió marítima de Catalunya amb la conquesta de Mallorca, i s'havia preocupat d'empènyer la prosperitat comercial

30 Soldevila, *Història*, 1: 273–74.

31 José Maria Quadrado, *Historia de la conquista de Mallorca. Crónicas inédita de Marsilio y de Desclot* (Palma of Majorca, 1850), pp. 22–24; Charles E. Dufourcq, "Aspects internationaux de Majorque durant les derniers siècles du Moyen Âge," *Mayurqa* 11 (1974), 5–52; Albert Lecoy de la Marche, *Les relations politiques de la France avec le royaume de Majorque*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1892).

32 Del Treppo, *I mercanti*, pp. 88–89; Alvaro Santamaría, "El reino de Mallorca en la primera mitad del siglo XV," in *IV Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón (25 septiembre-2 octubre 1955)*, 3 vols. (Palma of Majorca, 1955), 1: 21–181, especially 44–50 and 147–52.

33 Ernst Kantorowicz, *Federico II imperatore*, trans. Gianni Pilone Colombo, 3rd ed. (Milan, 2000).

34 Soldevila, *Jaume I*, pp. 39–40; Soldevila, *Història*, 1: 334–41.

dels Catalans (...), no podia tancar els ulls a les amples perspectives d'expansió política i comercial que obria el projectat enllaç.³⁵

The Crown's markets had an interest in Sicily because of its wheat, which the island was a renowned producer of. But there is more: they were also very active in commerce of wine, cotton and slaves, most of which coming from Africa, and Sicilian ports provided optimal yards and important departure points for such trade.³⁶

The "Sicilian question" is dominant in the fourteenth century political scene and, with it, the second chapter of the Catalan-Aragonese expansion in the Mediterranean starts. At that time, control over Sicily becomes a precondition for establishing balances in the game of Western European political powers. The island represented, in fact, a political problem for the Church and the different forces operating around it, not to mention that this was also a naturally vital issue for Sicilians.³⁷

Briefly following the development of this complex historical process, it can be inferred that it originated from the Vespers' rebellion (1282), in its formulation elements at least, but in essence it replicated a traditional and vital motif of Sicilian history: the conflict between State and Church, persisting in the Norman period; apparently resolved when Urban IV imposed a French dynasty over the kingdom; and, again active when Sicily, reacting against Angevins imposition and mismanagement, put before the Pontiff the island's separation from the continental kingdom and the Aragonese solution as a ruling dynasty.³⁸

Peter III of Aragon, who had inherited his father's project for expansion in the Mediterranean—with which economic and commercial interests, already in place, were linked to a clear political-military plan—agree to intervene in the Sicilian kingdom's matter for purely dynastic prestige. Thanks to his union with Constance, in fact, the king formally claimed rights over Sicily, controlled

35 "the one who had begun Catalonia's maritime expansion with the conquest of Majorca, concerned with sustaining Catalans' commercial prosperity (...), could not ignore the prospects of political and trade expansion linked to the planned union". Ferran Soldevila, *Pere el Gran*, 3 vols. (Barcelona, 1950), 1/1: 93.

36 Mario Del Treppo, "Politica e commercio dei grani nei paesi della corona d'Aragona nel secolo XV," *Atti dell'Accademia di Scienze morali e politiche di Napoli* 70 (1959), 1–61; Tangheroni, *Aspetti del commercio*, pp. 5–31.

37 Mario Del Treppo, "Il regno aragonese," in *Storia del Mezzogiorno*, eds. Rosario Romeo and Giuseppe Galasso, 4 vols. (Rome, 1986), 4/1: 88–201.

38 Michele Amari, *La guerra del Vespro siciliano*, ed. Francesco Giunta (Palermo, 1969), p. 462; Giunta, *Aragonesi e Catalani*, 1: 11–35.

by the Angevins since 1266, after Manfred's defeat at the hand of Charles of Anjou.³⁹

With Peter's intervention in Sicily, Catalan presence increased not only in the mercantile circles, but also among feudal lords and in the kingdom's offices, following mutual interferences and relations that were common to all the states belonging to the Iberian Confederation. However, Sicily would never fully integrate into the sort of Catalan-Aragonese commonwealth embodied by the Union, though providing a good base for coordinating trade with North Africa and a crucial stop along the eastern routes, which will achieve full development in the fourteenth century.⁴⁰

It is uncertain whether the island's occupation satisfied dynastic claims over Manfred's inheritance or were there stronger pressure and support by mercantile circles. Indeed, the first privileges granted to Catalan merchants trading with Sicily date to 1288, well six years after the island's conquest, and place Iberians on a level surely not higher than the one afforded to the Genoese.⁴¹

Aragon's entrance into Sicily, among other things, left open the vital question of consolidating the new domain: it was necessary to define Sicilians' freedom and independence needs, on which Peter the Great could not exert any conquest right as the crown had been offered to him by people's will. Any act of force, any imposition could aggrieve the political consciousness of his new subjects. Therefore, there was the need for regulating the "Sicilian question" in a way that would reconcile Catalan and islanders' interests.⁴²

The Aragonese kingdom of Sicily, thus, did not develop following a parabolic path, but it went through a constant shifting process that, examined from a historic-political viewpoint, illustrates the tragedy of its independence and defines the factors leading to its decline and end. Above all, an analogy can be drawn between two extreme moments containing the life of the Aragonese kingdom of Sicily: on the one side, the fifteen year-period spanning the Vespers and Frederick II's —III according German account— coronation (1296); on the other side, the six years following Martin I's death (1410), marking the loss of independence for the kingdom and for which Sicilians had fought hard during the time of the renounce, or rather treason of James II.⁴³

39 Soldevila, *Història*, I: 351–58.

40 Hillgarth, "El problema," pp. 153–54.

41 Del Treppo, *I mercanti*, p. 88.

42 Vincenzo D'Alessandro, *Politica e società nella Sicilia aragonese* (Palermo, 1963).

43 Marco Tangheroni, "Alcuni aspetti della politica mediterranea di Giacomo II d'Aragona alla fine del suo regno," *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere, Filosofia e Magistero dell'Università di Cagliari* 32 (1969), 103–67.

The latter, in fact, after Alfonso the Liberal's death (1291), breached the provisions of the will, which made him the only successor to the throne in Aragon and left the kingdom of Sicily to his brother Frederick, and with a decisive act joined the two crowns to gain greater power against the adversary coalition (France and Papacy) and to resume the expansionistic project followed by his predecessors. However, he was soon forced to revise his position and rigorousness when he realised that any negotiation with his opponents depended on the "Sicilian question". In these conditions, we can understand James II's approach to the agreements of Tarazona (1293) and La Junquera (1293), thanks to which the king established family links with Charles of Naples and befitted to return Sicily to the Papacy within three years.⁴⁴ On these bases, further negotiations later developed, leading to the famous Treaty of Anagni (1295) that represents the triumph of Boniface VIII's theocratic programme on Aragon's opposition and the cancellation of the Vespers, which had greatly damaged the prestige of the Church.⁴⁵

To see end of the "Sicilian question" as an issue of Mediterranean and European interest, we have to wait over a century, when a new important and decisive event took place in the island's history: the definitive annexation of the crowns of Sicily and Aragon, developed under Ferdinand I but realised by Alfonso the Magnanimous, who conquered the kingdom of Naples.⁴⁶ The latter's entry into the Crown (1432–1442) radically changed the situation as Naples became steadily engaged with the Levant's routes and drastically increased its interexchange with the Iberian ports.⁴⁷

Sicily, of course, continued to be a fundamental base for travels to East and the significance of its relations with Barcelona and the other Iberian empo-

44 Vicente Salavert, "El tratado de Anagni y la expansión mediterránea de la Corona de Aragón," *Estudios de Edad Media de la Corona de Aragón* 5 (1952), 290–360 (docs. 1–111); Salavert, *Cerdeña*, 1: 98–102, 2: 11–12 (docs. 13–14).

45 Vincenzo D'Alessandro, Giuseppe Giarrizzo, "La Sicilia dal Vespro all'Unità d'Italia," in *Storia d'Italia*, ed. Giuseppe Galasso, 24 vols. (Turin, 1989), 16: 3–31; Giunta, *Aragonesi e Catalani*, 1: 19; Salavert, *Cerdeña*, 1: 107–13 and 156–75.

46 Giuseppe Galasso, *Il regno di Napoli. Il Mezzogiorno angioino e aragonese* (Turin, 1992) [*Storia di Italia*, ed. Giuseppe Galasso, 27 vols., 15]; Salvatore Tramontana, *Il mezzogiorno medievale. Normanni, svevi, angioini, aragonesi nei secoli XI–XV* (Rome, 2000).

47 Coral Cuadrada, María Dolores López, "Finanzas, comercio y contabilidad: la plaza de Nápoles y los intercambios de larga distancia (2a mitad del s. xv)," in *XVI Congresso di Storia della Corona d'Aragona. La Corona d'Aragona ai tempi di Alfonso il Magnanimo*, eds. Guido D'Agostino, Guido Buffardi, 2 vols. (Naples, 2000), 2: 1081–93; Onofre Vaquer Bennasar, "Comerç entre Mallorca i Nàpols després de la conquesta de 1143," in *XVI Congresso di Storia della Corona d'Aragona. La Corona d'Aragona ai tempi di Alfonso il Magnanimo*, eds. Guido D'Agostino, Guido Buffardi, 2 vols. (Naples, 2000), 2: 1201–19.

ria was far superior to this function. Sicilian grains were still the fundamental component of import-export trade with the Crown's ports, enriched by a wide range of local products (sugar, coral, wine, oil) and goods (cotton cloths, wool, silk, leather) that came from Catalonia's emporia and fed an highly speculative trade.⁴⁸ This was also the case for the end of the thirteenth century, when trade between the Mediterranean island, Catalonia, Valencia and Majorca continued despite James II's renounce, with the Treaty of Anagni, to keep the kingdom of Sicily.

The Aragonese king, de facto, by giving the "Sicilian question" up had only apparently solved his problems of domestic and foreign politics as the prospects emerging from the agreement's provisions raised new uncertainties and difficulties. Indeed, with the Treaty of Anagni, the control of the Mediterranean islands gained another element, Sardinia, which unwittingly became pivotal for a new policy of Catalan-Aragonese expansion into the Mediterranean and the key issue of international politics.

If in the twelfth–thirteenth century, the main actors of the clash for economic supremacy on the Sardinian island were the maritime republics of Pisa and Genoa, in the fourteenth century the unexpected raise of the Aragon Crown and the dramatic alteration of balances in maritime stations were the trigger of a conflict that grew to become secular, which gathered and intertwined every oppositions and rivalries to the emerging Aragonese power.⁴⁹ The beginning of this dispute, happily definable as "the hundred year-Mediterranean war", was determined, in fact, by the Catalan conquest of Sardinia which gave rise to a wide-ranging intertwine of clashes and antagonisms that marked the history of Western Mediterranean basin between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁵⁰

Sardinia, first appeared in the Tarazona's agreements and listed by Boniface VIII in the provisions of the Treaty of Anagni, represented for the Pope a sort of territorial compensation in favour of James II. The latter originated from the need of detaching Aragon interests from Sicily and turn them

48 Francesco Manconi, "La pesca e il commercio del corallo nei paesi della Corona d'Aragona al tempo di Alfonso il Magnanimo," in *XVI Congresso di Storia della Corona d'Aragona. La Corona d'Aragona ai tempi di Alfonso il Magnanimo*, eds. Guido D'Agostino, Guido Buffardi, 2 vols. (Naples, 2000), 2: 1133–45; Miguel J. Deyá Bauzá, "La manufactura de la lana en la Mallorca de Alfonso el Magnánimo," in *XVI Congresso di Storia della Corona d'Aragona. La Corona d'Aragona ai tempi di Alfonso il Magnanimo*, eds. Guido D'Agostino, Guido Buffardi, 2 vols. (Naples, 2000), 2: 1095–12.

49 Francesco Cesare Casula, *La Sardegna aragonese*, 2 vols. (Sassari, 1990); Tangheroni, "Il 'Regnum Sardiniae'," 1: 49–56.

50 Antonio Arribas, *La conquista de Cerdeña por Jaime II de Aragón* (Barcelona, 1952); Bruno Anatra, *Dall'unificazione aragonese ai Savoia* (Turin, 1984), pp. 191–663 [*Storia d'Italia*, ed. Giuseppe Galasso, 24 vols., 10].

to a Tyrrhenian island where the Commune of Pisa, mostly Ghibelline and thus hostile to pontifical politics, played an hegemonic role since almost a century.⁵¹ Conversely, for the Crown of Aragon Sardinia's acquisition in exchange of Sicily meant, on the one side, accepting a revision of its influence in the Mediterranean and, on the other side, it represented a possibility for stability that could not be achieved with the ongoing Sicilian question.⁵²

In 1297, the Pontiff enfeoffed James II with the *Regnum Sardiniae et Corsicae*. According to his counsellors, the control over Sardinian domains meant for James II the accomplishment and apotheosis of the House of Aragon as no other alternative could have been more suitable than the exchange with the throne of Sicily.⁵³ At the time of the Catalan-Aragonese operation, Sardinia, happily situated at the core of the *Mare Nostrum*, provided a convenient rampart for a fully expanding maritime power as the Crown of Aragon was. Following the end of the Arab threat and the rapid boost of trade thanks to the advances of the nautical revolution and new navigation technologies, the island had become one of the pivotal points of maritime trade.⁵⁴

The conquest expedition to the island, started in 1323, was very different from the 1282 one to Sicily. Firstly, the enterprise was undertaken with no hostility from the Church and upon legitimation by the pontiff. Secondly, it had been planned and prepared over a long period of time, since the first decade of the century, with the development of a detailed political programme of complete institutional, social and economic reorganisation of the island often explicit in the sources, sometime clearly individual in the measures. The programme was due not only to the wish of securing a free control of the newly established

51 Alberto Boscolo, "La Sardegna nell'economia del Mediterraneo," pp. 73–84; Francesco Artizzu, *La Sardegna pisana e genovese* (Sassari, 1985); Sandro Petrucci, *Re in Sardegna, a Pisa cittadini. Ricerche sui "domini Sardinie" pisani* (Bologna, 1988); Casula, *La Sardegna*, 1: 55–118.

52 Salavert, *Cerdeña*, 1: 98–102; Giunta, *Aragonesi e Catalani*, 2: 7–11; Del Treppo, "L'espansione," pp. 259–300; Ciro Manca, *Aspetti dell'espansione economica catalano-aragonese nel Mediterraneo occidentale. Il commercio internazionale del sale* (Milan, 1965), pp. 3–29; Giuseppe Meloni, "Studi di storia economica sulla Sardegna medioevale," *Archivio Storico Sardo* 33 (1986), 179–91.

53 The statement of Vidal de Vilanova is published in: Salavert, "Los motivos económicos," p. 434. See also: Salavert, *Cerdeña*, 1: 126.

54 For Mollat, Sardinia was one of the "*routes du grand commerce, les points du passage nécessaires de la circulation maritime*" ("routes for great trade, a point of necessary passage for maritime traffic"). Michel Mollat, "Essai d'orientation pour l'étude de la guerre de course e de la piraterie (XIII^e–XV^e siècles)," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 10 (1980), 743–49, 744; Marco Tangheroni, Lilia di Nero, *Commercio e navigazione nel Mediterraneo medioevale* (Rome, 1981); Marco Tangheroni, *Commercio e navigazione nel Medioevo* (Rome, 1996).

kingdom and guarantee for the Crown a constant influx of incomes—as documented by information of the revenues Pisa received from the island—but also prompted by the need of joining in the operation all the forces and social classes of confederate states.⁵⁵

In this respect, the organisation of the kingdom of Sardinia into municipalities, entrusted to trustworthy royal officers, and the subdivision in feoffs, assigned to nobles or vassals capable of ensure military service for the defence, seemed to comply to the aforementioned objectives. However, in practice, this system failed, despite the dynamism of Aragonese kings to avoid such failure, and it made Sardinia the Crown's institutional laboratory and a test bench for institutions that over time were applied to the other confederate kingdoms.⁵⁶ As soon as the conquest of the island begun, the monarchy sought to absorb the local juridical tradition into a politic-administrative structure that, keeping alive indigenous institutions, had to provide a tool to accommodate the local institutional regime and to generate a favourable predisposition in the population.

Despite the innovation role of the reform and the flexibility in the search for solution suitable to temporary needs, the system failed. It failed against the opposition of hereditary feudal lords from the former era, such as the Doria and the Malaspina; it failed against the secular war led by the judicate of Arborea, successor of a long statecraft tradition and interpreter of general discontent felt by Sardinians; it failed against the cities' revolts and the weak military support of the Iberian feudal lords themselves, nominated just after the conquest. As Marco Tangheroni wrote: "*dopo aver consumato enormi risorse umane e finanziarie in quel pozzo senza fondo che, per quasi un secolo, si era rivelato il regno di Sardegna*".⁵⁷ toward the end of the 1300s the Crown of Aragon managed to set the foundations for changing the island's role.

The resolution of the conflict with Arborea, the deduction of war costs, and the full rehabilitation of the insular kingdom in Mediterranean trade reshape a 1400s Sardinia that, eager for a return to normality, enters with renewed hope into the *Mare Nostrum*. The big trade currents to Sardinian ports resume,

55 Marco Tangheroni, "Il feudalesimo in Sardegna in età aragonese," *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa* 3 (1973), 861–92.

56 Gabriella Olla Repetto, "L'amministrazione regia," in *I Catalani in Sardegna*, eds. Francesco Manconi, Jordi Carbonell (Cinisello Balsamo, 1984), pp. 47–50; Bruno Anatra, *Istituzioni e società in Sardegna e nella Corona d'Aragona (secc. XIV–XVII). El arbitrio de su libertad* (Cagliari, 1997).

57 "Having used significant human and financial resources in that bottomless pit that, for over a century, the kingdom of Sardinia appeared to be". Tangheroni, *Aspetti del commercio*, p. 117.

even though slowly, already in the first half of the 1400s. Catalan ships, ship-owners, merchants continue to use the port of Cagliari, salt emporium and almost unavoidable stop along the routes from Barcelona to the East. Alghero, instead, gained a substantial number of visitors, with local production of coral.

It is, thus, on an open field of studies that ends this brief synthesis on some aspects of the Catalan-Aragonese expansion in the Mediterranean. It does so with no attempt at providing an exhaustive picture. An issue still open to debate, indeed, is that of the political, strategic and economic links that the Crown of Aragon had with the eastern ports, by visiting the emporia of Alexandria and Rhodes, but also Syrian ports, Byzantine emporia, the Lesser Armenia and particularly Cyprus.⁵⁸

Catalan merchants were surely not as numerous and important as the Genoese and Venetian ones, which were competing for the control over the North Aegean and the Black Sea, but they ensured most of the links with Southern France, in addition to Catalonia and Valencia, within Western Mediterranean—the sea that was, anyway, the most natural and constant objective of Aragonese politics.⁵⁹

In the changing game of Mediterranean political forces over three centuries, such is the timespan between the Balearic Islands' conquest and the capture of Naples, other interests must have come into play and contributed to the acquisition of that bases. It can be mentioned, for instance, the change in trade component, geared toward an industrial product, or the progressive development of Catalan seafaring and increasingly advanced navigation technologies.⁶⁰

In fact, the Catalan-Aragonese expansion along the 'insular diagonal' was less linear that it would later appear even to those who would look at it using a map. On almost all the themes addressed, as it is the case for many others, there is still much material to be brought to light in archives and much to investigate for allowing further considerations on the mechanisms of this expansionistic phenomenon. These considerations could help us in achieving that deep understanding of the problem, which is the very goal of historical knowledge.

58 In both cases, the character of Catalan console appears in 1347. See: Antoni de Capmany, *Memorias históricas sobre la marina, comercio y artes de la antigua ciudad de Barcelona*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1779), 2: 66.

59 Giunta, *Aragonesi e Catalani*, 2: 123–49; Del Treppo, *I mercanti*, p. 402.

60 Alvaro Santamaría, "La reconquista de las vías marítimas," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 10 (1980), 41–130; Del Treppo, *I mercanti*, pp. 403–15, 440–58.

2 The Strategic Role of Mediterranean Islands

The economic and commercial transformations taking place in the European West after the eleventh century influence the way in which space is perceived and, consequently, determine changes in the representation and writing of space.⁶¹ Map making over the last centuries of the medieval period reflects this historical situation and refocuses attention on the Mediterranean, its coasts, and its islands.

New tools of practical mastery of maritime space appear with the elaboration with a new graphic expressive form, the portolan chart that, complete—and assisted by coeval *portolani*, presents itself as a map-tool, originating from the Mediterranean maritime world, of the civilisations and peoples that belong to it, sail it, and exchange goods and culture within it.⁶² The portolan chart can be defined as a map that represents realistically and true to scale the perimeter of the Mediterranean littoral, the Black Sea and a more or less extensive part of the Atlantic coasts of Europe and Africa.

Land areas are usually empty, or with minimal information, at least in the earliest examples produced for sailing. Occasionally, there are perspectival views of city-ports, mountains, armorial devices, flags and other decorations, but it is thought that these maps were not intended for use at sea. Conversely, great care was paid to reproducing ridges, bays, deltas, islands and coasts, represented with highly expressed ridges made of alternating semicircles. Lines or dots marked shallows and lagoon areas, small crosses for rocks and dangerous places in general.

The islands were always made to stand out from the mainland, sometimes by using colours. Drawn on a flat surface crossed by a dense network of lines representing the directions or winds indicated by the compass, its purpose was to serve as an instrument that, with a magnetic compass, would determine the best route to sail from one place to another on the map. The toponyms were always written in black or red, perpendicular to the coastline. The map was drawn on a parchment sheet, whose neck sometimes featured a holy image

61 Patrick Gautier Dalché, "Le renouvellement de la perception et de la représentation de l'espace au XII^e siècle," in *Renovación intelectual del Occidente europeo (siglo XII)* (Pamplona, 1998), pp. 169–217; Ramon J. Pujades, *Les cartes portolanes. La representació medieval d'una mar solcada* (Barcelona, 2007), pp. 24, 39.

62 Massimo Quaini, "Catalogna e Liguria nella cartografia nautica e nei portolani medievali," in *Atti del I Congresso storico Liguria-Catalogna* (Bordighera, 1974), pp. 550–71.

with invocation, the author's name, the date of the topic, and the chronology of the map itself.⁶³

Instead, the "*portolani*" were practical textbooks for sailing. They included the description of the Mediterranean coastal itinerary (the *starea della terra*), usually followed clockwise from the Atlantic littoral of Portugal to the Atlantic coast of Morocco, including islands, archipelagos, and the Black Sea coasts. In addition to distances between different coastal points, there are descriptions of the routes *a golfo lanciato* (in straight line between the most protruding capes), the *staree* (coastal routes in view of land), and the *peleggi* (open sea routes). These were regularly used in the Mediterranean, but were chosen from time to time in order to best take advantage of dominant currents and winds both ways.⁶⁴

63 The expression "portolan chart", used by various scholars, is here considered the expression that best conveys the original form *carta da navegar/carta navigandi*, distinguishing it from the written *portolano*. Since the nineteenth century, nautical cartography has been the topic of several studies that, albeit now dated, still remain valid for reporting on documents (some of which are now lost). However, nationalistic considerations, aimed at conferring the lead of invention of nautical cartography to Italians or Catalans and which negatively conditioned studies for over a century, should not be accepted (see for example: Uzielli, Magnaghi, Kretschmer, Caraci, Motzo, Nordenskiöld, Pastor, Camarero, Winter, Cortesão). The brevity of this essay does not allow for a complete and exhaustive discussion of debated issues (on which scholars have different takes) concerning the origin, development, contents, and function of nautical charts. For these aspects and for the analysis of the most important documents, see: Tony Campbell, "Portolan Charts from the Late Thirteenth Century to 1500," in *The History of Cartography. 1. Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*, eds. J. B. Harley, David Woodward (Chicago, 1987), pp. 371–463; Corradino Astengo, "The Renaissance Chart Tradition in the Mediterranean," in *The History of Cartography, 3.1. Cartography in the European Renaissance*, ed. David Woodward (Chicago, 2007), pp. 174–262; Michel Mollat du Jourdin, Monique de La Roncière, *Les Portulans. Cartes marines du XII^e au XVII^e siècle* (Fribourg, 1984); Gaetano Ferro, *Carte nautiche dal Medioevo all'Età moderna* (Genoa, 1992); Vicenç M. Rosselló, "Les cartes portolanes mallorquines," in *La cartografia catalana. Cicle de conferències sobre Història de la Cartografia 10è curs (22–26 de febrer de 1999)* (Barcelona, 2000), pp. 17–115; Patrick Gautier Dalché, "Cartes marines, représentation du littoral et perception de l'espace au Moyen Âge. Un état de la question," in *Castrum 7. Zones côtières littorales dans le monde Méditerranéen au moyen âge: défense, peuplement, mise en valeur* (Rome, 2001), pp. 9–32; Pujades, *Les cartes portolanes*; Ramon J. Pujades, "Les cartes portolanes: orígens, característiques i aportacions de la cultura catalana a la primera cartografia realista," *Revista de Catalunya* 257 (2010), 23–44.

64 Studies on written *portolani* are, instead, less common. See: Konrad Kretschmer, *Die italienischen Portolane des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1909); Bacchisio R. Motzo, "Lo compasso

Among the deep sea routes, the *ruta de las islas* played a significant role in trade and was important for defining the Mediterranean's geopolitical and economic framework. The genesis of the portolan chart, together with the *portolano's* one, must be viewed within the context of major changes that, in the East as well as in the West, occurred between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries and concerned nautical technology and sailing, leading to such an advance that they have been referred to under the rubric of "nautical revolution".⁶⁵

The rise of international maritime trade with the opening of the Mediterranean and Black Sea to Christian merchants, together with the development of written culture, was a crucial factor for the development of portolan charts and *portolani*. Archival documents show that these were used by navigation experts or individuals who often sailed for work. Their owners belonged to a new, hybrid social class: the sailor-merchants. In fact, the merchant of twelfth-century Western Mediterranean was a man that by profession had reading, writing and arithmetic skills the last also practical for his business.⁶⁶

The earliest examples of portolan charts and *portolani* have been dated to the second half of the thirteenth century by scholars.⁶⁷ However, this dating proposal has recently been brought forward about a century following the discovery of the *Liber de existencia riveriarum*, a *portolano* compiled in Pisa around 1200s and elaborated from a Mediterranean map.⁶⁸

da navigare," *Archivio Storico Sardo* 20 (1936), 67–113; Bacchisio R. Motzo, "Il Compasso da navigare. Opera italiana della metà del secolo XIII," *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia della Università di Cagliari* 8 (1947); Angela Terroso Asole, *Il portolano di Grazia Pauli. Opera italiana del secolo XIV trascritta a cura di Bacchisio R. Motzo* (Cagliari, 1987); Patrick Gautier Dalché, *Carte marine et portulan au XII siècle. Le Liber de existencia riveriarum et forma maris nostri Mediterranei (Pise, circa 1200)* (Rome, 1995); Alessandra Debanne, *Lo Compasso de navigare. Edizione del codice Hamilton 396 con commento linguistico e glossario* (Brussels, 2011).

65 Marco Tangheroni, *Commercio e navigazione nel Medioevo* (Rome, 1996), pp. 187–251.

66 Pujades, *Les cartes portolanes*, pp. 30–59.

67 The earliest surviving chart is the *Carte Pisane*, dating to the last quarter of the thirteenth century, anonymous and lacking a date as is the case for the almost coeval *Cortona chart*; see: Mollat, La Roncière, *Les Portulans*, pl. 1, 2; Pujades, *Les cartes portolanes*, C1, C2). In the mid-thirteenth century, the *Compasso da Navigare* was also probably compiled until few decades ago thought to be the oldest surviving *portolano* of the Mediterranean. Transcribed and studied by Motzo, it has been considered complementary to the *Carte Pisane*, a hypothesis rejected today.

68 The *Liber* has been edited by Gautier Dalché (Rome, 1995). According to him, in its genesis of map and *portolano*, the written text had preceded the map and would have been the basis for the formation of the latter (*Carte marine*, p. 316).

Together with the magnetic compass, the compass and the *portolano*, the portolan chart was for over four centuries an essential tool for any seafaring man. The first record of the effective use of maps and magnetic compasses on Genoese ships dates to 1270. In the *Gesta Sancti Ludovici*, Guillaume de Nangis tells that the crusaders' fleet, led by King Louis IX of France and set off from Aigues-Mortes in the direction of Tunis, had been caught in a storm and had lost its course. On this occasion, the pilots showed a chart to the King, worried about the travel's outcome, where he could appreciate that the ships were near Cagliari's littoral, which in fact appeared on the horizon the following morning.⁶⁹ An inventory of the end of the 1200s (1294) records the presence of three *mappae mundi*, one of which included a magnetic compass and a compass, on a Sicilian ship that was attacked by pirates.⁷⁰ Similarly, the *Arbor Scientiae* (c.1295) of Ramon Llull mentions a "*cartam, compassum, acum et stella maris*". In the naval regulations of 1354–1363, Peter IV of Aragon established that at least two portolan charts were to be kept on board Catalan-Aragonese ships.⁷¹

Since the early 1300s, the island of Majorca is documented as one of the most thriving centres of production and sale of *portolani* and portolan charts for different uses. In 1315, King James II of Aragon donated a *carta navigandi* to a member of the royal court, while in 1323 he ordered the purchase of *libre de navegar*, perhaps from Majorca, for 25 Barcelonan coins.⁷²

In 1373, instead, the Prince John asked Olfo of Prócida, a *portantveus* of the king in Majorca, to provide him a *carta da navegar* in order to know Western Mediterranean and the Atlantic coasts. Some years afterwards, in 1379, he ordered the royal attorney of Majorca to purchase or to have made in his city a globe "*bell e joliu*" ("beautiful and attractive"), perhaps the very same one that the Prince presented as a gift to Charles V of France in 1381, produced by the Majorcan Jew Abraham Cresques and today known as the *Catalan atlas*.⁷³ The precious manuscript, richly decorated and consisting of twelve sheets, is

69 Guillaume de Nangis, "Gesta Sancti Ludovici," in *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, 24 vols. (Paris, 1840), 20: 444.

70 Charles de La Roncière, "Un inventaire de bord en 1294 et les origines de la navigation hauturière," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 58 (1897), 394–409.

71 Quaini, "Catalogna e Liguria," p. 560; Corradino Astengo, "La cartografia nautica mediterranea," in *L'Europa delle carte. Dal XV al XIX secolo, autoritratti di un continente*, ed. Marica Milanese (Milan, 1990), pp. 21–25.

72 Documents cited by Pujades, *Les cartes portolanes*, p. 84.

73 Pujades, *Les cartes portolanes*, pp. 96–97; Rosselló, "Les cartes portolanes," pp. 17–115.

the most valuable example of a chart not made for navigation, where the main Mediterranean islands are finely illustrated with pure gold.⁷⁴

Several documents mention portolan charts, magnetic compasses, compasses, and *portolani* that were owned by merchants from Barcelona, Majorca, Valencia (some operating in Sardinia), Genoa, and Venetia, who kept them for personal use or for selling them in major Mediterranean ports, even in Alexandria. Many of these merchants were also shipowners.⁷⁵ Portolan charts and *llibres de navegar* ("books for sailing") also featured as goods in the libraries of jurists, notaries, physicians, and rich erudite individuals in the 1400s in Sicily and in the court of Catalan-Aragonese kings.⁷⁶ An annotation on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, found on the back of the *Cortona chart*, refers to the role that portolan charts may have also played in travel planning and recording.⁷⁷ Thus, it can be inferred that these items had multiple uses, from their practical employment on board ships to mere desk consultation or for travel planning, but also as precious gifts, selecting examples more or less decorated. Even so, in the early 1600s, Pantero Pantera still lists them as "*le cose che bisognano ad una galera per guidarla et mantenerla atta al servizio del suo Principe*".⁷⁸

Portolan charts and *portolani* are the most visible expression of geographical and cartographic knowledge available in the Mediterranean, whose origin must be related to the secular experience of coastal navigation in the inland sea.⁷⁹ "From the earliest extant copies (...) the outline they gave for the Mediterranean was amazingly accurate".⁸⁰ A comparative analysis of the

74 George Grosjean, ed., *The Catalan Atlas of the Year 1375* (Dietikon-Zurich, 1978).

75 Pujades, *Les cartes portolanes*, pp. 84–106, 176–77.

76 Pujades, *Les cartes portolanes*, pp. 84–106, 176–77.

77 Campbell, "Portolan Charts," p. 439.

78 "The items a galley needs for sailing and being ready to serve its prince". Ugo Tucci, "La carta nautica," in *Carte da navigar. Portolani e carte nautiche del museo Correr 1318–1732*, ed. Susanna Biadene (Venice, 1990), pp. 9–19.

79 Confirming the medieval origin of nautical cartography, Gautier Dalché claims that since the mid-twelfth century written texts, which described the real conditions of navigation for professional sailors and used even for crusade preparations, were circulating in the Mediterranean regions. Dalché, "Le renouvellement," p. 215. These were expression of a common knowledge acquired by sailors on distances between different places sailed across the Mediterranean, as well as closer sites. Dalché, *Carte marine*, p. 63.

80 Campbell, "Portolan Charts," p. 371. The precision of portolan charts—although illusory (Gautier Dalché, "Cartes marines," pp. 27–28)—is even more evident when it is related to coeval cartography, as illustrated by medieval world maps where imaginary islands and legendary lands are common. See: Woodward, "Medieval 'Mappaemundi,'" in *The History of cartography. 1. Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*, eds. J. B. Harley, David Woodward (Chicago, 1987), pp. 286–370.

information provided by these records is of utmost relevance for a study of Mediterranean historical geography in the Late Middle Ages concerning its ports and routes as well as, in this case, for evaluating the importance of Mediterranean islands in the geocartographic production between the 1200s and the 1400s, a period that saw a great expansion of the Catalan-Aragonese Confederation.⁸¹

The largest Mediterranean islands —Majorca, Corsica, Sardinia, Sicily, Crete and Cyprus— were drawn with precise outlines, whose likelihood still today looks impressive to the eye of the modern reader. In addition, since the 1300s, armorial devices and flags are also present, sometime drawn to the side, often inside the islands where, due to space restrictions, they could cover toponymns. The palettes of Aragon in carmine and pure gold colours soon appear on Sardinia and Corsica, followed by armorials also on Corsica, Majorca, Crete and Cyprus.⁸²

Medium and small islands, instead, were shaped according to particular forms, often imaginary. In this, fictitious shapes —such as circles, semicircles, clovers or other known geometric forms— were used not only for the islands of the Atlantic but also for the better known minor islands of the Aegean and those of the Adriatic, sometime even Majorca, leading centres of portolan chart production.⁸³ Each island was illustrated by characteristic, but conventional, shapes and colours, which made it possible to recognise and memorise them for the expert reader who used these shapes as visual mnemonic devices. On the other hand, the use of mnemonic forms to represent the islands is not

81 Quaini, "Catalogna e Liguria," p. 551; Simonetta Conti, "Portolano e carta nautica: confronto toponomastico," in *Imago et mensura mundi. Atti del IX congresso internazionale di storia della cartografia*, ed. Carla Marzoli, 3 vols. (Rome, 1985), 2: 55–60; Michele Castelnovi, "Il portolano: una fonte storica medievale trascurata," in *Rotte e porti del Mediterraneo dopo la caduta dell'Impero Romano d'Occidente: continuità e innovazioni tecnologiche e funzionali*, eds. Lorenza di Maria, Rita Turchetti (Soveria Mannelli, 2004), pp. 343–61.

82 Colour is not used in the *Carte Pisane* and *Cortona chart*. The richest examples are to be found in the fine pure gold decorations illustrating the main Mediterranean islands in the *Catalan atlas*. For the use of colour see: Tony Campbell, *A Critical Re-examination of Portolan Charts with a Reassessment of Their Replication and Seaboard Function* (<<http://www.maphistory.info/portolan.html>>); in particular, see: Tony Campbell, *Explanatory notes and wider implications of 'The colours and shapes used to denote some of the smaller islands and the major estuaries on portolan charts up to 1500'*, <<http://www.maphistory.info/PortolanColourNotes.html>>.

83 Campbell, "Portolan Charts," pp. 402–15; Gautier Dalché, "Cartes marines," pp. 25–27; Rosselló, "Les cartes portolanes," pp. 98–102.

unknown in ancient cartography; for example, we can mention the representation of Sardinia as a human foot or Sicily shaped as a triangle.⁸⁴

The islands' coastal outline was usually bordered with colour so that it could be readily distinguished from the mainland, while the minor islands were often fully painted. A fundamental aspect was the correct location in regard to near islands, distinguished thanks to the toponomastic sequence, rather than the real profiles of islands and islets. Thus, it was a sort of a "geographical catalogue of the islands" with approximate position and names. The over a hundred toponymns of islands and islets that populated the Aegean since the first maps can only be understood in this way.⁸⁵

"Toponymy—as Campbell said—is the lifeblood of the portolan charts";⁸⁶ their wealth of place-names constitutes an important historical source. Indeed, portolan charts included about 1,500–2,000 toponymns for coastal centers, capes, gulfs and islands, the name of most important cities being written in red, even if lacking in ports. The *portolani*, instead, placed most emphasis on ports even when they were not associated with important centers.⁸⁷ The toponomastics of early maps was continuously modified until the first half of the fifteenth century, less marked in the peripheral areas that were infrequently visited by mercantile ships and more evident along the Northern Mediterranean.⁸⁸

Similarly, if about 1,200 toponyms of the *Liber de existencia rivierarum*, on the one hand, show still little knowledge and use of the Black Sea by Western merchants, on the other hand they include places on the Atlantic littoral of Morocco (Sallee, Nife, Ceuta), which since the first half of the thirteenth century were targeted by European merchants. Africa's coast on the Mediterranean is also presented in detail, revealing intense traffic on the ports of Barbary by Italian merchants, whose routes intersected with the southern coasts of Sardinia, as illustrated by the *Liber* and, later, the *Compasso*.⁸⁹

The islands played a key role in the network of Mediterranean trade, often used as stops over long-distance voyages along open sea routes. In fact, a fundamental component of any *portolano*, in addition to information on coastal

84 See: *Imago Sardiniae. Cartografia storica di un'isola mediterranea* (Cagliari, 1999); *Imago Siciliae. Cartografia storica della Sicilia 1420–1860*, eds. Liliane Dufour, Antonio La Gumina (Catania, 1998).

85 Tony Campbell, *Explanatory notes*. See: *Island shapes as a mnemonic device*, <<http://www.maphistory.info/PortolanColourNotes.html#mnemonic>>.

86 Campbell, "Portolan Charts," p. 415. See also: Alberto Capacci, *La toponomastica nella cartografia nautica di tipo medievale* (Genoa, 1994).

87 Quaini, "Catalogna e Liguria," pp. 554–55.

88 Campbell, "Portolan Charts," pp. 372–73.

89 Gautier Dalché, *Carte marine*, pp. 8–9.

geomorphology (in particular, the presence of islets, rocks and sandbanks), were suggestions for entering harbours and facilities to host ships of different sizes, the reference to bays where shelter could be found for the night, and the presence of water sources in the immediate hinterland.

During most of the Late Middle Ages, the Balearic archipelago, Sardinia and, to less extent, Corsica acted as keystones of the whole Western Mediterranean nautical system. These islands were a fundamental reference point in particular for long-distance voyages that, for example, linked Sardinia to Formentera, Marseilles, Calabria or Sicily; Minorca to Corsica; Corsica to Sicily. The last, in turn, was an almost unavoidable passage en route to the Eastern Mediterranean, in particular toward Crete and, from here, to Rhodes and Cyprus. These were long routes, ranging 500–700 miles, which linked the main Mediterranean emporia found on the islands and on the mainland.⁹⁰

In addition to voyages that passed by major islands, several routes included the minor islands, linking together, for example, Sardinia and Corsica, the Tuscan archipelago, Ponza, Ustica, the Aeolian Islands, the Egadi islands (in particular Marettimo), Pantelleria, and Gatala, mentioned in the *Compasso da Navegare*.⁹¹ These routes appeared enriched in the 1300s' *Portolano di Grazia Pauli*, which indicates a special interest in the Tyrrhenian coast, Sardinia and Sicily. The text suggests new coastal places from which to reach Montecristo Island, Corsica, Ischia, Ponza, Capri, the Aeolian Islands, and Ustica, as new *peleggi*, with the clear aim of providing a continuous update of former works.⁹² In this regard, as in the case of the portolan charts, *portolani* can be described as an expression of a common heritage of Mediterranean maritime culture, "a living record of Mediterranean self-knowledge".⁹³

In our case, a comparison between the navigation routes listed and described in surviving *portolani* is very useful for achieving a better understanding of the development and evolution of Mediterranean maritime trade, in particular for changes of destination with the introduction of new routes and/or the abandonment of others. The strategic role played by the islands for the control of the Mediterranean space emerges quite distinctively.

90 Quaini, "Catalogna e Liguria," pp. 558–59 and p. 569 (fig. 1); Pujades, *Les cartes portolanes*, pp. 36–37.

91 Bacchisio Raimondo Motzo, "La Sardegna nel Compasso da Navegare del secolo XIII," *Archivio Storico Sardo* 20/3–4 (1936), 122–60.

92 Asole, *Il portolano*.

93 Campbell, "Portolan Charts," p. 373.

Language: From the Countryside to the Royal Court

Lola Badia and Isabel Grifoll

1 The Scholastic Culture: Organisation and Dissemination of Knowledge (Thirteenth–Fourteenth Centuries). The Jewish Culture

Literate Catalans in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries became users of the university culture and scholasticism.¹ The most active sector of the Church in the thirteenth century was the mendicant orders, who lived in the cities, and were dedicated to spreading the faith and fighting heresy. The Franciscans settled in the Crown of Aragon during the lifetime of Saint Francis of Assisi (1182–1226). Since Peter de Ribagorça, uncle to king Peter the Cerimonious joined the Franciscans in 1358, they were highly esteemed by the royal house, as they had been in the early fourteenth century by the Majorcan royal branch. The Catalan Franciscans were trained in the *studia generalia* the order had in Barcelona, Lleida, Valencia and the City of Majorca and also travelled to the leading European universities.²

The order underwent internal tensions between the spiritual and conventual tendencies; the controversial postures of the former were very popular among some lay sectors in Catalonia, like the Tertiary Franciscans and the Beguins.³ The Franciscans spread a very fervent piety, centred on the human figures of Christ and the Mother of God, that had many Catalan adepts in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, especially when they distinguished themselves in the defence of the doctrine of the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary.

1 Eusebi Colomer, *El pensament als Països Catalans durant l'Edat Mitjana i el Renaixement* (Barcelona, 1997), pp. 11–84. Essential documentary collections: Antoni Rubió i Lluch, *Documents per l'història de cultura catalana mig-aval*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1908–1921); Martí de Barcelona, “La cultura catalana durant el regnat de Jaume II,” *Estudios Franciscanos* 91 (1990), 213–95; Martí de Barcelona, “La cultura catalana durant el regnat de Jaume II,” *Estudios Franciscanos* 92 (1991), 127–245 and 384–492; Jocelyn N. Hillgarth, *Readers and Books in Majorca (1229–1550)*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1991).

2 Jill Webster, *Els Menorets. The Franciscan Friars in the Realms of Aragon. From St. Francis to the Black Death* (Toronto, 1993); José Pou, *Visionarios, beguinos y fraticelos catalanes (siglos XIII–XIV)*, ed. Albert Hauf, 2nd ed. (Alicante, 1996).

3 Joan Cuscó, *Els beguins: l'heretgia a la Catalunya medieval* (Barcelona, 2005); Josep Perarnau, “Beguins de Vilafranca del Penedès davant el tribunal d'Inquisició (1345–1346): de captaires a banquers?,” *Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics* 28 (2009), 7–210.

Saint Dominic (1170–1221) founded a community consecrated to eradicating the Albigensian heresy in Languedoc that evolved into a powerful religious order led by the Catalan Saint Raymond of Pennafort (1185–1275). Pennafort, advisor to James I, compiled the *Decretals* of Pope Gregory IX and a *Summa poenitentialis*, which became a university textbook.⁴ The Dominicans specialised in intellectual militancy in favour of orthodoxy, through university teaching, preaching and also the court of the inquisition, designed to preserve the purity of the faith. Nicolau Eimeric (1320–1399), a Dominican from Girona, stood out in this task.⁵ In contrast, another Catalan Dominican, Ramon Martí (1230–1284), who studied in Paris with Saint Thomas and taught in the convent of Santa Caterina in Barcelona, studied Hebrew to be able to fight Judaism from a solid base of knowledge.⁶

All the cities and the most of the towns in the Crown of Aragon had Dominican convents from the 1220s, and these were centres of theological teaching, and sometimes for a secular public, in the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. The Catalan cathedrals also had chairs of theology run by preaching friars. The Catalan kings and outstanding men of the fourteenth century surrounded themselves with Dominican intellectuals whose knowledge was useful beyond the spiritual terrain. Their willingness to fulfil the commissions they received was part of the tactics of the order to preserve orthodoxy. Thus, they were in demand as translators of prestigious Latin works and as historians: Antoni Canals translated Valerius Maximus, Seneca and Petrarch and Pere Marsili transformed the *Llibre dels fets* by James I into a Latin chronicle in the times of James II.⁷

The monarchy decided to officialise the culture of the universities in Catalonia. In 1300, James II (1291–1327) promoted the founding of a centre for higher studies in the city of Lleida. By the act founding the Catalan monarch showed that they wanted to avoid their subjects from having to seek knowledge abroad: the new faculties of arts, medicine, law and theology had to supply the country with a home-grown educated elite, comparable to those coming out of Paris, Oxford or Bologna. The University of Lleida took a long time to reach

4 Fernando Valls, *San Ramón de Penyafort* (Barcelona, 1979); Ramon de Penyafort, *Summa de penitència, cartes i documents*, ed. Llorenç Galmés, Jaume Fàbregas (Barcelona, 1999); Josep M. Mas, *Ramon de Penyafort* (Barcelona, 2000).

5 Jaume de Puig, "La 'Fascinatio Lullistarum' de Nicolau Eimeric. Edició i estudi," *Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics* 3 (1984), 29–58; Jaume de Puig, "El 'Dialogus contra lullistas' de Nicolau Eimeric. Edició i estudi," *Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics* 19 (2000), 7–296.

6 Colomer, *El pensament*, pp. 181–252.

7 See the entries corresponding to: Pilar Gudayol, Montserrat Bacardí, *Diccionari de la Traducció Catalana* (Vic, 2011), and *Translat. Traduccions al català medieval fins a 1500*, <<http://www.translatdb.narpan.net/>>.

full capacity and never managed to absorb all the Catalan-Aragonese students, who continued travelling abroad throughout the Middle Ages. The new foundation's scarcity of financial resources—especially at first, competition from the universities of Montpellier and Toulouse, the dynamism of the studies in the Franciscan and Dominican convents and the municipal initiatives, undermined the academic leadership of the University of Lleida. However, it continued to fulfil its role and adapted to the innovations of the fifteenth century with a chair of rhetoric, despite the appearance of other universities in Perpignan (1349), Huesca (1354), Girona (1446), Barcelona (1450), Saragossa (1474) and the City of Majorca (1483).⁸

Although the Muslim population of Majorca did not disappear after the Christian occupation, one cannot talk about an independent Islamic social life on the island. This was not the case in the Kingdom of Valencia, where the Muslim population remained in the rural areas under the new Christian owners from the mid-thirteenth century until their expulsion in 1609, and with a progressive increase in the pressure to assimilate. The Muslim kingdoms' own pre-Christian culture was not part of the Catalan political field; the exile of the educated minorities after James I seized Valencia left the rural population in the Kingdom of Valencia in a state of absolute poverty regarding knowledge and lettered culture, so that the only written evidence that has been passed down are formulae for prayers and elementary legal texts (*Llibre de la çuna e xara dels moros*).⁹

Prior to the anti-Jewish riots of 1391, the prelude to their expulsion in 1492, the majority of Catalan towns had a Jewish community (*call* as a neighbourhood belonging to a legal community or *aljama*). There is documentary evidence of an intense cultural life in Hebrew in the Catalan *aljamas* from the eleventh century.¹⁰ The linguistic hurdle explains both the isolation and value that establishing cultural bridges acquired through translation. In the twelfth century, there was a mass exile of educated Jews from Moorish Andalusia to

8 Cándido J. Ajo, *Historia de las Universidades Hispánicas*, 11 vols. (Madrid, 1957–1979); Josep Lladonosa, *L'Estudi General de Lleida de 1430 a 1524* (Barcelona, 1970); Jordi Rubió, Antonio de la Torre, *Documentos para la historia de la Universidad de Barcelona* (Barcelona, 1971).

9 Carmen Barceló, ed., *Llibre de la çuna e xara dels moros* (Cordoba, 1989); Dolors Bramon, *De quan érem o no musulmans: textos del 713 al 1010: continuació de l'obra de J. M. Millàs i Vallicrosa* (Barcelona, 2000); Pere Balaña, *L'Islam i Catalunya, segles VIII–XII*, 2nd. ed. (Barcelona, 2002); Josep Giralt, Pere Balaña, eds., *Written jewels: arabic bibliographical sources of Catalonia* (Barcelona, 2002).

10 David Romano, "Les juifs de la Couronne d'Aragon avant 1391," *Révue des Études Juives* 141/1–2 (1982), 169–82; David Romano, *Judíos al servicio de Pedro el Grande de Aragón (1276–1285)* (Barcelona, 1983); Mariona Companys, ed., *La Catalunya judía* (Barcelona, 2002).

the north of the Peninsula. Those who settled in Toledo led the process of translating the scientific and medical works that transformed thirteenth-century European culture. Those who were taken in by the Catalan and Occitanian Jewish communities were the powerhouse behind the great cultural splendour of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.¹¹ The most accessible product of this outburst was the lyrics, written in Hebrew rhyming prose (*maqama*) and later, in Catalan, and that was kept alive until the fifteenth century. Some of the poets were Zerahiah ben Issac ha-Levi of Girona, from the mid-twelfth century, Moses ben Nahman (Bonastruc de Porta), born in Girona in 1194, Abraham ben Hasday, who lived in Barcelona between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Messulam ben Solomon de Piera, who lived in Girona towards the end of the 13th, Moses Natan, from Tarrega, 1290–1360; Solomon ben Messulam de Piera, who died in 1420 and Solomon Bonafed, Barcelona, 1370–1445.¹²

The so-called Cabalistic school of Girona consisted of a group of Hebrew writings that interpreted the Scripture from a symbolic system suggested by the teachings of the Occitanian Jew, Isaac the Blind. The Cabalists were opposed to rationalism, as applied to the biblical theology by Maimonides, and speculated from the allegorical value of the letters (*sefirot*). The founder of the thirteenth-century Girona group was Aser ben David, Isaac the Blind's nephew, followed by the poets from his city mentioned above: Moses ben Nahman was the most outstanding intellectual. Regarding the cultural life of the other *aljamas*, it should be borne in mind that, in Barcelona, besides Yehuda al-Harizi (d. 1225), who wrote in verse, Abraham bar Hiyya, active in the second third of the twelfth century, translated various Arab works into Hebrew and also collaborated with Plato Tiburtinus to produce Latin versions of the texts he dealt with. Abraham bar Hiyya took an interest in the mathematical and astronomical sciences and exegesis. In contrast, as well as writing verses, Abraham ben Hasday politicised in favour of Maimonides, some of whose works he translated from Arab to Hebrew. Hasday did *Ben ha-Melek we-ha-Nazir* (*El príncep i el monjo* / *The prince and the monk*), a beautiful Hebrew adaptation of the Hindustani legend of Barlaam and Josaphat, (sanctified by the Church), very close to the exemplary literature that Ramon Llull practiced in his *Blanquerna*. In this same line, Josef ben Meir ibn Sabara, who was related to Barcelonan circles in the second half of the twelfth century, had written the *Séfer shaahuim* (*Llibre d'ensenyaments delectables* / *Book of Delights*), a set of fifteen fables and

11 Carmen Caballero, "Las lenguas científicas de las comunidades judías catalanas en la baja Edad Media," in *El saber i les llengües vernacles a l'època de Llull i Eiximenis*, eds. Anna Alberni, Lola Badia, Lluís Cifuentes, Alexander Fidora (Barcelona, 2012), pp. 331–45.

12 Jaume Riera, *Cants de noces dels jueus catalans* (Barcelona, 1974); Eduard Feliu, *Poemes hebraics de jueus catalans (segles XI–XV)* (Barcelona, 1976).

tales from various origins and teaching purposes, linked by a shared narrative framework. This model closely followed that of the *Disciplina clericalis*, written in Latin by the Jew from Huesca, Petrus Alfonsi, after he converted to Christianity in 1106.¹³

The restrictive regulations imposed by the Christians derived into the ever-stricter directives of the Councils: the III Lateran, in 1179, prescribed separate neighbourhoods and the IV Lateran, in 1215, imposed the wearing of a badge on clothing. At the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the Jewish communities, harassed and weakened, showed the first symptoms of cultural colonisation.¹⁴ The relations between Jews and Christians in the Crown of Aragon had been mainly economic. The Jews were esteemed and protected by the Catalan-Aragonese kings because they were useful as a source of loans, medicine and translation. The Jews were never citizens of any town, but rather “Jews of the king”, as they paid their taxes directly to the Crown. Until the later stages of the reign of Peter the Great (d. 1285), there were Jews working as high servants in the court. When this prerogative came to an end, it also signalled the end of the influence of the great Jewish families, like the Ravaya, Portella, Abinafia, Abenmenassé, Alcostantini or La Cavalleria families. Without having to stop being Jewish, between 1291 and 1298, the Barcelonan Jafudà Bonsenyor, a member of a family linked to the crown, finished a compilation of moral maxims in Catalan for James II: the *Llibre de paraules e dits de savis e filòsofs*.¹⁵

From the mid-thirteenth century, the religious controversy spread, and towards the end of the fourteenth, there was a rise in baptisms, generally forced.

-
- 13 Abraam bar Hiia, *Llibre revelador (Meguil-lat Hamegal-lè)*, eds. Juli Guttmann, Josep Millàs Vallicrosa, (Barcelona, 1929); Abraam bar Hiia, *Llibre de geometria (Hibbur hameix-ihà uehatixbòret)*, eds. Juli Guttmann, Josep Millàs Vallicrosa (Barcelona, 1931); Josep Ben Meir ibn Sabara, *Llibre densenyaments delectables Sèfer Xaaixuim*, ed. Ignasi González Llubera (Barcelona, 1931); Abraham ben Semuel ha-Levi ibn Hasday, *El Príncep i el Monjo*, ed. Tessa Calders (Sabadell, 1987); María Jesús Lacarra, ed., *Estudios sobre Pedro Alfonso de Huesca* (Huesca, 1996); Moshe Idel, *Estudios sobre la Cábala en Cataluña* (Barcelona, 2017).
 - 14 Luis García Ballester, Lola Ferré, Eduard Feliu, “Jewish appreciation of fourteenth-century scholastic medicine,” *Osiris* 6/2 [Dossier “Renaissance medical learning: evolution of a tradition,” Michael R. McVaugh, Nancy G. Siraisi, eds.] (1990), 85–117; Vicent Ferrer, *Quaestio de unitate universali—Ma’amar nikhbad ba-kolel*, eds. Alexander Fidora, Mauro Zonta (Santa Coloma de Queralt, 2012); Harvey Hames, “Com i perquè l’*Ars brevis* es va traduir a l’hebreu,” *Studia Lulliana* 51 (2011), 3–23.
 - 15 Jafudà Bonsenyor, *Libro de las palabras y dichos de sabios i filósofos*, ed. José Ramon Magdalena Nom de Déu (Barcelona, 1990). In contrast, the translation of a medical work by Albucassis that the king commissioned from Jafuda has been lost. See: Lluís Cifuentes, *La ciència en català a l’Edat Mitjana i al Renaixement*, 2nd ed. (Barcelona, 2006), p. 127.

False conversions became a target of persecution with the introduction of the Castilian inquisition into Catalonia (1483). Two significant events in the religious debate in the medieval Crown of Aragon were the Disputations of Barcelona (1263) and Tortosa (1413–1414). In 1263, Moses ben Nahman, the Kabbalist from Girona, debated with the Dominican convert Pau Cristià before James I: the discussion ended in a draw. In contrast, the Disputation of Tortosa, called by Pope Benedict XIII, was aimed at discrediting the rabbis intellectually and reinforcing the anti-Jewish stereotypes that were stoking up aggression.¹⁶

2 Ramon Llull and Arnau de Vilanova

Ramon Llull (1232–1316) was the son of well-off Catalan settlers who moved to Majorca after the island was conquered by James I in 1229.¹⁷ At the age of thirty, he broke from life at court, the troubadour poetry and his wife and children to dedicate himself to contemplation and spreading the faith. Llull's apostolic and reforming project, his Art, sought the approval of the Church and required the support of the Catalan-Aragonese and French monarchies. His first success was the founding of a school of Franciscan missionaries at Miramar in 1276, financed by the King of Majorca. The desire to introduce the Art into the university led Ramon to Paris (1287–1289), where he was not understood by the professionals of the scholastics. Llull tirelessly worked on his intellectual and apostolic tasks in different places in Italy, the Crown of Aragon and North Africa, with the addition of a voyage to Cyprus. His work was approved by the Ecumenical Council of Vienne 1311. Despite that, he retired to Tunis, disappointed with the princes and wise Christians and dedicated himself to drafting his last writings. Llull died in his eighties and is buried on Majorca.

Ramon Llull practiced a pragmatic multi-lingualism, because he was a self-taught layman who wrote not only thinking in a university readership. The *Llibre de contemplació en Déu* (1271–1272), his enormous first work,

16 Jaume Riera, Eduard Feliu, eds., *Disputa de Barcelona de 1263 entre mestre Mossé de Girona i fra Pau Cristià* (Barcelona, 1985); Antonio Pacios, ed., *La Disputa de Tortosa*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1957); Jaume Riera, "Literatura antijueva en català," *Estudi General* 9 (1989), 215–36.

17 Alexander Fidora, Josep E. Rubio, ed. *Raimundus Lullus. An Introduction to His Life, Works and Thought* (Turnhout 2008); Anthony Bonner, ed., *Selected Works of Ramon Llull*, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1985); website: <<http://quiestlullus.narpan.net/index.html>>; Lola Badia, Joan Santanach, Albert Soler, *Ramon Llull as a Vernacular Writer. Communicating a New Kind of Knowledge* (Woodbridge, 2016).

prior to the formulation of the Art, was originally written in Arab and then translated into Catalan and Latin.¹⁸ Besides Catalan, some of Llull's works have Occitanian, Italian, French and Castilian versions; most have Latin text, often with many manuscripts.¹⁹

Llull's Art revolves around the optimum formulation of a rational tool, able to show (in the sense of finding, discovering, revealing) the truth, in other words, the God of the Trinity and the Incarnation, who saves man and gives reason to the world.²⁰ The Arts of the first phase or quaternary (1274–1289) are the *Art abreuçada d'atrobare veritat* (1274) and *Art demostrativa* (1283); the Arts of the second phase or ternary (1290–1308) culminate with the *Ars brevis* (1308) and the *Ars generalis ultima* (1305–1308). The Llullian system has a set of general principles (shown in figure A) and a set of relative principles (figure T), which are governed by rules of interrelation and action. Behind these elements, there is a network of correlative principles, which express the ternary deployment of the being (agent, patient, action). On the other hand, the Arts adapts to the powers of the human soul (understanding, will and memory); here this can be applied to the acquisition of knowledge, a love of God and retention by memory. The universal nature of the Art is based on the metaphysical dimension of all existing beings, which Llull learned from the Augustinism of the Franciscan school. However, the Art also reinterpreted and reworked the Aristotelian legacy in the field of logic and natural philosophy with results that did not always coincide with those of the Scholastic philosophy. A conventional science reformulated "artistically" became "new", so that Llull planned a personal reform for theology, philosophy, logic, medicine, astronomy, law, geometry and rhetoric.²¹

Notable among monographs for a lay public are the *Doctrina pueril*, for the teaching of children, the *Llibre de l'orde de cavalleria*, for knights, and the *Llibre de gentil i dels tres savis*, on religious controversy. Some books lead the reader to the Art through examples organised in novel form, like the *Romanç d'Evast e*

18 Ramon Llull wrote over two hundred and fifty works. Currently these books are organised in specific series: The *Raimundi Lulli Opera Latina* (ROL) began with: *Estudios Lulianos*, 1–5 vols. (Palma of Majorca, 1957–1960); followed by: *Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Medievals*, 6–32 vols. (Turnhout, 1975–), <http://www.corpuschristianorum.org/series/cccm_aimundi_lulli.html>. The Catalan works are in the *Obres Originals de Ramon Llull* (ORL), 21 vols. (Palma of Majorca, 1906–1950) and the *Nova Edició de les Obres de Ramon Llull* (NEORL), 14 vols. (Palma of Majorca, 1990–).

19 See: *Base de Dades Ramon Llull* (Llull DB), <<http://orbita.bib.ub.edu/llull/>>.

20 Anthony Bonner, *The Art and Logic of Ramon Llull. A User's Guide* (Leiden, 2007).

21 Lola Badia, "La ciència a l'obra de Ramon Llull," in *La ciència en la història dels Països Catalans*, eds. Ramon Parés, Joan Vernet, 3 vols. (Barcelona, 2005), 1: 403–42.

de Blaquerna (with the *Llibre d'amic e amat*) and his *Fèlix o Llibre de Meravelles* (with the *Llibre de les bèsties*). Others resort to the lyrical procedures, like the *Desconhort* or the *Cant de Ramon*. Llull also wrote collections of sentences, sermons and treatises on preaching and was the author of dialogues in Latin and Catalan.²² The *Arbre de ciència* is an encyclopaedic version of the Art, abridged with a collection of examples, the *Arbre exemplifical*. Most of Llull's production is only in Latin: the *Liber de significatione* (1304), an artistic semantics; the *Liber de ascensu et descensu intellectus* (1305), a presentation of the theory of knowledge; and the *Liber de fine* (1305), a treatise on the crusade. Llull exploited his literary self propagandistically creating his own character as appears in *Vida coetània*, an autobiography dictated in 1311.²³

The early followers of Llull were laymen close to the Franciscan spiritual movements, who were accused of heterodoxy. Soon apocryphal, alchemical, immaculist and Cabalistic writings appeared, inside and outside the Crown of Aragon.²⁴ In the fifteenth century, Lullian philosophical schools were founded on Majorca and in Barcelona, and in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Spanish crown supported the canonisation of Llull. There was a European philosophical Lullism during the Renaissance and the Baroque.²⁵ Since the nineteenth century, Llull's vernacular work has had an important place in the histories of Catalan language and literature. In the twentieth century, his Latin theological and philosophical production was published and studied and has become part of the medieval Christian cultural legacy.

Arnau de Vilanova (1240–1311) was a doctor to kings and popes and professor at the University of Montpellier.²⁶ He dedicated a medical work, the *Regimen sanitatis ad regem Aragonum*, to James II of Aragon, and the *Medicationis parabola* to Philip IV of France. He also had an extensive university production, like the *Speculum medicinae*.²⁷ Arnau's theological works, the *Introductio in*

22 Jordi Rubió i Balaguer, *Ramon Llull i el lul·lisme* (Barcelona, 1985); Lola Badia, *Teoria i pràctica de la literatura en Ramon Llull* (Barcelona, 1992); Roger Friedlein, *Der Dialog bei Ramon Llull. Literarische Gestaltung als apologetische Strategie* (Tübingen, 2004); Lola Badia, Joan Santanach, Albert Soler, "Ramon Llull," in *Història de la Literatura Catalana. Literatura Medieval (I)*, ed. Lola Badia (Barcelona, 2013), pp. 377–476.

23 Ramon Llull, *A Contemporary Life*, ed. Anthony Bonner (Barcelona, 2010).

24 Michela Pereira, *The Alchemical Corpus Attributed to Raymond Lull* (London, 1989) and the Llull DB: <<http://orbita.bib.ub.edu/llull/>>.

25 See the second volume of: Tomás Carreras, Joaquín Carreras, *Historia de la Filosofía Española. Filosofía cristiana de los siglos XIII al XV*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Barcelona, 2001).

26 Jaume Mensa, "Arnau de Vilanova," in *Història de la Literatura Catalana. Literatura Medieval (I)*, ed. Lola Badia (Barcelona, 2013), pp. 476–509.

27 Arnaldi de Villanova, *Opera Medica Omnia*, eds. Jon Arrizabalaga, Luis García-Ballester, J. A. Paniagua, Michael McVaugh (Barcelona, 1975–).

librum Ioachim de semine scripturarum, the *Allocutio super significatione nominis tetragrammaton* and the *Lectura super Apocalypsim*, dealt with controversial themes like the coming of the anti-Christ and evangelical poverty.²⁸ In the *Lliçó de Narbona*, the *Confessió de Barcelona* and the *Informació espiritual*, booklets written in the vernacular, he moved towards the spiritual positions of the Franciscan and the Beguins. Arnau de Vilanova's intellectual profile is that of a doctor-theologist between university science and the critical positions of the religious laymen.²⁹ Like Ramon Llull, Arnau de Vilanova believed that he had received a divine enlightenment that justified his militancy in favour of a revived Christianity and, in his case, in conflict with the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

3 The Catalan-Aragonese Monarchy and the Letters. Historiography. Poetry in the Court

The change of language (from Latin to Catalan) was the foundational act of late-medieval historiography.³⁰ The *Gesta comitum Barchinonensium* were translated into Catalan under the title *Gestes dels comtes de Barcelona i reis d'Aragó* (1268–1270).³¹ James I, probably responsible of the contents of the book, had copies distributed among the main organisms of administration and government, the royal Chancellery and the Council of Barcelona (*Consell de Cent*). Historiographic production moved out of the monastic settings and into the new centres of power.

There was a plethora of historiographic activity during the last third of the thirteenth century. The *Historia de rebus Hispaniae* or *Historia Gothica* (1246), by the archbishop of Toledo, Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, had been translated into Aragonese (*Estoria de los godos*, 1252–1253) and Catalan (1266), in a version nowadays lost. A Latin epitome, the *Status Yspanie*, was also made, with elements of Catalan history, and it was translated into Catalan under the title of

28 Josep Perarnau, *L'Alia informatio beguinorum* d'Arnau de Vilanova (Barcelona, 1978); Josep Perarnau, "L'Ars catholicae philosophiae' d'Arnau de Vilanova. Edició i estudi del text," *Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics* 10 (1991), 7–223. Josep Perarnau, "L'Apologia de versutiis' d'Arnau de Vilanova. Edició i estudi; i transcripció del *Tractatus quidam in quo respondetur objectionibus*," *Arxiu de textos Catalans Antics* 20 (2001), 7–348; Arnaldi de Villanova, *Opera Theologica Omnia*, ed. Josep Perarnau (Barcelona, 2004–).

29 Joseph Ziegler, *Medicine and Religion c.1300. The Case of Arnau de Vilanova* (Oxford, 1998).

30 An overview in: Stefano Maria Cingolani, *La memòria dels reis: Les quatre grans cròniques* (Barcelona, 2006); Jaume Aurell, *Authoring the Past: History, Autobiography, and Politics in Medieval Catalonia* (Chicago, 2012).

31 *Gestes dels comtes de Barcelona i reis d'Aragó*, ed. Stefano Maria Cingolani (Valencia, 2008).

Crònica d'Espanya (1277–1280).³² The conquests of Majorca and Valencia stoked interest for the idea of Hispania and how to connect this to the Carolingian past of Catalonia. The *Llibre dels reis* (1277–1278), the first universal chronicle was written, with legendary pieces of enormous later fortune (Trojan origins and founding of Barcelona by Hercules; Otger Cataló, the eponymous hero of Catalonia).³³ Other, fragmentary, texts featured Crown Prince Peter of Aragon, the *Llibre de l'infant en Pere* (1276–1286) and the *Crònica del rei Pere* (1285), attributed to Galceran de Tous. The *Gesta comitum Barchinone et regum Aragonie* were continued (1288–1291) in the reign of Peter the Great.³⁴

James I dictated the *Llibre dels fets* towards the end of his life (1270–1276),³⁵ which does not mean that he did not conceive the idea earlier. The work is the monarch's spiritual “will” and government. Act of gratitude to God (“faith”) and testimony that the royal function had been employed as an instrument of divine will (“works”). The king presents himself as a champion of the faith in the fight against the Muslims (conquests of Majorca, Valencia and Murcia) and exercising justice, guaranteeing peace and observance of the law among his subjects. The providentialism of the discourse, already seen in the episode of the miraculous birth of the king, is a manifestation of this theology and teleology of history.

The king relates his own life. Personal memories and historical discourse are shaped in unison in the first person (*Nós*). Despite the difficulties of his childhood and youth, James I had extended the legacy of his ancestors extraordinarily and earned notable international prestige. The awareness of this transcendental role in history and the particular character of the king (“self-made man”), who left nothing to chance,³⁶ explain his personal control of the project, rather than entrusting it to a team of clergymen or secretaries. James I was not interested in the continuity or values of the lineage, but rather placed himself centripetally in the new world he had forged.

James I “narrated” his military deeds and government action to a selected auditorium who listened, entered into dynamic of the narrative and served as prompters, which did not, however, exclude the use of documentation. Some

32 Pere Quer, *La 'Historia i Genealogies d'Espanya': Una adaptació catalana medieval de la història hispànica* (Barcelona, 2008).

33 *Llibre dels reis*, ed. Stefano Maria Cingolani (Valencia, 2008).

34 *Gestes dels comtes de Barcelona i reis d'Aragó. Gesta comitum Barchinone et regum Aragonie*, ed. Stefano M. Cingolani, trans. Robert Álvarez (Santa Coloma de Queralt, 2012).

35 *Llibre dels fets del rei En Jaume*, ed. Jordi Bruguera, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1991); *The Book of Deeds of James I of Aragon*, trans. Damian J. Smith, Helena Bufferey (Burlington, 2003).

36 Robert I. Burns, “The Spiritual Life of James the Conqueror, King of Aragon-Catalonia, 1208–1276: Portrait and Self-Portrait,” *Catholic Historical Review* 62 (1976), 1–35.

reporters noted down the working sessions to write the *llibre*.³⁷ We do not know the last stage, where the professional writers must have concluded the project. The materials were handed over to the royal archive, for the probable death of the king. James II ordered a Latin version, the *Liber gestorum regis Jacobi* or *Liber gestarum* (1313), from Dominican friar Pere Marsili. The oldest surviving Catalan version (1343) was commissioned by Peter the Ceremonious.

The *Llibre del rei En Pere i dels seus antecessors passats* (1286–1288), by Bernat Desclot (d. 1288), was a decisive turn in Catalan historiography.³⁸ The oral narration by James I gave way to the prose of the chancellery. The author, identified with Bernat Escrivà, was a member of the curia of Peter the Great (1276–1285), for who he filled several administrative posts (justice of the sea-port of Valencia, clerk's office of Gandia, royal treasurer). Desclot was not a character in the events he narrated. He came to the events through the documentary sources and reports of eyewitnesses. He can be considered a professional historian.

The first part of the book (chap. 1–73) is aimed at Peter the Great's predecessors. It begins with a legendary introduction (chap. 1–10), which presents the origin of the lineage of the kings of Aragon in the house of Barcelona. Thus, it emphasises the noble and knightly (county) values over the functions or insignia of royalty. Ramon Berenguer IV, who opens and closes the story, is an emblem of this. The dynastic union with Aragon is evoked through the legendary figure of Guillem Ramon de Montcada, an exiled vassal, but loyal to the count. The miraculous engendering of James I erased any reticence about his legitimacy. The courage, bravery and military skill of Peter the Catholic was evident at the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa (1212), a great victory over the Almohads, which covered up the defeat at Muret (1213). Finally, the good count of Barcelona (a mixture of Ramon Berenguer III and Ramon Berenguer IV) defended the empress of Germany, falsely accused of adultery, in legal combat. In compensation, he received the county of Provence (Peter the Great still claimed the rights to this).

Then it presents the deeds of James I (chap. 11–73). The conquests of Majorca and Valencia are selected, and especially the last stage of his reign, marked by

37 Josep M. Pujol, "The 'Llibre del rei En Jaume': A Matter of Style," in *Historical Literature in Medieval Iberia*, ed. Alan Deyermond (London, 1996), pp. 35–65.

38 Bernat Desclot, *Llibre del rei en Pere*, ed. Stefano Cingolani (Barcelona, 2010); *Chronicle of the reign of King Pedro III of Aragon*, trans. Frank Linley Critchlow (Princeton, 1928); Miquel Coll, *Historiografia* (Barcelona, 1991), pp. 171–270; Stefano Maria Cingolani, *Historiografia, propaganda i comunicació al segle XIII: Bernat Desclot i les dues redaccions de la seva 'Crònica'* (Barcelona, 2006).

the occupation of Murcia (1265–1266), the dissension with Castile and the insurrection of the Saracens of Valencia (1276), because they allow attention to be focussed on Prince Peter. Charles I of Anjou (1246–1285) stands out as the counterpart.

The second part (chap. 74–168) is a detailed report of the reign of Peter the Great, the main purpose of the book. It presents the beginning of his reign; the preparations and war to conquer Sicily (1282–1283); the challenge of Bordeaux with Charles I of Anjou (1283); the invasion of Catalonia by the troops of Philip III of France (1283–1285) and the Catalan victory. Outstanding in this last segment are the pro-French posture adopted by James II of Majorca, the siege of Girona and the war of attrition led by Peter the Great, as well as the naval victories of the fleet commanded by Roger of Lauria.

This historiographic design proposes a model image (*speculum principum*) of Peter the Great, rooted in the lineage of his ancestors, but justified mainly by the contemporary present. The king's heroic and chivalrous values (courage or compassion for the defeated enemy) are magnified, while his leadership and military skills are emphasised. The protagonists of the *roman en prose* (Lancelot or Tristan) lend elements for the literary recreation. The portrait of excellence, marked by chivalrous morality, is projected onto the monarchic institution (*primus inter pares*). The royal attributes (like magnanimity) find their correspondence in the virtues of the vassals (such as loyalty). We witness a legitimization of power based on a harmonious and pacted relation between the king and his subjects. The Courts of Barcelona in 1283 marked a change in the parliamentary system of the Crown of Aragon.

The outward narrative of the chronicler does not equate with objectivity or impartiality. The anti-French and anti-Angevin contents of the chronicle are notable. Charles I of Anjou is a tyrannical prince, who violates rights and commits all sorts of atrocities against the Sicilians. The silence about the actions of the Papacy is significant, as is the veiled criticism of the Catalan Church for its negligence during the French invasion. The chronicle is pro-Ghibelline propaganda for the Crown of Aragon.

Life and literature converged in the *Crònica* by Ramon Muntaner (Peralada, 1265–Ibiza, 1336).³⁹ The author had had an adventurous and busy life, but also, and especially, a fortunate one. Privy purse, soldier and diplomat, he had seen or served five kings of Aragon (from James I to Alfonso the Benign), had

39 Ramon Muntaner, "Crònica," *Les quatre grans Cròniques*. 3. *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ed. Ferran Soldevila (Barcelona, 2011); *The Chronicle of Muntaner*, trans. Lady Goodenough (Nendeln, 1967); *The Catalan Expedition to the East (From the Chronicle of Ramon Muntaner)*, trans. Robert Hughes (Barcelona, 2006).

relations with three kings of Majorca and also Frederick II of Sicily. He participated in the conquest of Minorca (1287) with Alfonso the Liberal, the war in Sicily (1296–1302) under Frederick II of Sicily and against the Anjous in Naples (defence of Messina, c.1300). After the Peace of Caltabellotta (1302), he embarked with the Great Catalan Company (the Almogavars), led by Roger de Flor (c.1268–1305), and who he was procurator and *mestre de ració*, and prepared to fight the Turks in the pay of the Emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos (1258–1332). In 1309, he left the Almogavars, in disagreement and infighting, took the side of Ferdinand of Majorca (c.1278–1316) and returned to Sicily. He took part in the pacification of the island of Djerba and the Kerkennah Islands, and was appointed captain and administrator of Djerba (1311–1313). His final years were spent in the service of James III of Majorca (1324–1349), who, as a child, he had rescued in Catania and taken to Perpignan.

The *Crònica* was written in Xirivella, near Valencia, between 1325 and 1328. Muntaner was aware of having lived a “historic” moment, personally and collectively, and that, he was getting old and was one of the few protagonists still alive, he had the duty to explain it all. The *Crònica* starts from this urgent need to leave a written record of the extraordinary events he had taken part in while serving the House of Aragon. Muntaner, an exceptional witness, in the first person, is the main thread of the discourse. The narrative becomes memoirs.

The *Crònica* covers the historical period from the conception of James I (1207) to the coronation of Alfonso the Benign (1328). The first part (chap. 1–192) narrates events from the reigns of James I and Peter the Great. It evokes his childhood memories of King James when he saw him in the family home in Peralada (1274). The snapshot determines the presentation of an already great king, whose later military campaigns are reported. For Prince Peter, it relates the occupation of Murcia and, then as king, the conquest of Sicily. Muntaner portrays a Sicilian population tyrannised by the Angevins, who are then saved by the messianic figure of Peter the Great. It emphasises the Catalan superiority in warfare, especially naval, and the military skills of the captains (Pere de Queralt, Ramon Marquet and, notably, Roger de Lauria). Despite that, the scheme of the just war, under God’s auspices, which ensured victory, was the plot of the events. God’s wrath fulminated Charles I of Anjou, for his pride and as a tyrant. The defeat of the French army in the invasion of Catalonia was a divine punishment for the misdeeds committed by the invader (arson, looting, massacre of civilians, profanation of places of worship). Divine wrath sent the pestilence that finished off the enemy troops. Muntaner omits everything that could disturb the Catalan-Aragonese harmony (dissension between Peter the Great and James II of Majorca, the discontentment of the Aragonese nobility, a foiled attempt at rebellion in the city of Barcelona).

The second part (chap. 193–270) relates the expedition to Greece and Constantinople. The *Crònica* is, in many cases, the only source of information we have available. The great captains (Berenguer d'Entença, Bernat de Rocafort and Roger de Flor), the Almogavars and Ramon Muntaner himself take turns with the kings of Aragon. The narrative becomes epic through the heroism that characterises those involved and because the machinery of the just and holy war is imposed. The suffering of the Greek population under Turkish despotism was unbearable for Christianity and justified the Catalan-Aragonese attempts to free them. There is total silence about the barbarity of the Almogavars that other historians, like Nicephorus Gregoras (1296–1360) or George Pachymeres (1242–1310), deal with. The murder of Roger de Flor in Adrianople, schemed up by Michael Palaiologos, led to the outbreak of the so-called Catalan Revenge and the consequent infighting for the leadership of the Company. The chronicler abandoned the Almogavars. This section closes with a report about the conquest of the Duchy of Athens.⁴⁰

The last chapters (chap. 271–298) affect James II (1291–1327) and Prince Alfonso. Muntaner inserted the *Sermó* (chap. 272), written in Occitanised verse, in which he gives advice to the king and prince about preparing the expedition to Sardinia.⁴¹ He narrates the Sardinian campaigns (1323–1326), where he seems to have had access to documentary sources (Battle of Lucocisterna), and the entry of the royal standard into Cagliari. The *Crònica* ends with the coronation of Alfonso the Benign and the celebrations for this.

Muntaner, like James I, was a talented narrator. The writing is done from personal records. Memory is recreation (invention). It also has a literary baggage: troubadour poetry, *chansons de geste* (the *Sermó* has to be sung to the tune of *Guy de Nanteuil*) and narrative (*Jaufre*, *Lancelot* in prose). This use helps to transfer the record into writing.

The active presence of Muntaner's "I" claimed proximity to the readers. They had to be made contributors to the story, instructing and teaching them. There is abundant military and political advice in the text. It is the didacticism of experience at the service of the monarchs of Aragon, the main targets of the *Crònica*. Muntaner silenced their disagreements and rivalries, and exhorted them towards the harmony and union of the different branches (example of the bunch of reeds). Writing in favour of an ideology can also correct the historical reality or transform it.

40 Josep Antoni Aguilar, "Les expedicions a Orient i la *Crònica* de Muntaner," *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 49 (2003–2004), 13–76.

41 Maurizio Perugi, *Il 'Sermo' di Ramon Muntaner: La versificazione romanza dalle origini* (Florence, 1975).

Military and commercial expansion across the Mediterranean spread Catalan far beyond the geographic limits of its origins. The family languages of the Catalan-Aragonese monarchs were Aragonese and Catalan. Together with Latin, both were languages of documentary expression, especially from the reign of James II.⁴² The fact that the conquests were undertaken from the interests and with the support of the mercantile sectors, particularly from Barcelona, led the monarchy to favour Catalan as a language of the crown. In the thirteenth century, Catalan spread to the Balearic Islands and the Kingdom of Valencia. In the former territory, the Muslim population was, to a large extent, annihilated, which led to the disappearance of Arab tongues. In the Kingdom of Valencia, the extermination gave way to a policy of pacts and fiscal pressure. The demographic density, deficient technical-military power of the Christian knights and the migratory movement towards the recently occupied lands, made this unworkable. The Arab-speaking nuclei remained for longer, until the expulsion of the so-called Moriscos (1609–1610), although leaving little cultural legacy. On the other hand, the interior of the Kingdom of Valencia was mainly repopulated by the Aragonese nobility, who also brought their own language (nowadays Castilian speaking). Catalan later spread to Sicily. It was the language of the documentation in the chancelleries in Palermo and Messina, and influenced the Southern-Italian dialects. The presence of the language was more notable on Sardinia. A good part of the legal terminology of official Sardinian documentation was Catalan. The community of Alghero still conserves the language nowadays. The Catalan documentation from the Greek duchies was also notable.⁴³ That is why Muntaner could identify any territory of the Catalan-Aragonese crown stating that they spoke the best Catalan language of the world (*"el pus bell catalanesc del món"*).

James I did not promote troubadour patronage. First the French and papal pressures, and years later, the political shift toward the Mediterranean, must have influenced in the king's lack of interest in the poetry of the troubadours. However, Tomier and Palaizi, Bernart Sicart de Maruèjols or Gausbert de Poicibot addressed compositions to him, despite being in full crusade, in which they encouraged him to involve himself in Occitanian affairs. The hopes placed on the young king gave way to disillusionment and bitter criticism of his apathy from Sordel, Bonifaci de Castellana or Bernart de Rovenac. Only the proposed crusade in the East (1269) revived the praise of the troubadours

42 Heinrich Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1908–1922); Stéphane Péquignot, *Au nom du roi: Pratique diplomatique et pouvoir durant le règne de Jacques II d'Aragon (1291–1327)* (Madrid, 2009).

43 Antoni Rubió i Lluch, *Diplomatari de l'Orient català (1301–1409)* (Barcelona, 1947).

(Olivier lo Templier, Guilhem de Mur or Cerverí de Girona). Matieu de Caersí and Cerverí de Girona each composed *planhs* on the king's death (1276).

The situation was very different in the county of Provence, still under the domain of the House of Barcelona with Ramon Berenguer V (1209–1245).⁴⁴ Wandering troubadours like Sordel, Falquet de Romans or Aimeric de Belenoi spent time there. Others, like Bertran de Lamanon, a knight of Catalan origin, became fully integrated into the court in Aix and remained there under the rule of Charles I of Anjou. They contributed to establishing the Capetian administration there, but they also composed *sirventes* against the Angevins (Bonifaci de Castellana, Raimon de Tors).

The most splendid Occitanian courts had disappeared with the crusade. Only those who had remained aside from the war still had poetic activity (Rodez, Narbonne, Foix, Astarac or Comminges). The troubadours were pushed into exile (*faiditz*). Some found refuge in Montpellier, domain of James I, while others, like Paulet de Marselha, moved close to Prince Peter of Aragon.

The court of Peter the Great was an important reference for the troubadours. The king protected them and they (Guilhem Anelier, Guiraut Riquier, At de Mons or Paolo Lanfranchi da Pistoia) dedicated compositions to him, in which the king was invested with courtly values. The troubadours deployed the monarch's anti-Angevin and pro-Ghibelline propaganda, both in Provence and Sicily (Paulet de Marselha, Folquet de Lunel, Cerverí de Girona). Peter the Great participated in an exchange of *coblas* with various troubadours, on the occasion of the French invasion of Catalonia (1285).

Cerverí de Girona (c.1259–c.1285), born in Catalonia, was the most important troubadour of the time.⁴⁵ A professional troubadour, he was linked to Ramon Folc V, Viscount of Cardona (c.1220–1276) at the start of his career, before moving into the service of Peter the Great. His extensive songbook is characterised by its thematic diversity, of genres (*canço*, *alba*, political *sirventes*, moral *vers*), the formal variety (strophic and rhyme schemes) and especially by its experimentalism. With a good knowledge of the contemporary French and Galician-Portuguese poetry, he assimilated particular aspects of these, which he merged with his own tradition, providing a wide range of innovations (*gelo-sesca*, *espingadura*, *viadeira*, *peguesca*). He reflected on the role of the poet and the function of poetry. He was interested in political or courtly pedagogy. He also composed narrative poetry and a book of proverbs in verse (*Verses*

44 Martin Aurell, *La vielle et l'épée: Troubadours et politique en Provence au XIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1989).

45 Martín de Riquer, ed., *Obras completas del trovador Cerverí de Girona* (Barcelona, 1947).

proverbials). For the research between tradition and innovation, Cerverí de Girona would be a reference point for the later Catalan lyrics.⁴⁶

The literary relations between Occitania and Catalonia continued throughout the fourteenth century. However, this was a continuous discontinuity, with slowdowns, changes of scenario, varied interests and new proposals.

Poetry competitions made the links closer. In 1323, the Consistory of Toulouse, a municipal enterprise of university inspiration, was founded with the aim of promoting poetry. Catalan poets took part. The Occitanians Raimon de Cornet (c.1300–1341) or Joan de Castellnou (c.1341–1355) were present in Catalonia. Both were linked to James II's son, Peter of Aragon (1305–1381), Count of Ribagorza and Empuries. The former dedicated the *Doctrinal de trobar* to the prince and the latter, the *Glosari*, treatises on poetics.

There was little poetic activity in the courts of James II and Alfonso the Benign, or in the collateral branches of the lineage (Sicily, Urgell), given the surviving evidence. James II was the author of an allegorical poem about the Church, in the form of a *dansa*, which was glossed in Latin by Arnau de Vilanova. The king commissioned the *Regles de trobar* from Jofre de Foixà (c.1291). Amanieu de Sescas dedicated the *Ensenhamen de la donzela* to him.

The *Cançoneret de Ripoll* (1324–1358) is a collection of eighteen compositions, partly as a reference for the two treatises on poetics copied into the manuscript.⁴⁷ Moral and doctrinal themes dominate, and the *dansa* form, with a complex metre, follows the patterns of Guiraut d'Espanha, a troubadour who was active in Angevin Provence. The priest of Bolquera is the most significant voice, Cerverí de Girona the most notable influence. A similar poetic compilation has survived from Castello d'Empuries.⁴⁸ Clerical circles seem to have been a redoubt for preserving the lyrical tradition.

A characteristic of the fourteenth century was the compilation of *chansonniers*. The move from the troubadours to the written register laid the foundations for their conservation, and enabled the tradition, already then considered "historical", to be read and reworked in a critical way. The blooming of poetry in narrative verse (*noves rimades*) was the other distinctive phenomenon. Cultivated in the shared Occitanian-Catalan setting of the previous century (Ramon Vidal de Besalú, Jaufre, *Flamenca*), then, through the use of narrative material or the allegorical form, it was orientated towards the explanation and glossing of themes and motifs of the *canço* (and related genera) of the

46 Miriam Cabré, *Cerverí de Girona and his Poetic Traditions* (London, 1999).

47 Lola Badia, ed., *Poesia catalana del s. XIV: Estudi i edició del 'Cançoneret de Ripoll'* (Barcelona, 1983).

48 Miquel Pujol, ed., *Poesia occitanocatalana de Castelló d'Empúries* (Figueres, 2001).

troubadours. There was no lack of *noves* on the Arthurian theme, like *La faula* by Guillem de Torroella.

These phenomena marked the court literature during the latter decades of Peter the Ceremonious' reign (1336–1387). Jaume and Pere March, Ausiàs March's uncle and father, composed lyrical poetry and *noves rimades*, with a predominance of the allegoric form, the use of citations from troubadours songs and the tendency towards didacticism.

The lyrical poetry underwent a renewal during the reigns of John I (1387–1396) and Martin I (1396–1410). John I's interest in poetry and music, that dated from before he was crowned, encouraged the change. His marriage to Violant of Bar (1380), whose tastes he shared, favoured the arrival of poets, instrumentists and *chansonniers* (Guillaume de Machaut, Oton de Grandson) from the courts in France (Paris, Berry) to the Crown of Aragon. The papal court in Avignon, centre for the spread of religious and profane music, was the other nucleus of expansion. The pontificate of the Aragonese Benedict XIII, who John I and Martin I swore allegiance to, benefited the fluidity of contacts. The court in Foix, with Gaston Phoebus, was a way of introducing the *ars subtilior*.

French influence, so important in music and the poetic genres (*virelai*, *rondeux*, *ballade*, *lai*), and in the subject matter (*tristesse*, *Fortune*), cannot be separated from the Italian contribution, favoured by years of political and commercial contacts between the Crown of Aragon and the Italian republics. Dante Alighieri's works (*rime petrose*, *Vita nuova*, *Commedia*) and the poets of the *stil nuovo* arrived. The new modes also provoked a renewed interest in the troubadours, now accessible through the written register. The rereading of the troubadours in the light of the expressive novelties and contents laid the foundations of the Catalan own lyrical tradition, that was felt to be linked to the troubadouresque origins, but also distanced and overcome, as shown by the *Cançoner Vega-Aguiló*, a compilation of the poets active at the time, that left little margin for copying the "old ones". The swing between tradition and innovation explains both the conservation of traditional genres (*dansa*, *escondit*) and the novelties (*balada*, *lai*), particularly the hybrid forms, the combinatorics and experimentalism. The language of the poetry continued to be linked to troubadouresque Occitan. It was a language that had to be learnt, one that felt extemporaneous to the spoken linguistic reality. It was an archaism, an ingredient of rhetoric and sign of the poet's virtuosity. The uninterrupted production of grammars applied to poetry, from the *Razos de trobar* by Raimon Vidal de Bezaudun (Ramon Vidal de Besalú) to the *Torsimany* by Luys d'Averçó, endorses this. Catalan language interfered with it. The result: an artificial *ad hoc* language for poetry.

The list of poets is extraordinary. All the social estates were represented in it: the nobility (Gilabert de Próixita, Pere de Queralt or Guerau de Maçanet),

honoured citizens (Ramon Savall), jurists and notaries (Gabriel Ferruç), royal officials (Andreu Febrer) or clergy (*fra* Joan Basset). The poetic activity was a gallant label, a courtly form of education, and in this sense, it was an instrument for social promotion. In 1393, John I founded the Consistory of Barcelona and institutionalised the poetic events. Poetry opened to the urban setting.

Two poets deserve special attention. The Valencian Gilabert de Próixita (d. 1405), with an exclusively amorous corpus,⁴⁹ Traditional motifs (vassalage of love, cruelty of the lady, death of love) were redirected towards the analysis of subjective moods. The wounded pride of the knight recalled the finest moments of Guido Cavalcanti, and the motif of the *donna-schermo* revealed Dante's influence.

As a young man, Andreu Febrer (1357/80–1444) from Vic entered the service of John I, was scribe to Martin I and bailiff to Alfonso the Magnanimous. He was involved in Catalan-Aragonese politics in Italy. Notable in his poetical corpus (from before 1400)⁵⁰ are two crusade songs about Martin I's expedition against Barbary (1398), and courtly praises, the one dedicated to Mary, Queen of Sicily is on an astrological theme influenced by Dante. His love songs show the influence of the finest troubadours (Jaufré Rudel, Raimbaut d'Aurenga, Arnaut Daniel, Cerverí de Girona), from whom he takes a precious diction (*rims cars, stramps*). It mixed the classic *canço* with genres (*lai, balada*) and themes (distance, absence, sadness) from French poetry (Guillaume de Machaut). He also knew Dante's work well, especially the *rime petrose* and the *Vita nuova*, from where he extracted resources to analyse the amorous sentiment of the times (some poems have internal narrative links). He finished his Catalan translation of Dante's *Commedia* in 1429.

4 Peter the Ceremonious and the Chancellery. Cultural Policies. Historiography. Translations and Translators

The organisation of the royal Chancellery under Peter the Ceremonious (1336–1386) required a high level of training among the civil servants and this meant good levels of writing in Latin and Catalan and Aragonese, the official languages of the Crown of Aragon. A new concern with style when writing documents and letters is usually dated from around 1380. The scribes and secretaries

49 Martí de Riquer, ed., *Poesies de Gilabert de Próixita* (Barcelona, 1954).

50 Andreu Febrer, *Poesies*, ed. Martí de Riquer (Barcelona, 1951).

applied the *artes dictaminis*.⁵¹ This meant selecting the lexis, looking for sound cadences, working the syntax and resorting to elegant quotations. The fact that the papal curia resided in Avignon, and the affinities John I and Martin I had with it, facilitated the aesthetic emulation of the secretaries and notaries of the Aragonese chancellery, who were soon abreast of the new cult of Cicero, Livy and Virgil introduced by Petrarch (1304–1374), the initiator of the *studia humanitatis*. The application of stylistic renewal to the Romance texts implied a necessary Latinisation: import of cultisms, complex syntax (with gerunds in the function of the participle and verbs placed at the end of the period) and a tendency to elaborate the prosodic resources to the maximum. The Catalan art prose, also known as “Valencian prose”, became a generalised trend from the latter years of the fourteenth century and throughout the 15th for translators, civil servants and writers both secular (from Bernat Metge to Joanot Martorell) and clerical (from Felip de Malla to Joan Roís de Corella).⁵²

King Peter the Ceremonious acted as a patron of the arts (architecture, painting) and sciences (astronomical tables, treatises on astronomy, astrolabes, armillary spheres) and the letters: he commissioned translations and historical compilations and cultivated the troubadoursque tradition. The copying and production of books converted King Peter into a bibliophile, who donated his library to the Cistercian monastery of Poblet (1380). Law was one of the preferred themes: the king had the *Leges palatinae* by James III of Majorca (*Ordinacions de la Casa i Cort*) and the *Siete partidas* by Alfonso X of Castile translated into Catalan. He also promoted history books: the *Crònica dels reis d'Aragó e comtes de Barcelona*, known as of San Juan de la Peña, has survived in Latin, Aragonese and Catalan. The *Compendi historial*, commissioned from a Dominican friar Jaume Domènec, is a universal chronicle that reaches the seventh century. The personal *Crònica* of Peter the Ceremonious was dictated to the secretaries Arnau de Torrelles, Bernat Dezcoll and checked by the monarch to justify the reasons for his political decisions. However, Catalan was not the only language of the fourteenth-century historical compilations, because Juan Fernández de Heredia (1310/15–1396), master of the Order of Saint John, founded a workshop in Avignon that produced Aragonese versions of the most

51 Rubió, *Documents per l'història*; Marçal Olivà, “Notes entorn la influència de l'ars dictandi sobre la prosa catalana de cancelleria de finals del segle XIV,” *Estudis Universitaris Catalans* 22 (1936), 61–84; Hillgarth, *Readers and Books*; Lola Badia, “Monarquia, llengua i literatura,” in *Història de la Literatura Catalana. Literatura Medieval (II)*, ed. Lola Badia (Barcelona, 2014), pp. 105–16.

52 Lola Badia, “Volent escriure a vostra consolació e plaer”: Metge, Corella and other 14th and 15th century masters of Catalan prose,” *Catalan Historical Review* 3 (2010), 55–68.

important Western historiographic texts, and even imported unknown Greek texts by Plutarch and Thucydides.⁵³

The cultural policy of John I (1387–1396) added a passion for music, divinary arts and hunting to the interests of Peter the Ceremonious. His wife, queen Violant of Bar, niece of Charles V of France, contributed to encouraging the import of books and music from north of the Pyrenees.⁵⁴ King John also became famous as a collector of books, an interest he shared with his brother and successor, Martin I, who was a reader of classical and exemplary stories and also devote texts. He owned a splendid illuminated breviary and commissioned translations of biblical and spiritual texts.⁵⁵

Prior to 1350, the translations into Catalan obeyed practical criteria: legal texts (the *Forum iudicum*; the *Usatges*), medical (the *Regiment de sanitat* by Arnau de Vilanova; the *Cirurgia* by Teodorico Borgognoni), encyclopaedic (the *Dragmaticon philosophiae* by William of Conches; the *De Regimine Principum* by Giles of Rome) and also pious (the *Legenda Aurea* by Jacobus de Varagine; the *Dialogues* of Saint Gregory) and biblical (the Bible in verse from the Columbine Library of Seville). Peter the Ceremonious promoted especially translations on legal and historical themes.⁵⁶ In the years of John I and especially Martin I (1397–1410), there was a predominance of classical and pseudo-classical works. Jaume Conesa translated the *Històries troianes*, by Guido delle Colonne, a “best seller” in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Other notable titles included various versions of the *De consolazione philosophiae* by Boethius; the *Heroides* by Ovid, with glosses, part of the *Decades* by Livy; Cicero’s *De officiis*, the military treatises of Frontinus and Vegetius, Seneca’s *Tragedies*, and extracts of the *Epistolae* to Lucilius, the *Dits i fets memorables* by Valerius Maximus. Some of the translations came from French texts and some Catalan translations were transferred to Aragonese and Castilian. Some

53 Juan Manuel Cacho, *El gran mestre Juan Fernández de Heredia* (Saragossa, 1997).

54 Lluís Cabré, Montserrat Ferrer, “Els llibres de França i la cort de Joan d’Aragó i Violant de Bar,” in *El saber i les llengües vernacles a l’època de Lluís i Eximenis*, eds. Anna Alberni, Lola Badia, Lluís Cifuentes, Alexander Fidora (Barcelona, 2012), pp. 217–30.

55 Jaume Massó Torrents, “Inventari dels béns mobles del rey Martí d’Aragó,” *Revue Hispanique* 12 (1905), 413–590.

56 Cifuentes, *La ciència en català*; Pilar Gudayol, Montserrat Bacardí, *Diccionari de la Traducció Catalana* (Vic, 2011); *Traduccions al català medieval fins a 1500*, <<http://www.translatdb.narpan.net>>; *Base de dades sobre les obres científiques i tècniques escrites en català o traduïdes al català (XIII–XVI)*, <<http://www.sciencia.cat/db/scienciadatdb.htm>>; Lluís Cifuentes, Josep Pujol, Montserrat Ferrer, “Traduccions i traductors,” in *Història de la Literatura Catalana. Literatura Medieval (II)*, ed. Lola Badia (Barcelona, 2014), pp. 117–83.

translators adapted the originals creatively, like Antoni Canals in his *Escipió i Aníbal*, which was a fragment of the Petrarch's *Africa*, and especially Bernat Metge in the *Llibre de Fortuna i Prudència* and *Lo somni*.

5 Francesc Eiximenis. Saint Vincent Ferrer

Francesc Eiximenis (1330–1409), of the Order of Saint Francis, was one of the Catalan writers with a most extensive oeuvre.⁵⁷ At the end of the fifteenth century, it was translated into Castilian, French, Flemish and Latin.⁵⁸ *Fra* Francesc, who had been trained in the leading centres of his order in Europe, up to a doctorate in theology, placed his knowledge in the service of a demand for theological information among the nobility and urban patricians of the latter decades of the fourteenth century. He also produced some technical works in Latin, notable among which was a treatise on preaching.⁵⁹

Eiximenis' most ambitious project was the encyclopaedia *Lo Crestià*, begun in Barcelona in the circles of Peter the Ceremonious.⁶⁰ Of the thirteen volumes planned, he only wrote four: the *Primer* (1379–1381) is an introduction to the principles of Christianity; the *Segon* (1382–1383) is a treatise on temptation; the *Terç* (1384) is a monumental study of sin and its effects. The exhaustive nature of this treatise on the vices of human conduct supplies information about all aspects of medieval private life: table and bed manners, sense of humour, gestures, clothing, manners, hygienic practices, etc.

The *Jurats*, as the local authorities of Valencia, where Eiximenis resided after 1383, urged him to write on political questions, the ones programmed for the *Dotzè* (1385–1386) book of the *Crestià*, an extensive *regimine principum*, which

57 Francesc Eiximenis, *An Anthology*, ed. Xavier Renedo, David Guixeras, trans. Robert D. Hughes (Barcelona, 2008); Albert Hauf, *D'Eiximenis a sor Isabel de Villena* (Valencia, 1990); Emili Grahit, ed., *Studia bibliographica* (Girona, 1991) [Estudis sobre Francesc Eiximenis, 1]; Jaume Riera, *Francesc Eiximenis i la Casa reial. Diplomataris 1373–1409* (Girona, 2010); Sadurní Martí, "Francesc Eiximenis," in *Història de la Literatura Catalana. Literatura Medieval (II)*, ed. Lola Badia (Barcelona, 2014), pp. 21–59.

58 Jaume de Puig, Josep Perarnau, Gemma Avenzoa, Lourdes Soriano, Carme Clausell, Pilar Gispert-Sauch, Eva Izquierdo, Sadurní Martí, Xavier Renedo, Raquel Rojas, *Catàleg dels manuscrits de Francesc Eiximenis*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 2012).

59 Francesc Eiximenis, *Art de predicació al poble*, ed. Xavier Renedo (Vic, 2009).

60 Francesc Eiximenis, *Lo Crestià*, ed. Albert Hauf (Barcelona, 1983); Francesc Eiximenis, *Llibres, mestres i sermons*, ed. Xavier Renedo, David Guixeras (Barcelona, 2005); Xavier Renedo, "Lo Crestià: una introducció," in *Francesc Eiximenis (c. 1330–1409): el context i l'obra d'un gran pensador català medieval* (Barcelona, 2015), pp. 190–231.

contained the *Regiment de la cosa pública*, on the workings of cities and how to govern them. Eiximenis described the structural role played by urban centres in the country's economy.⁶¹ The *Dotzè* amalgamates material from various earlier political compendia (by John of Salisbury, John of Wales) with canon law and varied information of historical and literary nature.

His most notable works are three didactic and pious monographic works: the *Llibre del àngels* (1392) disseminating theological knowledge and proposing the worship of these messengers from God; the *Llibre de les dones* (1396) aimed at a female readership and programming the ideal behaviour of each social strata (maidens, wives, widows, nuns). It also contains many chapters on doctrine, some of which, extended, were offered to Queen Maria de Luna in a work named *Scala Dei*; the third one, *Vita Christi* (prior to 1403), is a biography of Jesus written in Catalan at the request of the patrician Pere d'Artés. This text combines canonical material with apocryphal contributions of great popular success with the aim of encouraging fervour and showing how to contemplate the mysteries of the faith. The presence of certain difficult doctrinal questions, such as predestination, that were widely debated in the Late Middle Ages, shows the interest of the secular minorities in the theological universe. The Catalan works of Eiximenis respond to the principle of the compilation of pre-existing texts, with a certain laxness when indicating their provenance, given the non-professional audience they were aimed at.

The preaching by mendicants in the vulgar language was the main channel for spreading religious and cultural information in a wide sense in the Late Middle Ages. The most famous preachers in the Crown of Aragon was *fra* Vicent Ferrer (1350–1419), who was canonised in 1455.⁶² After having become a prestigious theologian in the Order of Saint Dominic, in 1399, Ferrer underwent a conversion that led him to itinerant preaching to the masses. He participated in the negotiations to solve the Schism and took part in the

61 Francesc Eiximenis, *Dotzè del Crestià*, ed. Xavier Renedo, 1 vol. (Girona, 2006); Francesc Eiximenis, *Dotzè del Crestià*, ed. Curt Wittlin, 2 vols. (Girona, 1986–1987).

62 Josep Sanchis Sivera, ed., *La quaresma de sant Vicent Ferrer* (Barcelona, 1927); Sant Vicent Ferrer, *Sermons*, ed. Josep Sanchis Sivera, Gret Schib, 6 vols. (Barcelona, 1932–1988); Josep Perarnau, “La (darrera?) quaresma transmesa de sant Vicent Ferrer: Clermont-Ferrand, Bm1, ms. 45,” *Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics* 22 (2003), 344–550; San Vicente Ferrer, *Sermonario de Perugia*. (*Convento dei Dominicani mss. 477*), ed. Francisco Gimeno Blay, María Luz Mandingorra Llavata, trans. Daniel Gozalbo (Valencia, 2006); Xavier Renedo, “Vicent Ferrer,” in *Història de la Literatura Catalana. Literatura Medieval (II)*, ed. Lola Badia (Barcelona, 2014), pp. 59–82.

Compromise of Caspe in favour of Ferdinand of Antequera (1412).⁶³ *Fra* Vicent preached to the masses in Catalonia, Valencia, Aragon, Castile, France, Italy and Flanders with the aim of extirpating heresy, converting the Jewish and Muslim minorities and promoting general repentance. The popular success of his campaigns surrounded him with a legendary halo and he was attributed, among other miracles, with the gift of tongues. However, his Latin treatises and his sermons in the vernacular showed him as an intellectual with a rigorous scholastic training, severe and adverse to the profane letters, contrary to other brothers from the same Order. Some three hundred Catalan sermons attributed to *fra* Vicent have survived with some others in Castilian and Latin versions. The popular preaching by Vincent Ferrer was spread orally; the move to writing was the work of the professional “reporters” who took notes of his performances. The resulting material only transmits part of the homilies and necessarily omits the theatrical elements most beloved by the public, such gestures and modulations of the voice.

6 Scepticism and Heterodoxy. Bernat Metge and Anselm Turmeda

In *Lo somni*, Bernat Metge pretends that, like the heretical followers of Epicurus, he is unaware that the soul is immortal.⁶⁴ Anselm Turmeda was a Franciscan apostate who wrote from Tunis for a Christian audience.

Bernat Metge (1346/1348–1413), son of a Barcelonan apothecary, was introduced into the royal chancellery by his mother's second husband, the queen's protonotary, Ferrer Saiol, known as a translator.⁶⁵ During the reign of John I, he was the king's personal secretary. After his lord's sudden death in 1396, a crisis of succession erupted between the followers of the dead king's brother, Martin (crowned in 1399), and those who preferred another candidate. Bernat Metge, who belonged to the latter political group, fell into disgrace, but was rehabilitated and recovered the post of secretary to the new king.

His first works were in verse: the *Sermó* develops a sacrilegious theme through parody; the *Medicina* plays comically with pharmaceutical terminology; the

63 Pedro M. Cátedra, *Sermón, sociedad y Literatura en la Edad Media. San Vicente Ferrer en Castilla (1411–1412)* (Salamanca, 1994).

64 Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, 8.15.

65 Martín de Riquer, *Obras de Bernat Metge* (Barcelona, 1959). Lluís Cabré, Alejandro Coroleu, Jill Kraye, eds., *Fourteenth-century Classicism: Petrarch and Bernat Metge* (London 2012); Lola Badia, Lluís Cabré, “Bernat Metge,” in *Història de la Literatura Catalana. Literatura Medieval (II)*, ed. Lola Badia (Barcelona, 2014), pp. 192–238.

Llibre de Fortuna e Prudència (1381), in contrast, following the model of *La faula* by Guillem de Torroella, proposes a fabulous journey by Bernat to the island of Fortune. In a dialogue with Prudence, the protagonist recovers his trust in the moral values that the contemporary financial crisis had put in doubt.⁶⁶ Metge worked on it from Boethius' *Consolatio Philosophiae* and twelfth-century Latin literary texts, by Alain of Lille and Henry of Settimello.

Among Metge's works in prose, there is the translation of *De vetula*, a text that was attributed to Ovid in the Middle Ages. He also translated *Valter e Griselda* (1388), the last tale from the *Decameron* by Boccaccio, through the Latin version by Petrarch and the French one by Philippe de Mézières. In the accompanying epistle, Metge declared himself an admirer of Petrarch. Later, on a mission to Avignon in 1395, he had the chance to acquaint himself with some of the works of classical culture.⁶⁷

Lo somni (1399) is a dialogue inspired in Petrarch's *Secretum* and the *Tusculanae disputationes* by Cicero, which, in the early twentieth century, led to Bernat Metge appearing as a very knowledgeable about classical literature,⁶⁸ and thus, to his name being given to the collection of Latin and Greek texts translated into Catalan, founded in 1924. *Lo somni* reports a conversation between the author's alter ego, the ghost of King John I and the mythological figures of Orpheus and Tiresias, who appear before him in a vision. In book I, Bernat accepted, with some hesitation, that the soul is immortal in accordance with the consensus of the ancient philosophers of the Platonic school. The second attributes the solution to his personal problems during the crisis of succession to providence, and the last two show his fondness for the fictions of the ancient poets talking with Orpheus and refusing to accept the antifeminist diatribe of Tiresias, who he urges him to a life of penitence. The basic innovation of *Lo somni* is the elegant art prose that Metge achieves translating and recomposing fragments of, among others, Cicero, Macrobius, Ovid, Virgil, Seneca and, especially, Boccaccio, from whom he adapts long fragments of the misogynist work, *Il Corbaccio*. Skill in the choice of the sources and elegance in

66 Bernat Metge, *Llibre de Fortuna i Prudència*, ed. Lluís Cabré (Barcelona 2010).

67 Jaume Torró, "Bernat Metge i Avinyó," in *Literatura i cultura a la Corona d'Aragó*, eds. Lola Badia, Miriam Cabré, Sadurní Martí (Barcelona, 2002), pp. 99–111.

68 Lola Badia, *De Bernat Metge a Joan Roís de Corella. Estudis sobre la cultura literària de la tardor medieval catalana* (Barcelona, 1988); Bernat Metge, *Lo somni*, ed. Stefano Maria Cingolani, 27 vol. (Barcelona, 2006); Bernat Metge, *The Dream*, ed. Richard Vernier (Aldershot, 2002); Barnett, David, Cabré, Lluís, "Creative Translation in Medieval Catalan: Bernat Metge," *Translation Review* 87 (2013), 6–17.

the translations were the keys to the success of *Lo somni*, a work that was cited as a model of prose in the fifteenth century.

The Majorcan friar Anselm Turmeda (1350–1423) emigrated to Tunis where, converted to Islam, he was the head of customs. His tomb is still venerated as that of a holy man, ‘Abd Allāh al-Tarḡumān. The Arab text that describes Turmeda’s conversion, the *Tuhfa* or *Autobiografia i atac als partidaris de la creu* (1420), has been the subject of several interpolations.⁶⁹ Turmeda wrote several prophecies in Catalan about the end of the Schism (1378–1422), the *Cobles de la divisió del regne de Mallorques* (1393), the *Llibre de bons amonestaments* (1398) and the *Disputa de l’ase* (1417).⁷⁰ The *Cobles* describes in verse the dialogue between friar Anselm, a wise connoisseur of the three laws (Christianity, Judaism and Islam) and the Island of Majorca, personified in a queen who weeps for the misfortunes of her subjects. An act of talismanic magic by old Muslim inhabitants is the cause of the urban conflicts on the island of his birth, and as he is convinced that if he returned, he would be burnt, friar Anselm bids farewell from afar with a letter of concord. The *Llibre de bons amonestaments* and the *Disputa de l’ase* are translations of popular didactic works that Turmeda adapted from Italian and Arab respectively. Thus, in the *Disputa*, friar Anselm, the author’s alter ego, argues with an ass about the comparative merits of men and beasts.⁷¹

69 Mikel de Epalza, ed., *Fray Anselm Turmeda (‘Abdallah al-Taryuman) y su polémica islamo-cristiana. Edición, traducción y estudio de la “Tuhfa”* (Madrid, 1994); Julio Samsó, “Turmediana,” *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*, 34 (1971–1972), 51–85; Marco Pedretti, “Anselm Turmeda,” in *Història de la Literatura Catalana. Literatura Medieval (II)*, ed. Lola Badia (Barcelona, 2014), pp. 238–60.

70 Bernat Metge, Anselm Turmeda, *Obres Menors*, ed. Marçal Olivari, 10 vols. (Barcelona, 1927).

71 Anselm Turmeda, *La disputa de l’ase*, ed. Marçal Olivari, 18 vols. (Barcelona, 1928).

Writers at the End of Middle Ages

Lola Badia

1 Catalan Culture in the Fifteenth Century. Latin Writers and *studia humanitatis*

Catalan literature from the fifteenth century offers a number of very high quality products in both verse and prose. All the leading writers were linked to the royal court because the lyrical poetry and chivalrous novel, the genres we nowadays recognise as literary, depended on the tradition of the Occitanian troubadours and the great French narrative cycles of *Lancelot* and *Tristan en prose*, whose origins were linked to the courts of kings and nobles. The cultural environment of the courts of the Castilian Trastámara dynasty, which acceded to the throne of the Crown of Aragon in 1412, was thus a fundamental reference point.¹ Ferdinand of Antequera (1412–1416), the first king of this dynasty, took on the cultural traditions of the Catalan-Aragonese monarchy, like holding the public festivities of the *Gaia Ciència* (Floral Games) poetry competition in 1413 with discourses by Felip de Malla and the intervention of Enrique de Villena.² This environment was the same during the early years of the reign of Alfonso the Magnanimous (1416–1458). Íñigo López de Mendoza, Marquis of Santillana, resided in Alfonso's first court and dealt, among others, with the most brilliant poet of the time, the Valencian knight, Jordi de Sant Jordi (1397–1424), for whom he wrote a funeral eulogy in Castilian verse.³ The establishment of close literary contacts with the Kingdom of Castile began in the early fifteenth century, although there had been translations from Catalan to Castilian and

1 Anton Espadaler, “La Catalogna dei re,” in *Lo spazio letterario del Medioevo. 2 Il Medioevo volgare*, eds. Pietro Boitani, Mario Mancini, Alberto Varvaro, 2 vols. (Rome, 2002), 1/2: 873–933; Jaume Torró, “Cort i literatura de Joan I a Ferran II el Catòlic,” “Els cançoners del segle,” in *Història de la Literatura Catalana. Literatura Medieval (II)*, ed. Lola Badia (Barcelona, 2014), pp. 260–79; Rafael Beltran, “El context social de la cavalleria,” in *Història de la Literatura Catalana. Literatura Medieval (III)*, ed. Lola Badia (Barcelona, 2015), pp. 15–30.

2 Jaume Torró, “Las cortes de Aragón y las líricas catalana y castellana del siglo XV,” in *La fractura historiográfica: las investigaciones de Edad Media y Renacimiento desde el Tercer Milenio*, eds. Javier San José Lera, Francisco Javier Burguillo López, Laura Mier Pérez (Salamanca, 2008), pp. 427–37.

3 Jaume Torró, “La cort literària d'Alfons el Magnànim,” in *La poesia d'Ausiàs March i el seu temps*, ed. Ricard Bellveser (Valencia, 2010), pp. 27–39.

vice-versa and Catalan adaptations of Latin works from Castile in previous centuries. The court of John of Navarre was a leading cultural centre during the absence of the Magnanimous (from 1432) and his son, Charles, Prince of Viana (1421–1461), born of a Navarrese princess, was educated in a cultured setting: he translated Aristotle's *Ethics* into Castilian and maintained a literary dialogue with Joan Roís de Corella.⁴ The Catalan Civil War (1462–1472), which devastated the country during the reign of John II (1458–1479), saw the start of a gradual cultural Castilianisation of the Crown of Aragon. The phenomenon temporarily benefited the Kingdom of Valencia, whose capital was active and cosmopolitan and concentrated the economic, cultural and literary life of the kingdom. The marriage of Ferdinand II (1479–1516) and Isabelle of Castile (1474–1504) led this context towards their political and cultural interests. The victory of the nobles in the Revolt of the Brotherhoods (1520–1523) finally put an end to this situation.⁵

By the fifteenth century, the scholastic and university knowledge that had been the cultural reference for the clergy and lay people in the Crown of Aragon in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries coexisted with the new proposals from the Italian humanists. In fact, during the fifteenth century, Petrarch's heirs, including Leonardo Bruni, Lorenzo Valla, Francesco Filelfo, Poggio Bracciolini, Guarino Guarini and Bartolomeo Fazio, spread an ideal of culture based on the philological study of the classics and the moral and political values that derived from these. Renaissance humanism, focussed on the *studia humanitatis* as an educational programme, penetrated the Low Countries with Erasmus and the Spain of the Catholic Monarchs with Nebrija at the start of the sixteenth century.⁶ The alliance between humanism and the printing press was decisive: the Italian presses placed practically all the Greek and Latin texts we know nowadays in circulation in the last third of the fifteenth century.

Some of the Catalans who wrote in Latin in the fifteenth century were conscious users of the cultural renovation proposed by the humanists.⁷

4 Georges Desdevizes, *Don Carlos de Aragón, príncipe de Viana: estudio sobre la España del norte en el siglo XV*, trans. Pascual Tamburri Bariain (Pamplona, 1999).

5 Jaume Vicens Vives, *Els Trastàmars (segle XV)* (Barcelona, 1956); Santiago Sobrequés, Jaume Sobrequés, *La guerra civil catalana del segle XV*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1973); Ernest Belenguer, *València en la crisi del segle XV* (Barcelona, 1976); Eulàlia Duran, *Les germanies als Països Catalans* (Barcelona, 1982).

6 Anthony Goodman, Angus MacKay, *The Impact of Humanism on Western Europe* (London, 1989); Francisco Rico, *El sueño del humanismo: de Petrarca a Erasmo* (Barcelona, 2002); Alejandro Coroleu, "Humanismo en España," in *Introducción al humanismo del Renacimiento*, ed. Jill Kraye (Madrid, 1998), pp. 295–330.

7 Mariàngela Vilallonga, *La literatura llatina a Catalunya al segle XV* (Barcelona, 1993). See: *Studia Humanitatis*, <http://www3.udg.edu/ilcc/Eiximenis/html_eiximenis/Studia_humanitatis.htm>.

The Barcelonan Jeroni Pau (c.1458–1497), a clergyman and jurist who obtained a canonry in his home city, had studied in France and Italy. From 1475 on, he lived in the court of Pope Alexander VI, Roderic Borja, while maintaining close epistolary contacts with Catalans (Pere Miquel Carbonell, Teseu Valentí, Joan Vilar, Bartomeu de Verí, Lluís Desplà) and Italians (Paolo Pompilio). His main work, the *Practica Cancellariae Apostolicae*, published in Rome in 1493, is a legal repertoire related to the administration of the curia. Pau wrote some twenty poems (panegyric, elegiac, amorous, religious), written with the most demanding technique of classical imitation, and around fifteen texts in prose about historical, geographical and literary questions. His booklet *Barcino* proposed a documentary and philological study of the origins, history and geography of the Barcelona, and the country that surrounded it, Catalonia.⁸

Joan Margarit i Pau (1421–1484), bishop of Elne and Girona, wrote works on political theory related to his active participation in the conflicts in the times of John II and Ferdinand the Catholic, to whom he was chancellor and ambassador. Towards the end of his life, he rose to be a cardinal. As can be seen from the inventory of his library, Margarit was interested in law, moral philosophy and history. In 1454, he gave a sermon in the Parliament or Courts in which he lamented the absence of Alfonso the Magnanimous and recalled the past glories of Catalonia. In his Latin booklets aimed at the last Trastámaras, he defended a strong monarchy and proposed a new Hispania from the eastern perspective of the Peninsula. Margarit's most erudite work was a work on pre-Christian Iberia, the *Paralipomenon Hispaniae*, a collection of geographic and ethnographic research, taking into account ancient inscriptions, and a selection of material from Latin historians describing the Punic Wars and the later Roman colonisation.⁹

Pere Miquel Carbonell (1434–1517) was a notary and archivist in Barcelona and a poet and historian. We have very rich documentation about Carbonell, the books in his library and the dense network of personal and epistolary relationships he had with his learned contemporaries (Joan Vilar, Jeroni Pau, Guillem Fuster, Lorenzo Lippio), many of whom appear in his *De uiris illustribus catalanis suae tempestatis libellus*. Politically, Carbonell was loyal to the Trastámaras and a supporter of the Biga party in Barcelona (the party of the urban patricians). As well as some works in verse, like a poem about Mary Magdalene or the *Dansa de la mort*, Carbonell was the author of historical works, notable among which is his *Genealogies dels comtes de Barcelona* and *Cròniques d'Espanya*, written from 1495 and printed in 1547. This is a national history of Catalonia, from its remotest origins to John II, which summarises

8 Jeroni Pau, *Obres*, ed. Mariàngela Vilallonga, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1986).

9 Robert B. Tate, *Joan Margarit i Pau, cardenal i bisbe de Girona* (Barcelona, 1976).

and completes the task of the chroniclers from earlier centuries, written in fluent prose and with documentation, often rhetorical in nature.¹⁰

The Valencian, Joan Serra, who worked in the imperial chancellery towards the end of the fifteenth century, was a friend of Lorenzo Valla and wrote some epistles and rhetorical treatises.¹¹ Other Catalan humanists like Pere Badia, Bartomeu Mates, Pere Joan Matoses and Pere Joan Ferrer worked on grammar and Latin rhetoric. The latter, who had studied in Bologna, wrote *De pronominibus suisque natura*, a treatise that shows a great familiarity with the writings of his Italian colleagues.¹² The Valencian notary, Joan Esteve, published his *Liber elegantiarum* in Venice in 1489, in which he combines Catalan lexis with a repertoire of Latin sentences.¹³

2 The Poetry of the Fifteenth Century. Ausiàs March. Others. The Poetry of Contest

Ausiàs March (Valencia, 1400–1459), son and nephew of poets, inherited a fondness for books and lyric poetry, together with the family assets and the title of knight.¹⁴ Nearly 10,000 of his verses have survived, divided into 127 compositions written from 1424 on.¹⁵ The identification of Dona Teresa, the recipient

-
- 10 Pere Miquel Carbonell, *Cròniques d'Espanya*, ed. Agustí Alcoberro, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1997).
 - 11 Evencio Beltran, ed., *Humanistes français du milieu du XV siècle* (Geneva, 1989), published some of his works, but was unaware of his Valencian origins and his training in Lleida established by: Jaume Torró, "Il Giovanni Serra dell'Epistola apologética," in *Valla e Napoli. Il dibattito filologico in età umanistica (Ravello 2005)*, ed. Marco Santoro (Pisa, 2007), pp. 61–71.
 - 12 Antoni Cobos, "Joan Ramon Ferrer i els humanistes italians," in *Literatura i cultura a la Corona d'Aragó (s. XIII–XV)*, eds. Lola Badia, Miriam Cabré, Sadurní Martí (Barcelona, 2002), pp. 259–69.
 - 13 The *Liber elegantiarum* by: Joan Esteve, *A Catalan-Latin dictionary at the crossroads of fifteenth-century European culture*, ed. Lluís B. Polanco Roig (Turnhout, 2012).
 - 14 The first critical edition of March's poetry was from 1912–1914: Amadeu Pagès, ed., *Les poesies d'Auzias March*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Valencia, 1995). Other editions: Ausiàs March, *Poesies*, ed. Pere Bohigas, 3rd ed. (Barcelona, 2005) and Ausiàs March, *Poesies*, ed. Robert Archer, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1997). A didactic anthology: Ausiàs March, *Per haver d'amor vida. Antologia comentada*, ed. Francesc J. Gómez, Josep Pujol (Barcelona, 2008). An anthology with a castilian version: Ausiàs March, *Páginas del cancionero*, ed. Costanzo di Girolano, trans. José María Micó (Madrid, 2004).
 - 15 Lluís Cabré, Marcel Ortín, "Ausiàs March," in *Història de la Literatura Catalana. Literatura Medieval (II)*, ed. Lola Badia (Barcelona, 2014), pp. 353–97.

of the courtly eulogy of poem 23, with the noble lady Teresa d'Híxar (died in 1442), has enabled the chronology of the initial cycles of March's poetry to be established.¹⁶ Indeed, Ausiàs March was well received in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and his work was translated into Castilian and Latin. Some courtly poets of the following generation adopted him as their master. These included Ramon Boter, Lluís de Vila-rasa, Bernat Hug de Rocabertí, Lleonard de Sors and Romeu Llull among others. The imitation of the "dictat" of Ausiàs March even had theoreticians (in Catalan and Castilian), like Pere Torroella (1420–1492) or Pedro Ximénez d'Urrea, Teresa d'Híxar's son.¹⁷

Like other poets of his generation (for example Martí Garcia), Ausiàs March adopted Catalan as a language of poetry in the court of the Magnanimous. He spent long spells in Valencia before the king's departure to Naples in 1432.¹⁸ In contrast, Jordi de Sant Jordi (d. 1424), who had stood out as a poet at the beginning of Alfonso's reign, still rhymed in an Occitan hybridised with Catalan, like Ausiàs' father and uncle, poets in the second half of the fourteenth century.¹⁹

Ausiàs March produced an innovative poetic language, which, without totally sidelining the troubadouresque motifs and resources, created a new space for Catalan poetry. March's verse is rough and abrupt, built over a complex and obscure syntax. His lexical repertoire combined the common troubadour-esque themes (martyrdom of love, secret of love, mercy), the technicalities of the natural and moral philosophers (humours, qualities, power, accident, first movements) and the colloquial register of the mother tongue.

March dealt with love in a striking way. The troubadouresque formulae of the courtly tradition, valid from Cerverí (c.1258–1285) to Jordi de Sant Jordi (1397–1424), prescribe the vital and rhetorical cultivation of human love, sensual but idealised, that could be understood as an individual ethical

16 The *corpus* of Ausias March has reached us through miscellaneous manuscripts and monographs (the oldest date from around 1480) and also editions (the earliest is from 1539). Lluís Cabré, Jaume Turró, "Perché alcun ordine gli habbia ad esser necessario: la poesia 1 d'Ausiàs March i la tradició petrarquista," *Cultura Neolatina* 55 (1995), 117–36; Jaume Chiner Gimeno, *Ausiàs March i la València del segle XV (1400–1459)* (Valencia, 1997); Vicenç Beltran, *Poesia, escriptura i societat: els camins de March* (Castello de la Plana, 2006).

17 Pere Torroella, *Obra completa*, ed. Francisco Rodríguez Risquete, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 2011); Jaume Torró, "La poesia després d'Ausiàs March," in *Història de la Literatura Catalana. Literatura Medieval (II)*, ed. Lola Badia (Barcelona, 2014), pp. 398–435.

18 Lluís de Requesens, Bernat Miquel, Martí Garcia, Rodrigo Dies, Lluís de Vila-rasa, Francesc Sunyer, *Sis poetes del regnat d'Alfons el Magnànim*, ed. Jaume Torró (Barcelona, 2009).

19 Jordi de Sant Jordi, *Poesies*, ed. Aniello Fratta (Barcelona, 2005).

stimulus or as a courtly ornament. Ausiàs March committed himself to the growing intellectualisation of amorous affairs, a tendency that had already triumphed in the Tuscan poetic tradition from the end of the thirteenth century.

The partial access of some educated laymen in the Crown of Aragon to the knowledge of the clergy from the second half of the fourteenth century meant that they felt able to speak about human experiences through the explicative schemes of scholastic philosophy.²⁰ Thanks to the Aristotelian psychology divulged by the mendicant orders, March knew from the start that the love mentioned in the poetry of the troubadours was no more than a morbid accident of a psychophysical nature, that usually meant dangerous perturbations for both the moral integrity of the affected person and his or her physical health. Thus, giving in to the passion was to take a step towards moral chaos. March also took some classics as models. These included the Seneca of the *Tragedies*, accessible in Catalan since the fourteenth century: there we read the declamations of great sinners (Phaedra, Clytemnestra, Medea or Hercules), who summarised their own fall into crime in the first person and with philosophical precision. He recovered the physical and moral accidents linked to the metaphorical or idealised “love sickness” through the teaching of Ovid, who he had access to through the scholarly tradition.²¹

The great challenge for March's poetry consisted of both the fact that the lyrical voice of the poetry produces the effects of passion in the person and also analyses and assesses the devastating power that overrides the moral freedom and unbalances the humours of the body, sometimes even to death. Ausiàs March, as he himself stated, is he who with “*cor d'acer, de carn e de fust*” (114, 87), impotently contemplates how he sinks into the quagmire of guilt. The capacity for suffering and power of analysis make him proclaim “*lo pus extrem amador*”.²²

March's poems respond formally to two different models according to whether they belong to the first or second part of his lyrical collection that the Pagès edition and successive editions collect from the manuscript tradition. The earlier ones usually have five stanzas of eight decasyllables followed by a *tornada* or half final stanza, which includes the code name for a female recipient, the signal. The oldest poems are the courtly cycles of “*Plena de seny*”

20 Lluís Cabré, “Aristotle for the Layman: Sense Perception in the Poetry of Ausiàs March,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 59 (1996) 48–60.

21 Jaume Torró, “Pròleg al cançoner d'Ausiàs March: Ovidi exiliat,” in *Actes del 13è col·loqui internacional de l'Associació Internacional de Llengua i Literatura Catalanes (Girona, 2003)*, eds. Sadurní Martí, Miriam Cabré, 3 vols. (Barcelona, 2007), 3: 379–423.

22 “Heart of steel, flesh and wood”; “the most extreme lover”. Guides to reading: Robert Archer, *Aproximació a Ausiàs March* (Barcelona, 1996); Rafael Alemany, ed., *Ausiàs March: textos i contextos* (Valencia, 1997); Rafael Alemany, *Lectures d'Ausiàs March* (Valencia, 1998).

and “*Llir entre cards*”, the latter dedicated to Teresa d’Híxar. In later poems, the signal “*Mon darrer bé*” appears, as does a syntagma that identifies the poet, like “*O folla amor*” and “*Amor, amor*”. These five-stanza poems present disturbing imagery (storms, shipwrecks, illness, death sentences, etc.), aimed at awakening fear and shudders before the magnitude of the amorous experiences and the lyrical “I”. In contrast, those that come after number one hundred in the canonical series tend to be structured into more than ten stanzas of eight or ten decasyllables, apt for a dialectical display that brings the poems closer to the moral treatise in verse. These longer poems, written later, offer a greater number of philosophical keys, which makes them less obscure and enigmatic than the earlier ones, which are, in contrast, much more attractive. There has been speculation about the possibility that March wanted to write a book of poems, with an added global message, organised the same way some late troubadours and Italian poets had done with different schemes, especially after the spread of Petrarch’s *Canzoniere* as a lyrical paradigm. It is difficult to prove this, as the old editors organised the work of March in accordance with the prearranged sentimental story: poems of love, poems of repentance after the death of the beloved, religious poems.

Most the fifteenth-century poetry has survived in *chansonniers* that bring together courtly poetry, headed by the works of March and his followers.²³ The exception that confirms the rule is the production of Joan Berenguer de Masdovelles, transmitted in a private songbook, together with poems by other members of the family. There were also notary poets, like Antoni Vallmanya.²⁴ The frequent poetic events, often on Marian themes, organised by members of the urban bourgeoisie of Valencia and Barcelona, are notable. The first book printed in Catalan was a compilation of poems from the event: *Les trobes en llaor de la Verge Maria* (Valencia, 1474).²⁵

3 *Curial e Güelfa*: An Anonymous Chivalric Novel

Since its first edition in 1901, *Curial e Güelfa* has not ceased to reveal perplexities.²⁶ The characters of this novel are Italian, and the emperor of Germany and king

23 Vicenç Beltran, “La disfressa de l’amor cortès: Joan Berenguer de Masdovelles i el seu cançonier,” *Cancionero General* 1 (2003), 9–28.

24 Antoni Vallmanya, *Poesies*, ed. Jaume Auferil (Barcelona, 2007).

25 Antoni Ferrando, *Els certàmens poètics valencians del segle XIV al XX* (Valencia, 1983).

26 *Curial e Güelfa*, ed. Antoni Rubió i Lluch (Barcelona, 1901). The novel is conserved in manuscript 9,750 in the *Biblioteca Nacional de España* (Madrid), accessible at: <<http://www.lluissvives.com>>.

of France have prominent roles, but the finest knights, the fairest rulers and the most honest merchants are Catalan or Aragonese; amorous passion is one of the central motifs of the work, but Güelfa controls the relation with her *protégé*, Curial, with extreme severity so that, when she educates him as a knight and courtesan, he maintains love within the strict limits of honesty, which is finally rewarded with marriage; the magnificent Catalan prose of the work vividly recalls motifs, phrases and allusions from the classical tradition, but Curial behaves, in general, like an errant knight from the thirteenth century. The first quire, the one that usually contains the name of the author, the date and the dedication is missing from the only manuscript of *Curial*.²⁷

Book I describes the arrival of the protagonist in the court at Montferrat and the beginning of his relation with Güelfa, who protects her secret love financially. During his stay in Germany to fight for the favours of the Duchess of Ostalritxe (Austria), falsely accused of adultery, Curial falls in love with her sister Laquesis. Güelfa is eaten up with jealousy and distrusts Curial although, back in Montferrat, he defeats her pretender, the Neapolitan Boca de Far, in combat.

Book II opens with Curial's adventures as an errant knight, travelling incognito to the tournament that the king of France has organised at Melun. The noble nature of some of the combatants, like the king of Aragon and his companions, stands out. It is they who, together with the protagonist, swept the board as knights. Fortuna tests Curial who, intoxicated with his success after defeating the knight, Sanglier de Vilair, commits errors that lead him to lose the protection of Güelfa, who swears she will not pardon him until the whole court of the Puig de Nostra Dona (Notre-Dame du Puy) together calls for pity on him.

Book III begins with a double pilgrimage to the Holy Land and Greece. However, a shipwreck forces the hero to spend seven years as a slave in Tunis. The Muslim maiden, Càmar, who falls in love with him, takes her own life. The treasure Càmar gives to Curial enables him to live comfortably when he returns to France. Nevertheless, it is not until after a revelation in a dream about the value of wisdom and study that the hero becomes mature enough to lead an army and achieve the final victory against the Turks. This earns him his pardon from Güelfa.

27 Annotated editions in ancient spelling and commentaries: *Curial e Güelfa*, ed. Ramon Aramon, 3 vols. (Barcelona, 1930–1933); *Curial e Güelfa*, ed. Ramon Miquel (Barcelona, 1932). Critical and commented edition: *Curial e Güelfa*, ed. Lola Badia, Jaume Torró (Barcelona, 2011); *Curial and Guelfa*, trans. Pamela Waley (London, 1982).

The sentimental plot of *Curial* is divided into two triangles that interfere in the relation between Curial and Güelfa: the one established with Laquesis in books I and II and the one with Càmar in book III. The intensity of the reactions of these four characters is explained by their youth. On the other hand, the anonymous author plays with the meaning of the names he gives them. Curial is the paradigm of the courtesan, skilful with arms and letters. Güelfa stands out for her rectitude, as befits a lady of the high nobility. Laquesis, Cloto's sister (and compared with Atropos), represents the myth of the Moirai (Parcae), instruments of Fortuna. Càmar is the Arab name of a maiden in Tunis, associated with the amorous fatalism of the Carthaginian, Dido. Melcior de Pando, the procurator of the female protagonist, Güelfa, lady of Milan, and mentor to the knight Curial, assumes the authorship of some significant parts in the plot; the prologues of the three books of *Curial* were written in the first person, and the third even contains a reference to the little education the author received.²⁸

Curial is a carefully planned work: the division into books, the reiteration of symbolic motifs and the internal chronology were calculated. Each of the parts of the *Curial* is headed by a prologue that indicates the thematic and moral scope of the fiction, with book I dealing with love, book II with chivalry and book III with moral science.²⁹ The anonymous author gradually interleaves the mythological register, with psychological, moral and natural values, as the story progresses.

All the place names in *Curial* can be placed on a map of Europe and the Near East. The action begins at Montferrat in the north of Italy and ends in Notre-Dame du Puy, in the department of Puy-en-Velay, and Paris. *Curial* is a historical novel, like Boccaccio's *Filocolo*. The date of the fiction is suggested by the episodes portraying King Peter the Great of Aragon (1276–1285), who acts as an errant knight, in line with the heroic fame that surrounds the figure of this king. At the end of the third book, the protagonist obtained the Principality of Orange for his success as commander of the imperial army, but the Turks

28 *Estudis lingüístics i culturals sobre "Curial e Güelfa"*, ed. Antoni Ferrando, 2 vols. (Amsterdam-Philadelphia, 2012). Among the attempts to document the anonymous author that hides behind Melcior de Pando, mention must be made of: Maria Teresa Ferrer, "Fou Lluís Sescases l'autor de 'Curial e Güelfa'? El nord d'Àfrica en la narrativa del segle XV," in *La novel·la de Martorell i l'Europa del segle XV*, ed. Ricardo Bellveser, 2 vols. (Valencia, 2011), 2: 59–142.

29 Jordi Rubió i Balaguer, *Història de la Literatura Catalana*, 3 vols. (Barcelona, 1984), 1: 413–17; Lola Badia, Jaume Torró, "Curial e Güelfa," in *Història de la Literatura Catalana. Literatura Medieval (III)*, eds. Lola Badia, Alex Broch (Barcelona, 2015), pp. 55–106.

are not presented as the tremendous threat they represented after the fall of Constantinople in May 1453: it is thus advisable to date the writing of the novel in the 1440s.

The plot of the novel derives from the *razo* that accompanies the *Cançó de l'orifany*, a poem by the troubadour Rigaut de Berbezilh (doc. 1141–1160), which the protagonist supposedly composes in Tunis. This *razo*, which explains the fall into disgrace of a lover and the pardon obtained in the court of the Notre-Dame du Puy, was included in *Il novellino*, the compilation of Italian stories that was the anonymous author's source. There are some clear affinities between *Curial* and the Catalan chronicles of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, especially in the plot of the first book, in which Curial saves the Duchess of Ostalritxe from a false accusation of adultery, just as the good count of Barcelona does in the *Llibre del rei Pere* by Desclot. Curial's attendance at the tournament in Melun in book II closely recalls the adventures of Lancelot and Tristan, who are mentioned explicitly. However, the cultural system of the anonymous author shifts its significant core from troubadouresque and chivalrous entertainment towards what he calls the “*reverenda lletradura*”, the work of “scientific” men, before whom the “poor in science” should remain silent and learn. These were Dante, Boccaccio and Petrarch. The prestige of King Peter the Great of Aragon in book I is justified with a quote from Dante's *Purgatory* (VII, 107–114), whose authority appears at other moments. In contrast, the anonymous author does not quote from either Boccaccio or Petrarch, but uses their texts from the prologue of book I, which is an amalgam of the proem of the *Filocolo* with an *Epistolae familiares* by Petrarch (IV.12.30). The plot, heraldic symbols, dreams and use of mythology from the *Filocolo* by Boccaccio (1336–1339) are present on many pages of the *Curial*.

The classical author with the greatest presence in the *Curial* is Virgil and the most notable episode of imitation and emulation is that of the unhappy infatuation of Càmar. The text from the *Aeneid*, translated “into mother tongue” and “well glossed and moralised”, that Joan-Curial and Càmar read recalls the glossed Castilian translation of the *Aeneid* by Enrique de Villena (1382/1384–1434), a Castilian writer of royal lineage with family roots in Gandia and linked to Ferdinand I of Aragon (1412–1416). Ovid is also mentioned, abridged in the speeches by Fortuna and the depiction of Envy. The portrayals of the classical gods like Juno and Neptune are from the *Aeneid* and Seneca's *Hercules furens*.

The *Curial* mentions Guido delle Colonne in amorous contexts, but uses his *Historia destructionis Troiae* in various other places, like the discourse on the sense of poetic fiction in the episode of the Parnassus in Book III, in which Curial has to choose between the historical truth of the chroniclers Dictys and

Dares, defender of Hector, and Homer's poetic story of the Trojan war, which exalted Achilles. The anonymous author shows that he also knew the controversy between poetic truth and historical truth by the commentator of Dante, Benvenuto da Imola, who justified the right to poetic fiction with the appearance of Virgil in Dante's *Inferno* (1, 73–75).

When the anonymous author uses the expression "common Catalan language" in the prologue of Book III to excuse himself before the reader for using the Latin and Italian term "*pica*" instead of "*garsa*", he mentions the language he is using to write his poetised novel, a literary artefact conceived for the delight and instruction of an educated courtly public, familiar with the troubadoursque tradition, the chivalrous and sentimental novel and some classics and pseudo-classics, filtered by the literary recreations of Dante, Boccaccio and Petrarch. The text of *Curial e Güelfa* was deliberately written in common Catalan, in the sense of courtly language, supra-dialectal and apt for various literary registers (narration, exhibition, dialogue).³⁰

4 Joan Roís de Corella: Prose of Art and Tragedy

The most outstanding works by Joan Roís de Corella on profane themes were the adaptations of classical myths written in art prose, but he was also a lyrical poet, preacher, translator of the *Vita Christi* by Ludolph of Saxony and an author of lives of saints.³¹ Joan Roís de Corella was born in 1435 in Gandia, second son of a Valencian lesser noble related to the March family.³² A knight and heir to the family properties, he maintained literary relations with Charles of Viana (died in 1461).³³ His profane work dates from before 1471, the year when he obtained the title of master of theology. In the later years of his life, he became a writer of religious texts and a very prestigious preacher in the city

30 Germà Colón, M. Pilar Perea, Hiroto Ueda, "Lingüística quantitativa: Curial vs. Tirant," *Vox Romanica* 71 (2012), 131–59; Badia, Lola, Torró, Jaume, "El Curial e Güelfa i el 'comun llenguatge català,'" *Cultura Neolatina* 74 (2014), 203–45.

31 Ramon Miquel, *Obres de J. Roís de Corella* (Barcelona, 1913); Josep Lluís Martos, *Les proses mitològiques de Joan Roís de Corella: edició crítica* (Alicante, 2001); Francesc J. Gómez, Josep Lluís Martos, "Joan Roís de Corella," in *Història de la Literatura Catalana. Literatura Medieval (III)*, eds. Lola Badia, Alex Broch (Barcelona, 2015), pp. 210–50.

32 Jaume J. Chiner Gimeno, "Joan Roís de Corella, la seua vida i el seu entorn: noves dades per a la història de la cultura en la València del segle XV," *Magnificat Cultura i Literatura Medievals* 1 (2014), 111–377.

33 Jaume Torró, "Una cort a Barcelona per a la literatura del segle xv," *Revista de Catalunya* 163 (2001), 97–123.

of Valencia.³⁴ After Corella's death in 1497, his assets were inherited by Isabel Martínez de Vera, mother of his two children.

As a poet, Corella was a follower of Ausiàs March. This is confirmed, for example, by various fragments in verse and prose in his *Tragèdia de Caldesa* (1458), a brief story of sentimental fiction that describes in first person how the author, passionately enamoured, is betrayed by his loved one. The catastrophic end to this amorous affair explains the title and the presence of bitter lamentations provoked by the disappointment. Indeed, separated from its theatrical origins, the tragedy in the Late Middle Ages was understood as a narrative fiction with an unhappy ending, accompanied by the laments of hapless characters. Love is always a motif of crime and leads to disaster. The beloved is a fallen angel: this is the profile of Caldesa, target of Corella's loving lyrics.³⁵ His poetry consists of around twenty independent poems (only three are of a religious nature) and some fragments interleaved in texts in prose. Corella condemns love but also saves the honest woman—for example in the poem *La sepultura*—and, in the *Triumfo de les dones*, he proposes a form of feminism, according to which the meekness and humility of women make them superior to man, who is spontaneously violent and bellicose.³⁶

The mythological stories in a worked and tense style rhetorically illustrate the criminal impulses triggered by amorous passion. These writings by a young Corella were widely admired in the ephemeral court of Charles of Viana and used to enrich many passages of *Tirant lo Blanc* rhetorically.³⁷ The main sources for the mythological stories in Corella were *Metamorphoses* by Ovid, who was known as the “master of love” by the medieval people, and Seneca's *Tragedies*, which, translated into Catalan, were read accompanied by glosses with moral contents. Corella artistically presented the Ovidian amatory parables in the *Parlament en casa de Berenguer Mercader* (with the myths of Cephalus and Procris, Orpheus, Scylla, daughter of Nisus, Pasiphaë and Procne and Philomela), the *Lamentacions de Mirra e Narciso e Tisbe*, the *Lamentació de Biblis*, the *Història de Jason e Medea* and in the *Història de Leànder i Hero*, which is presented as a sentimental fiction with the inclusion of pieces in

34 Josep Lluís Martos, “La literatura perduda de Joan Roís de Corella: les fonts,” *Caplletra* 45 (2008), 93–120.

35 Jaume Torró, “El mite de Caldesa: Corella al ‘Jardinet d'orats,’” *Atalaya* 7 (1996), 103–16.

36 Eduard J. Verger, “‘La sepultura’ de Roís de Corella, amb una postil·la,” in *Estudis de literatura catalana en honor de Josep Romeu i Figueras*, eds. Lola Badia, Josep Massot, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1986), 2: 357–65.

37 Annamaria Annicchiarico, *Varianti corelliane e “Plagi del Tirant”: Achille e Polissena* (Fasano di Brindisi, 1996).

verse. The *Parlament en casa de Berenguer Mercader* has a narrative framework that evokes a literary meeting of members of the Valencian nobility, the majority poets: Joan Escrivà, Guillem Ramon de Vila-rasa, Lluís de Castellví, Joan de Próixita and Corella himself. In the prologue, it explains that theology is the highest of the sciences, followed by Latin poetry, given its moral value, and in third place, there is art prose in Catalan: the “vulgar poetry”.

In *Lo juí de Paris*, Corella dialogues with Joan Escrivà about the meaning of the ancient fable and interprets the choice of the Trojan prince, which unleashed the famous war, as the consequence of illicit love. If *Lo raonament entre Telamó e Ulixes* and *Les lletres d'Aquil les e Polixena* are brief rhetorical and dialectical exercises, *Lo plant dolorós de la reina Hècuba* is a spectacular evocation of the end of Troy, inspired in Seneca's *Troades*, where the defeated queen becomes a pagan *mater dolorosa*. The *Debat epistolar* by Corella with Charles of Viana is a *joc partit* in the troubadouresque tradition about whether, in case of distress, to save the woman who loves you or the woman you love.

The rhetorical skill and professionalism in handling the classical sources that Corella acquired in his scholarly training were also applied to writing texts of circumstances and works on religious themes. A *Vida de Santa Anna*, a *Història de la Magdalena*, a *Història de Josep*, that combine biblical and legendary material have survived. Corella had his prose version of the *Psalteri* printed and ensured that the version of the four books of the *Vita Christi* by Ludolph of Saxony, the Carthusian was also printed.³⁸ His lyrical religious production is on Marian themes; one of his compositions appears in the first book printed in Catalan, the *Trobes en llaors de la Verge Maria* (1474).³⁹

5 Joanot Martorell and the Encyclopaedic Novel

The most famous novel in Catalan is *Tirant lo Blanc* by Joanot Martorell. It was printed in Valencia in 1490 and Barcelona in 1497, translated into Castilian and printed in Valladolid in 1511, translated into Italian and printed in Venice

38 Armand Puig, “Les traduccions catalanes medievals de la Bíblia,” in *El text: lectures i historia* (Barcelona, 2001), pp. 107–231; Diego Romero, “La traducción valenciana de las *Meditationes Vitae Christi* del cartujano Ludolfo de Sajonia. Las primeras ediciones valencianas impresas,” *Quaderns de Filologia. Estudis Literaris* 8 (2003), 299–314.

39 Josep Lluís Martos, “El género popular de los ‘goigs’ y Joan Roís de Corella: *La vida de la sacratíssima verge Maria y la Oració*,” in *Lyra Minima Oral. Los géneros breves de la literatura tradicional*, eds. Carlos Alvar, Cristina Castillo, Mariana Masera, José Manuel Pedrosa (Alcala de Henares, 2001), pp. 85–97.

in 1538, and cited as a positive exception among the books of chivalry by Cervantes in *Don Quixote*.⁴⁰

Joanot Martorell (1410–1465) was born in Valencia into a family of lesser nobles. Together with his father and brothers, he served under Alfonso the Magnanimous during the campaigns of conquest in Italy. After 1435, the family had financial problems that prevented them from paying the dowries of the maidens (Isabel ended up marrying Ausiàs March) and forced them to sell their property. Some knightly challenges derived from this situation, for example by Joanot against Joan de Montpalau, who had dishonoured his sister Damiata, and Gonçalbo d'Híxar, commander of Muntalba, a much richer and more powerful noble than the Martorells. The challenges generated knightly correspondence, very elaborated *lletres de batalla* (letters to defiance), and a journey by the writer to England. There he discovered the sumptuous life of the court and *Guy of Warwick*, an Anglo-Norman origin romance of chivalry that he translated into Catalan and later reworked as the beginning of *Tirant lo Blanc*. In 1450, Martorell obtained a position in the Neapolitan court of King Alfonso. After the king's death in 1458, he went into the service of Charles of Viana and, when the Civil War broke out in 1462, he was on the side of the *Generalitat* against John II. Shortly before dying in 1465, he dedicated *Tirant* to Peter of Portugal, pretender to the throne of Aragon, but finally he shifted his allegiance to king John II.⁴¹ The original of this work, that the author himself claimed he started writing in 1460, remained in the hands of Martí Joan de Galba and was not given to the printers until 1490.⁴²

40 Joanot Martorell, *Tirant lo Blanch*, ed. Albert Hauf, 2 vols. (Valencia, 2004); Martí de Riquer, *Aproximació al Tirant lo Blanc* (Barcelona, 1990); Martí de Riquer, *Tirant lo Blanch, novela de historia y ficción* (Barcelona, 1993); *Actes del Symposium Tirant lo Blanc 1990* (Barcelona, 1993); Rafael Beltran, *Tirant lo Blanc de Joanot Martorell* (Madrid, 2006); Josep Pujol, "Tirant lo Blanc," in *Història de la Literatura Catalana. Literatura Medieval (III)*, eds. Lola Badia, Alex Broch (Barcelona, 2015), pp. 107–161; electronic journal about Tirant: <<http://parnaseo.uv.es/tirant.htm>>.

41 Jesús Villalmanzo, Jaume Chiner, *La pluma y la espada* (Valencia, 1992); Jaume Chiner, *El viure novel·lesc. Biografia de Joanot Martorell* (Alcoy, 1993); Jesús Villalmanzo, *Joanot Martorell. Biografia il·lustrada y diplomatario* (Valencia, 1995); Jaume Torró, "Joanot Martorell, escrivà de ració," *L'Avenç* 273 (2002), 12–18; Abel Soler, "Joanot Martorell, cavaller habitador de la ciutat València. Nous documents sobre els darrers anys de l'autor del 'Tirant lo Blanc,'" *eHumanista*, 5 (2014), 467–502; Rafael Beltran, "Joanot Martorell i la cavalleria," in *Història de la Literatura Catalana. Literatura Medieval (III)*, eds. Lola Badia, Alex Broch (Barcelona, 2015), pp. 30–37.

42 Jaume Torró, "La doble autoría de 'Tirant lo Blanc' o un colofón y la estilística," *Revista de Erudición y Crítica* 1 (2006), 75–82.

Tirant lo Blanc begins with the exemplary story of Guy of Warwick, the knight-hermit who saves England from a Muslim invasion and who sums up the values of the ideal chivalry: the crusading spirit and a lack of interest in power and wealth. The protagonist meets Guy of Warwick on his way to the English court to take part in the great feasts to celebrate the king's marriage. Tirant is knighted and defeats all challengers in combat, among whom is one Quirieleison de Muntalbà, a caricature of Martorell's enemy, Gonçalbo d'Híxar. He then embarks for the Mediterranean to fight the Moors who are besieging the island of Rhodes. After lifting the siege with skilful wiles, he gets Prince Philip of France, who is travelling with him, to marry Ricomana, the heiress to the throne of Sicily.

The central part of the work takes place in the Byzantine Empire. The old Greek emperor, who has lost a son in the war against the Muslim enemy, asks Tirant for help. In Constantinople, the protagonist falls in love with Carmesina, who shares his love but avoids erotic intimacy, in contrast to other couples, like Estefania and Diafebus, a maiden in the court of high lineage and Tirant's cousin, and that of the empress and the young Hippolytus (Hipòlit). The maiden Plaerdemavida, gifted with loquacity and wit, favours the amorous pretensions of Tirant. The attacks by the Turks give the protagonist the chance to display his skills as a strategist. The victory of the Christian forces is celebrated with sumptuous festivities in the court, but the enemy attacks again and the relations between Tirant and Carmesina reach a crisis because the Viuda Reposada, the princess' wetnurse, who is in love with the protagonist, makes him believe that she is cheating on him with a black slave.

Tirant goes off to the war in despair and his ship is wrecked on the north coast of Africa. The hero, taken prisoner, earns the trust of his lord and ends up commanding an army that forces the kingdoms on the southern shore of the Mediterranean to convert to Christianity. The novel then tells about the rescue of Constantinople from the Turks and the signing of a hundred-year truce. However, Tirant falls ill in the city of Adrianople and dies. The epilogue describes the death of the old emperor and the princess, who dies of grief beside Tirant's body after pronouncing sad lamentations. The tragic final of *Tirant*, full of borrowings from Corella's texts, rhetorically evokes the fall of Constantinople that put an end to the Byzantium Eastern Empire in 1453; in the fiction, the invincible hero's heirs are people of low moral stature; the adulterous empress and her lover.

Among the varied material that converges on the pages of *Tirant*, an outstanding position is filled by the chapters of the *Crònica* by Muntaner that narrate Roger de Flor's expedition to the Eastern Empire, not only because the figure of Tirant is partially inspired in Roger (both die in their prime in the city of Adrianople), but also because the model of writing in the chronicles imposes a characteristic spirit of authenticity in both *Tirant* and the *Curial*.

Tirant is also the vanquisher of Islam. The first chapters of the work borrow some pages from the narrative prologue of the *Llibre de l'orde de cavalleria* by Ramon Llull and later attribute the main character with the Christianisation of North Africa and the alliance with the rulers of Sicily, Rhodes, Fez, Tunis and Ethiopia that enables him to prevent the fall of Constantinople. Martorell projected the Lullian evangelising programmes and the adventures of Guy of Warwick, who travelled to the Holy Land in the times of the great Christian expeditions of the twelfth century, onto the reality of the failure of the crusade Alfonso the Magnanimous planned to launch against the Turks to save the Eastern Empire.

Martorell was highly skilled at integrating cultural and literary documents into his novel, which thus acquired the nature of an encyclopaedia of worldly wisdom. Within the context of the chivalry, for example, and with the excuse of courtly festivities, Martorell describes a courtly performance in which King Arthur responds to the questions of those present with sentences taken from the *Dotzè del Crestià* by Francesc Eiximenis. The speeches, sermons, letters and some dialogues also offer the occasion to extract varied material from the classics (Frontinus, Sallust, Ovid, Seneca), the Italians of the Trecento (Petrarch, Boccaccio), the *Historia destructiones Troiae* by Guido delle Colonne and authors linked to the courts of the Trastámaras, like Enrique de Villena, Ausiàs March and, especially, Joan Roís de Corella: Martorell interspersed phrases from their secular works throughout *Tirant*.⁴³

The characters in *Tirant* express their feelings, emotions and opinions in long discourses that contain doctrinal material about chivalry as well as amorous passion and the perverse inclinations of female nature. The most entertaining are those by the lady Plaerdemavida, who skilfully uses the colloquial and defends completely uninhibited positions on love.⁴⁴ The erotic activity of the couples of Estefania and Diafebus, and the Empress and Hipòlit, enrich the sensual repertoire of *Tirant*, which also describes all the nuances of love understood as the physical and spiritual illness that the moralists Ausiàs March and Corella talk about. Thus, while Plaerdemavida stirs the leading character to resolve the ills of passion through sex, the princess remains loyal to the values of honesty and purity, even after her secret marriage to Tirant. The final

43 Josep Pujol, *La memòria literària de Joanot Martorell. Models i escriptura en el "Tirant lo Blanc"* (Barcelona, 2002).

44 Xavier Renedo, "Raó i intuïció en Plaerdemavida," *Butlletí de la Reial Acadèmia de Bones Lletres de Barcelona* 45 (1996), 1–46; Xavier Renedo, "'Turpia feminarum incesta lascivarum'. The theatrical play in chapter 283 of 'Tirant lo Blanc,'" in *Formes teatrals de la tradició medieval. Actes del VII Col·loqui de la Société Internationale pour l'Étude du Théâtre Médiéval*, ed. Francesc Massip (Barcelona, 1996), pp. 209–16.

victory of Tirant before his sudden death is to deflower Carmesina, expressed with a military metaphor taken from Boccaccio. The variety of situations and abundance of reflections on love in the eyes of some, especially female, readers at the end of the fifteenth century converted the *Tirant* into a manual of eroticism.

6 Jaume Roig: Tetrasyllables and Comedy

Espill by Jaume Roig combines the novelesque narrative of the life of the main character with an extensive treatise on the perversions of the female gender. Its unique versified form was meant to take the resources of satire and comedy to the extreme.⁴⁵ Jaume Roig (c.1400–1478) was a very prestigious Valencian doctor from a family of urban patricians. He was an examiner of doctors and cared for the health of Mary of Castile, the wife of Alfonso the Magnanimous, and also attended King John II and various religious communities, like that of the preachers and the one in the convent of the Trinitat. His professional relations included various Valencian hospitals, like those of Clapers, Bou and the Innocents. He married Isabel Pellicer, and they had six children, some of whom went into the Church. He had notable assets and a well-stocked library.⁴⁶

Espill or *Llibre de les dones* consists of 16,000 four-syllable couplets, with a metre that reduces by half the general expressive form of the Romanesque narrative poetry of the twelfth century, which was the eight-syllable couplet. Cutting the verse every four syllables and making it consonant with the following imposes drastic limitations on the rhetoric, the syntax and even the grammar, as there is no room for articles, prepositions or conjunctions in four syllables. Thus, Roig's literary art cultivated the ellipsis, the accumulation of verbs and substantives and the simplification of the syntax. The "verse of Jaume Roig" implies a very well calculated literary project as the difficulties

45 Jaume Roig, *Spill*, ed. Ramon Miquel Planas, 3 vols. (Barcelona, 1929–1950); Jaume Roig, *Espill*, ed. Antònia Carré (Barcelona, 2006); Jaume Roig, *Spill*, ed. Anna Isabel Peirats (Valencia, 2010); Rosanna Cantavella, *Els cards i el lli: Una lectura de l'Espill de Jaume Roig* (Barcelona, 1992); Michael Solomon, *The Literature of Misogyny in Medieval Spain: the Arcipreste de Talavera and the Spill* (New York, 1997); Jaume Roig, *Espill*, ed. Antònia Carré (Barcelona, 2014); Antònia Carré, Jaume Torró, "L'Espill, de Jaume Roig," in *Història de la Literatura Catalana. Literatura Medieval (III)*, eds. Lola Badia, Alex Broch (Barcelona, 2015), pp. 251–304.

46 Antònia Carré, "La biblioteca del metge Jaume Roig," *Anuari de Filologia* 16/4 (1993), 23–36; Jaime Chiner, "Del testamento e inventario de bienes de Jaume Roig al autor del manuscrito del 'Spill'. Documentos y nuevas hipótesis," *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 44 (1993–1994), 173–230.

of expression imposed by the formal choice are a constant challenge for both the author and the reader, and were at the opposite extreme from the Latinised art prose that Bernat Metge and Joan Roís de Corella were masters of. In contrast, renouncing love and contacts with women is a motif from the Christian asceticism shared by all three writers, as is the imitation and emulation of the classics. Roig does it with his own procedures, consistent with short and colloquial verse. Instead of a meeting of poets fond of books, he prefers the direct speech of the inhabitants of the Valencian countryside; instead of tragic situations, wrapped in magnificent rhetoric, he proposes a narrative form that is at the same time sententious and entertaining. The “verse of Jaume Roig” requires no refinements because it aspires to the condition of comedy, which, in the late-medieval period, corresponded to narrative fiction with a happy ending, where teaching coexisted with laughter.⁴⁷

Roig’s dedication to style is also revealed in the rigorous organisation of the *Espill*: four books, each divided into four parts, present the fictitious biography of an old man who claims to a centenarian in 1460 and who is identified with the author. The lineal narration incorporates a large number of anecdotes about perverse women who systematically harm their male congeners: thus the leading character’s mother and the wives of his protectors embitter his childhood and youth, while the four women he successively attempts to form a family with exhibit so many repugnant vices that his purpose is frustrated (among other things, they are incapable of accepting motherhood). There are many other women in the *Espill* who practice evil in all possible circumstances: one in charge of the hospital for the poor in Valencia steals what little they have, an innkeeper in Paris kills men and cooks their flesh, Sibila of Fortià, the last wife of Peter the Ceremonious, practices witchcraft, the nuns in the convents live a life of ease given over to sexual debauchery, the scales of the market vendors in Valencia are tampered with to falsify weights, etc.

Jaume Roig systemised all the bad aspects the misogyny of his times attributed to women in a book that is a negation and mockery of all the instruction manuals for women, like the *Llibre de les dones* by Francesc Eiximenis. The anti-feminine exaggeration of *Espill* is a comical trait that implies a powerful complicity with the readership; these readers were those who appreciated the

47 Antònia Carré, “‘The Mirror’ (1460) by Jaume Roig: Misogyny, Misogamy and Laughter,” *Studi Medievali*, 3rd series, 50/1 (2009), 203–29; Jaume Torró, “La Consulta i el prefaci quatripartit de l’*Espill* de Jaume Roig,” *Butlletí de la Reial Acadèmia de Bones Lletres de Barcelona* 52 (2009–2010), 51–69; Jaume Torró, “La respuesta literaria y retórica del *Espill* de Jaume Roig,” *Estudios de literatura medieval. 25 años de la Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval*, eds. Antonia Martínez Pérez, Ana Luisa Baqueri Escudero (Murcia, 2012), pp. 117–28.

long digression in the third book (some 10,000 verses), where Roig resorted to revelations in dreams to give the word to King Solomon. The latter, who had seven hundred wives and three hundred concubines, all bad, completes the list of female evils with biblical and literary material that has no place in his pseudo-biographical story. The “Lliçó de Salomó” contains the essence of the ideological message of the *Espill*: Eve’s sin weighs heavily on the human female and the only path to happiness for men is to avoid her radically, although Redemption and the merits of the Mother of God theoretically mitigate the consequences of the initial fall.

This radical anti-female posture is applied literally by the protagonist of *Espill* in the fourth book, as he abandons all ideas of marriage and begins a strictly ascetic life, dedicated to works of charity: however, the beneficiaries of these are only men, as doing good for women “is not a merit”: the women should all be converted into pillars of salt, like Lot. Outbursts like these show that *Espill* has a comical thread that sparkles in innumerable jokes, ironies, play on words, grotesque confusions and even manipulated quotations: a long series of ambiguous readings from the misogynist repertoire that indirectly undermine the foundations of the forced exclusion of women. In *Espill*, Jaume Roig, in real life a married man, father of a nun, protector of convents and doctor to Queen Mary, claimed that his wife, Isabel Pellicer, together with the Mother of God, were free from this general perversity.

The list of literary references in *Espill* is indicative of the cultural training of medical professionals in the mid-fifteenth century when, to enter higher studies, they had to have followed a scholarly curriculum that taught Latin with texts by Ovid, Juvenal or Terence. The fact that Roig was a doctor explains the wealth of data about hospitals and diseases he offers in *Espill*. The details about private hygiene and food stand out, recurrent themes in the *Regiments de sanitat*, which would be equivalent to modern preventive medicine. The health advice in *Espill* is presented in the negative: thus, breastfeeding by the natural mother is defended through a description of the harmful effects of the change of wet nurses (Roig adds the model of the Virgin Mary nursing the infant Jesus). Medical practice, therefore, abutted religious doctrine. Roig shows a respectable biblical erudition and a certain theological subtlety, although he explicitly disowns the pedantic sermons and treatises of the great orators of the time.⁴⁸ His knowledge of the literature of classical and medieval tradition is varied and diverse: he as soon criticises the lies in the book in the “one hundred novels”, in other words the *Decameron*, as he laughs at the story of Saint Ursula and the eleven thousand virgins, or he finds that the Roman

48 Albert Hauf, “De l’*Speculum Humanae Salvatoris* a l’*Spill* de Jaume Roig: itinerari especular i figural,” *Estudis Romànics* 23 (2001), 173–219.

patrician, Lucretia, who took her life after being raped, did the right thing because she was “foolish”: a well-found rhyme breaks the discussions on this subject of Latin writers of reference like Valerius Maximus or Petrarch. Roig had an audience who applauded the facetious use of literary erudition and who were entertained by the deformed presentation of the misogynist discourse of satire and appreciated the games of intellectual and verbal wit gained from assiduous attendance at many readings.

7 Minor Sentimental Prose

Sentimental fiction is the common denominator of a set of brief texts written in prose in the second half of the fifteenth century in various formats: letters, dialogues, sermons and visions in dreams. The sentimental fiction severely condemns the passion of love with an extensive and varied repertoire of narrative, allegorical, dialectical and rhetorical resources and the progressively more secure and typified use of a scholastic doctrinal background that harmonised Aristotelian ethics with psychology and medicine.⁴⁹

The *Tragèdia de Caldesa* by Joan Roís de Corella was his only prose of sentimental fiction, although his Ovidian adaptations responded to the same literary taste for disappointment in love. The *Deseiximents contra Fals Amor*, by Pere Pou, is a contribution to the sentimental fiction in an epistolary form that collects writings by various authors and reworks some conventions of the *lletres de batalla*, knightly correspondence.⁵⁰ Pere Joan Ferrer wrote *Pensament*, a brief prose on a sentimental theme.⁵¹ The Valencian knight, Francesc Carròs Pardo de la Casta, also cultivated sentimental fiction with *regoneixença e moral consideració contra les persuasions, vicis e forces d'amor*.⁵²

Romeu Llull (1430/1439–1496) wrote lyrical poetry and some epistles, as well as *Despropriament d'amor*, a sentimental fiction which dramatises the change in the author's life when, having reached middle age and coming from Naples,

49 *Novel·letes sentimentals dels segles XIV i XV*, ed. Arsenio Pacheco (Barcelona, 1970); *Novel·les amoroses i morals*, ed. Arseni Pacheco (Barcelona, 1982); Lola Badia, “La ficció sentimental,” in *Història de la Literatura Catalana. Literatura Medieval (III)*, eds. Lola Badia, Alex Broch (Barcelona, 2015), pp. 190–210.

50 Martí de Riquer, *Història de la Literatura Catalana. Part Antiga* (Barcelona, 1964), 3: 356–68.

51 Pacheco, *Novel·letes*, pp. 77–84.

52 “recognition and moral consideration against the persuasions, vices and forces of the love”. José Enrique Reyes-Tudela, ed., *Las obras de Francesca Carroç Pardo de la Casta* (Valencia, 1987).

he married and settled in Barcelona as the heir to one of the leading families in the urban aristocracy.⁵³

Francesc Alegre (1450/1455–1504/1511) was from the same origins as Romeu Llull. As well as translating the *Primera Guerra Púnica* by Leonardo Bruni and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, with glosses, he also wrote lives of saints and the *Passió de Jesucrist*.⁵⁴ His *Sermó d'amor* is a homily that develops a theme from Cicero's *De officiis*.⁵⁵ The *Requesta d'amor* sets out the inevitable contradiction between the obsessive will of the enamoured and the vision of reason; the *Raonament fingit entre Francesc Alegre i Esperança* is a brief dialogue inserted into a minimal narrative framework; *Lo somni de Francesc Alegre* uses the resort to the dream of the narrator as a pretext to take the reader into the world of fiction: the court of love, where a trial is being held about the relations between Alegre and his unnamed lover.⁵⁶ The *Faula de Neptuno i Diana* is a poetical fiction drawn up from the *Metamorphoses* by Ovid and the model of Boccaccio. The fiction condemns a nun who gives herself to her lover for money. The mythological trappings transform the woman in question into Diana, the classical goddess of hunting and chastity. The gallant man who seduces her adopts the figure of the sea god, Neptune. The narrator follows the events through a magic mirror in the great hall of the palace of Venus. The final transformation of Diana into black stone is inspired in the episode of the Envy and Aglauros in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (II, 708–832), which Boccaccio had used in books III and V of his *Filocolo*.⁵⁷

8 Religious Literature. Felip de Malla. Sor Isabel de Villena

The Barcelonan canon Felip de Malla (1370/1380–1431) studied in Lleida and Paris and was an advisor to Martin I, Ferdinand I and Alfonso the Magnanimous. Felip de Malla usually preached in Latin and Catalan on the great liturgical and civil occasions; his sermons combined theological erudition with extreme rhetorical tension. His library included classical texts and books of

53 Romeu Llull, *Obra Completa*, ed. Jaume Torró (Barcelona, 1996).

54 Jaume Torró, "'Officium poetae est fingere': Francesc Alegre i la 'Faula de Neptuno i Dyana,'" in *Intel·lectuals i escriptors a la baixa Edat Mitjana*, eds. Lola Badia, Albert Soler (Barcelona, 1994), pp. 221–41.

55 Pedro M. Cátedra, *Amor y pedagogía en al Edad Media* (Salamanca, 1989), pp. 205–11.

56 Pacheco, *Novel·letes*, pp. 89–103.

57 Torró, "'Officium poetae,'" pp. 234–46; Francesc Alegre, *Obres sentimentals: Requesta, Raonament, Somni i Faula de Neptuno i Diana*, ed. Gemma Pellissa (Alessandria, 2016).

value.⁵⁸ Letters by Malla and the titles of lost Latin works have also reached us; his greatest contribution to Catalan literature is the *Memorial del pecador remut*, written in two parts from a 1419 sermon about the Passion.⁵⁹ The work is structured into successive visions and contemplations by the author, that lead to dialogues between fictional beings (a sibyl), allegories (death, sin, theology) or religious figures (Jesus, the Mother of God). This framework enables the complex dialectic to be deployed, with interventions by Malla, and even introduce themes from everyday life (reprobation of the customs of Barcelona, longing for a good cultural education). Although the central aim of the work is to speculate about the mysteries of redemption, Malla exhibits an encyclopaedic philosophical and literary erudition. The first part of the *Memorial* was printed in 1495.

Although they do not surpass the aesthetic ambition of Malla's prose, fifteenth-century religious writing in Catalan is rich and varied. One need only bear in mind the frequent poetry contests, often on Marian topics, or the translations of works on spirituality that Miquel Pérez or Joan Roís de Corella applied themselves to. It is worth highlighting the work of the Dominican friar, Pero Martines, a fervent supporter of the *Generalitat* in the Civil War, and who was a victim of the same conflict in 1463. Martines wrote poems about the Passion, Saint Dominic, Saint Catherine, Saint Thomas Aquinas and the signification of the Cross, some during imprisonment before his execution, when he attempted to plead for clemency. This was also the aim of his penitential work in prose, *Mirall dels divinals assots*, written with a highly-polished rhetorical technique and a small section of quotations.⁶⁰

Sister Isabel de Villena (1430–1490), daughter of the Castilian writer Enrique de Villena and abbess of the Poor Clare convent of the Trinitat in Valencia, wrote a *Vida de Jesucrist*, designed to educate her fellow nuns. It was printed in 1497 on request from Queen Isabelle the Catholic.⁶¹ It is a fictional biography of Jesus, with digressions and contemplative and theological interpolations;

58 Felip de Malla, *Correspondència política*, ed. Josep Perarnau (Barcelona, 1978); Josep Pujol, "Psallite sapienter: la gaia ciència en els sermons de Felip de Malla de 1413 (Estudi i edició)," *Cultura Neolatina* 56 (1996), 177–250; Josep Pujol, "Felip de Malla," in *Història de la Literatura Catalana. Literatura Medieval (III)*, eds. Lola Badia, Alex Broch (Barcelona, 2015), pp. 370–90.

59 Felip de Malla, *Memorial del pecador remut*, ed. Manuel Balasch, 3 vols. (Barcelona, 1981–1986).

60 Martín de Riquer, ed., *Obras de Pero Martínez* (Barcelona, 1946).

61 Isabel de Villena, *Llibre anomenat Vita Christi*, ed. Ramon Miquel Planas, 3 vols. (Barcelona, 1916); Albert Hauf, *D'Eiximenis a sor Isabel de Villena* (Valencia, 1990); Isabel de Villena, *Vita Christi*, ed. Albert Hauf (Barcelona, 1995); Rosanna Cantavella, "La 'Vita Christi' d'Isabel de Villena," in *Història de la Literatura Catalana. Literatura Medieval (III)*, eds. Lola Badia, Alex Broch (Barcelona, 2015), pp. 390–408.

Isabel incorporated apocryphal material, for example, about the life of the Virgin Mary and the infancy of the Saviour, and chose the episodes about the public life of Jesus she required from the Gospels. Thus, Mary Magdalene, about whom an extensive legend circulated in the Middle Ages, acquires exceptional importance. Sister Isabel's Magdalene is a great sinner, in the style of those of her time, who is converted by listening to a sermon by Jesus.

Sister Isabel's prose is elaborate and rich in learned resources (maxims from classical authors, Latinising syntax, rhythmic effects), but also creates an emotive climate reducing theological erudition to a minimum and recreating narratively intimate scenes, like the birth of Jesus. When the opportunity arises, the *Vida de Jesucrist* reaches dramatic heights, especially when explaining the Passion, or when it deploys the magnificence of the vision of the divine majesty.⁶²

9 Theatre and Spectacle

The rediscovery of the lost corpus of the comedies of Plautus and of critical scholia of Terence (with precise information about the ancient theatrical genres) in the fifteenth century led to the advent of modern theatre in the Renaissance; in the Middle Ages, the terms tragedy and comedy were indicators of literary register unconnected to dramatisation.⁶³ In the Crown of Aragon, the profane theatre was linked to the spectacles held in the courts of nobles and kings, especially the entry of the kings into cities and coronation ceremonies. There is abundant evidence of the holding of profane performances in the court during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, with complex scenography (games, farces and *entremesos*, "short farces"). The coronations of Martin I in 1399 and Ferdinand I in 1412 were especially lavish.⁶⁴

The information about these manifestations of medieval theatricality comes from the archive documentation, but an important part of the data comes from literary works. In chapters 39 and 40 of the *Dotzè*, Eiximenis praises the theatres of the ancient Roman cities. *Tirant lo Blanc* describes the festivities for the wedding of the king of England and, in chapters 189–211, the visit of Fata Morgana to the palace in Constantinople where she meets King Arthur: this

62 Rosanna Cantavella, "Sobre la prosa d'art en Isabel de Villena," *Studia Philologica Valentina* 13 (2011) 249–66.

63 Francesc Massip, *Història del teatre català. I Dels Orígens a 1800* (Tarragona, 2007); Lola Badia, "La 'teatralitat difusa' de l'edat mitjana," in *Història de la Literatura Catalana. Literatura Medieval (III)*, eds. Lola Badia, Alex Broch (Barcelona, 2015), pp. 409–36.

64 Francesc Massip, *A cos de rei: festa cívica i espectacle del poder reial a la Corona d'Aragó* (Valls, 2010).

is the setting of *La faula* by Guillem de Torroella, a Occitan-Catalan narrative poem from 1374. Chapter 283 describes a private theatre play, which uses a disguise from the festivities of the Corpus Christi.⁶⁵

The Latin and Catalan texts for the theatre that have survived are instructions for staging works devoid of literary ambitions: the *consuetes*, which could also include speeches by some characters. There is a predominance of *consuetes* of a religious nature, and the oldest date back to the eleventh century. These are liturgical dramas that were performed by clergymen in the monasteries and cathedrals.⁶⁶ This old religious theatre has persisted in Catalonia, Valencia and Majorca. The *Cant de la Sibila*, that forms part of the Christmas cycle, has survived down to the twenty-first century.⁶⁷ Primitive dramatisations of the cycle of the Passion are known through fragmentary texts (the *Visitació al sepulcre*, from Vic; the *Passió* in the Didot manuscript).⁶⁸ The *Misteri de Cervera*, from the sixteenth century, belongs to this same tradition, and has also been maintained with mutations. The dramatisations of the Assumption of Mary reached the same popularity: from some fourteenth-century Latin fragments, to the *consuetes* in popular language from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (*Representació de l'Assumpció de Madona Santa Maria*, various versions with scenographic annotations), the *Misteri d'Elx*, still performed with words and music of medieval origin but rewritten in the seventeenth century.⁶⁹ There are also examples of biblical theatre and *consuetes* of the lives of saints, collected in sixteenth-century manuscripts. The popular celebration of Corpus Christi, which boomed in the fifteenth century, was usually linked to religious spectacles.⁷⁰

The Valencian genesis of the great Castilian theatre of the sixteenth century has medieval roots that can be related to some manifestations in Catalan from the beginning of that century (the *Farsa d'en Cornei*; *La vesita* by Joan Ferrandis d'Herèdia).⁷¹

65 Rafael Beltran, "Comedy and Performance in "Tirant lo Blanc," in *Tirant lo Blanc. New Approaches*, ed. Arthur Terry (London, 1999), pp. 15–28.

66 Richard Donovan, *The Liturgical Drama in Mediaeval Spain* (Toronto, 1958); Eva Castro, ed., *Teatro medieval. I El drama litúrgico* (Barcelona, 1997).

67 Maricarmen Gómez Muntané, ed., *El canto de la Sibila II. Cataluña y Baleares* (Madrid, 1997).

68 Josep Romeu, *Teatre català antic*, ed. Francesc Massip, Pep Vila, 3 vols. (Barcelona, 1994–1995).

69 Francesc Massip, *La Festa d'Elx i els misteris medievals europeus* (Alicante-Elx, 1991).

70 *La processó de Corpus i els entremesos de Cervera, segles XIV–XIX*, ed. Ramon Miró (Barcelona, 1998).

71 *Teatre medieval i del Renaixement*, ed. Josep Massot (Barcelona, 1983); Josep Solervicens, "Teatre renaixentista," in *Història de la Literatura Catalana. Literatura Moderna. Renaixement, Barroc, Il·lustració*, eds. Alex Broch, Josep Solervicens (Barcelona, 2016), pp. 99–128.

A Gothic Mediterranean Catalan Art

Xavier Barral-i-Altet

The Gothic is the most representative style of art in Catalonia and the medieval Crown of Aragon from when the Catalan-Aragonese Confederation was one of the leading Mediterranean powers. During the three centuries of the Gothic Middle Ages, this style was the one most closely identified with the expansion of a prosperous and wealthy Catalonia around the Mediterranean. Art showed a clear desire to recover the past to create a history based on both the prestige of the Antiquity and the cultural novelties of the time, in other words, in the case of medieval Catalonia, a constant Mediterranean and Roman orientation. Far from considering the twelfth century only as the century of the maximum apogee of the sculptural art of the façades of temples all over Europe and specifically, in Catalonia, it was the century that also defined the change from the Romanesque to the Gothic, a change that was not felt or followed equally in all regions of the continent. Thus, for example, while basilicas like the abbey of Saint-Denis or the cathedral of Chartres in Northern France quickly adopted Gothic sculpture, others, in Catalonia, such as the façades of the monasteries of Santa Maria in Ripoll, Sant Joan de les Abadesses or Sant Pere de Rodes, the collegiate of Solsona or the great later cloisters, simply continued reformulating and improving the elements of the Romanesque.¹

-
- 1 For Catalan Gothic art, the full bibliography and state of the main questions can be found in *L'art gòtic a Catalunya* (10 volumes), led by Antoni Pladevall and published in Barcelona between 2002 and 2008. More general in scope, there is the collection *Art de Catalunya Ars Cataloniae* (16 volumes) published in Barcelona between 1997 and 2003, especially the volumes on medieval architecture, sculpture, painting and monumental landscape. Recent joint or collective works: Joaquín Yarza, Francesc Fité, eds., *L'artista artesà medieval a la Corona d'Aragó* (Lleida 1999); Francesca Español, *Els escenaris del rei. Art i monarquia a la Corona d'Aragó* (Barcelona, 2001); Francesca Español, *El Gòtic Català* (Manresa, 2002); Anna Maria Adroer, *Palaus reials de Catalunya* (Barcelona, 2003); Xavier Barral-i-Altet, Joan Alemany, eds., *Mediterraneum. L'esplendor de la Mediterrània medieval (segles XIII–XV)* (Barcelona, 2004); Xavier Barral-i-Altet, ed., *Viure a Palau a l'Edat Mitjana. Segles XII–XV* (Girona, 2004); *La Corona de Aragó. El poder i la imatge de la Edat Mitjana a la Edat Moderna (sigles XII–XVIII)* (Valencia, 2006); Rosa Alcoy, Pere Besaran, eds., *El romànic i el gòtic desplaçats* (Barcelona, 2007); Emanuela Garofalo, Marco R. Nobile, eds., *Gli ultimi indipendenti. Architetti del gotico nel Mediterraneo tra XV e XVI secolo* (Palermo, 2007); Rosa Alcoy, ed., *El trecento en obres*,

These are the two ways the new twelfth-century artistic sensitivity was deployed, and that do not clash with or repel each other, but rather are complementary and allow a better understanding of the cultural and artistic impulses that moved the men and women of the time and that took such a clear form in the religious architecture of the age. Thus, at the start of the thirteenth century, while the Gothic had fully taken over in northern lands, the Catalan territories

Art de Catalunya i art d'Europa al segle XIV (Barcelona, 2009); Rosa Alcoy, ed., *Contextos 1200–1400. Art de Catalunya i art de l'Europa meridional en dos canvis de segle* (Barcelona, 2010); Francesca Español, *L'art dels reis catalans. Esplendor i riquesa de la Corona d'Aragó* (Barcelona, 2010); Rosa Alcoy, Pere Besaran, eds., *Art i devoció a l'Edat Mitjana* (Barcelona, 2011); Maria Rosa Terés, ed., *Capitula facta et firmata. Inquietuds artístiques en el quatre-cents* (Valls, 2011); Rafael Cornudella, ed., *Catalunya 1400. El gòtic internacional* (Barcelona, 2012); Rosa Alcoy, ed., *Art fugitiu. Estudis d'art medieval desplaçat* (Barcelona, 2014); Xavier Barral-i-Altet, Anscari Manuel Mundó, eds., *Corpus vitraearum Medii Aevi-Catalunya. Estudis entorn del vitrall a Catalunya*, 5 vols. (Barcelona, 2014). Some recent monographic studies: Joan Domenge, *L'obra de la Seu. El procés de construcció de la catedral de Mallorca en el Tres-cents* (Palma of Majorca, 1997); Maria Rosa Manote, *Guillem Sagrera i Pere Joan, dos artistes catalans al servei d'Alfons el Magnànim a la cort de Nàpols*, in *XVI Congresso Internazionale di Storia della Corona d'Aragona. La corona d'Aragona ai tempi di Alfonsi il Magnanimo*, eds. Guido d'Agostino and Giulia Buffardi, 2 vols. (Naples, 2000), 2: 1729–43; Xavier Barral-i-Altet, *Vitralls medievals de Catalunya* (Barcelona, 2000); Marià Carbonell, *El Palau de la Generalitat, del gòtic al primer Renaixement* (Barcelona, 2003); Pere Beseran, *Jordi de Déu i l'italianisme en l'escultura catalana del segle XIV* (Barcelona, 2003); Rosa Alcoy, "Ferrer Bassa y el 'Salterio' Anglo-catalan," in *Anglo-catalan psalter*, eds. Nigel J. Morgan, Rosa Alcoy, Klaus Reinhardt, Mònica Miró (Barcelona, 2006), pp. 57–120; Carl Brandon Strehlke, "The Crown of Aragon. The Art of Barcelona, Palma, Valencia and Zaragoza in the Fifteenth Century," *Center of Advanced Study in the Visual Arts* 28 (2008), pp. 167–169; Xavier Barral-i-Altet, "Alfonso il Magnanimo tra Barcellona e Napoli, e la memoria del Medioevo," in *Medioevo: immagine e memoria, Atti del convegno internazionale di studi (Parma, 23–28 settembre 2008)*, ed. Arturo Quintavalle (Milan, 2009), pp. 649–67; Joan Molina, "Contra Turcos. Alfonso d'Aragona e la retorica visiva della crociata," in *La battaglia nel Rinascimento meridionale*, eds. Giancarlo Abbamonte, Joana Barreto, Teresa d'Urso, Alessandra Perriccioli Saggese, Francesco Senatore (Rome, 2011), pp. 97–110; Alberto Velasco, *Fragments d'un passat. Pere Garcia de Benavarri i el retaule de l'església de Sant Joan de Lleida* (Lleida, 2012); Antònia Juan, "El estatus social del artesano de la piedra al final de la Edad Media. Un análisis sobre fuentes documentales mallorquines," *Medievalismo* 23 (2013), 241–64; Aldo Pillittu, "La civiltà artistica catalana in Sardegna," in *Sardegna catalana*, eds. Anna Maria Oliva, Olivetta Schena (Barcelona, 2014), pp. 297–346; Joana Barreto, *La majesté en images. Portraits du pouvoir dans la Naples des Aragon* (Rome, 2013); Aymat Catafau, Olivier Passarrius, eds., *Un palais dans la ville. 1: Le palais des rois de Majorque à Perpignan; 2: Perpignan des rois de Majorque* (Perpignan, 2014); Fulvio delle Donne, *Alfonso il Magnanimo e l'invenzione dell'umanesimo monarchico. Ideologia e strategie di legittimazione alla corte aragonese di Napoli* (Rome, 2015).

continued to be loyal to the Romanesque aesthetics. However, as the thirteenth century went by, and especially under James I's successors, the notion of architectural colonisation of the Mediterranean gradually took shape under the Catalan political and economic expansion.

The beginnings of this Gothic period coincided chronologically with James the Conqueror, whose long sixty-three year reign began when he was only five, in 1208. James I, at the head of the Catalan-Aragonese crown from 1213 to 1276, conquered and became king of Valencia from 1239 to 1276, occupied and ruled Majorca from 1229 to 1276, and was lord of Montpellier and other fiefs in Occitania from 1219. This great conqueror was however an eminently military king, whose many deeds are well known through the sources that chronicled his life and military deeds, campaigns, conquests and colonisations. In contrast, through the written sources, we know little or nothing about the architectural colonisation implicit in James I's military campaigns of territorial and political expansion. The architecture that was built in the new lands under James I was not the result of a political decision, nor did it correspond to a deliberate policy of state, but was due more to circumstances that, on the other hand, in most cases led to the occupation and rehabilitation of conquered Islamic residences.

The *Llibre dels Fets*, the veritable chronicle of James I's aspirations, does not supply us with any element that allows us to imagine any plan or strategy similar to that of the Norman princes of Sicily, the Hohenstaufen or the Angevins themselves, or that even comes close to any of those mentioned. This famous autobiography is basically a chronicle in arms about the life and military deeds of the king, written or dictated in two main stages, near the middle of his reign (about 1244) and towards the end (around 1274), but with marked continuity. The king, who speaks in first person, covers the main events of his life and reign, his youth and the first difficulties of the reign, the many military campaigns of conquest, his relations with his troops and the lords, the pacts, the speeches to the Courts, the preparations for the Crusade that would not take place, and many other elements of chronicle and history.

During the expansion over the Mediterranean under James I, the capital, Barcelona, was developing a fully Gothic urban culture. The city had become the great capital of the Catalan-Aragonese crown and where the court habitually resided. The city would continue to prosper during the thirteenth century and flourish in the fourteenth under Peter the Ceremonious when, between 1359–1370, the great hall so-called *Saló del Tinell* in the royal palace and, around 1381, the Gothic *Drassanes* or shipyards were completed. Under James I, Barcelona was not a modern city. It had a Romanesque aspect and was just beginning the slow change to the Gothic. For this artistic progress to be fully

seen, one would have to wait for the works on the new cathedral that began in 1298 and the introduction of the new musical orders as well as the construction of the great Gothic churches of Santa Maria del Pi (1329), Santa Maria del Mar (1323) and Sant Just (1342). It was still not the city that would later display a monumental cityscape of prestige and authority with the new *Palau de la Generalitat*, the Hospital de la Santa Creu and the new façade of the Council City. It is however true that, three years before the death of James I, in 1273, the famous chamber of the *Consell de Cent* was inaugurated in this building.

With the conquest of New Catalonia from the Muslims, the cities of Tarragona (1091), Tortosa (1148) and Lleida (1149) had been able to restore their dioceses and begin to think about building new cathedrals. At first, the process was marked by the consolidation of earlier buildings, like old Roman structures in the case of Tarragona, or consecrated mosques, as in Lleida and Tortosa. Throughout this period, at the level of religious architecture, the change from the Romanesque cathedral to the Gothic one was an essential historical rupture in Catalonia. Generally, to build a Gothic cathedral it was decided to destroy the Romanesque one. It seems that this decision was never taken for ideological reasons but simply for questions of space and prestige. What was decided was to build a bigger cathedral, where the wealth of the new mercantile city would be better displayed. However, once the decision had been taken, the reality was not so clear. During the building of Gothic cathedrals, part of the earlier Romanesque structures were often conserved to enable worship to continue. Sometime, the lack of financial means that corresponded to the scale of the new building, as in Solsona, which was still not then a cathedral, meant that the Romanesque building was never completely destroyed, or as in Vic and Girona, where the bell tower and cloister survived. The cathedrals in Tarragona and Lleida, respectively begun in 1171 and 1203, are definitive examples of a Catalonia at the crossroads between the Romanesque and Gothic cathedral. That is why they have often been designated transition cathedrals.

Perhaps we could even say that both cathedrals can be considered Romanesque in the spatial conception, a basilica with a defined transept and a central apse surrounded by apsidioles is similar to the many churches built in Catalonia, the rest of the Iberian Peninsula and Languedoc during the latter part of the twelfth century. However, they show the incorporation of the new Gothic building techniques, from ground level, with the presence of all the elements necessary in the pillars for a ribbed vault. So, the Tarragona and Lleida cathedrals can perhaps be defined as Romanesque buildings with Gothic monumentality. The new Gothic forms would gradually appear in Catalonia during the thirteenth century, although not always in the cathedrals but also often in the Cistercian monasteries and the convents of friars minor and preachers.

The cathedrals begun towards the end of this century and whose building stretched through the 14th habitually adopted the new solutions. However, the great Gothic cathedrals of Catalonia remained far from the majestic Gothic that appeared and developed rapidly in Northern France.

Catalan Gothic architecture should rather be studied more in relation with the architectural forms that spread along the Mediterranean coastal areas from the French Midi to Italy and Eastern Spain. These differed from the northern ones through the preference for a single space, which meant technical and structural changes that were reflected both inside and outside these structures. The solution is visible in the cathedrals and the other ecclesiastical building with a very wide single nave accompanied by side chapels between the buttresses. It seems that this type of plan came from the buildings built with diaphragm arches, which did not need to transfer the weight of the roof to the exterior, as it was countered inside. When the wide wooden roofs were replaced with the Gothic rib vaults, the same building methods was adopted, only enlarging the width and height of the buttresses. This meant that the cathedrals of the so-called Southern Gothic did not use the system of flying buttresses and buttresses and that their exteriors have been described as austere and dry.

The see in Girona is perhaps the finest Catalan example of this southern architecture, not only in the building itself but also in the two debates its construction provoked. Inside Girona Cathedral, one can see the plan well. This consists of a single nave with chapels between the buttresses. From outside, especially from the square called *Plaça dels Apòstols*, one can admire the constructive clarity with the single view of the form of the central nave, the great buttresses and a lower level of the chapels inside these. However, the crossing and the first two sections from the ambulatory correspond to a plan with three naves. It was almost certainly at this point in the building when the works were stopped and the first debate was held or prestigious masters of works from all over were consulted to decide how to continue. During this first consultation in 1386, the Barcelonan masters leant towards continuing the building with three naves, while the Gironan master, Pere Sacoma, defended the single nave option, a choice supported by the opinion of the masters from Narbonne. The chapter decided on the three naves, but thirty years later, in 1416, a second consultation was held, and this time the masters of works chose the single nave.

This fascinating architectural debate, known thanks to the documents conserved in the Notarial Archive in Girona, shows the predilection in Catalonia and throughout Southern Europe for a single space, as also shown by the change to the plans for the church of Saint John in Perpignan by Guillem Sagrera. In the Barcelona Cathedral, and despite the three naves and considerable gains in the inside height of the building, the search for a unitary interior space was

also defined by the presence of lateral chapels between the buttresses. This is evident in the area of the ambulatory with the new radial chapels and with play on heights and openings in the crossing. Following the conquest in Valencia in 1238, the cathedral, built over the old mosque that stood on the site of the Visigoth church, and dedicated to Saint Mary, was consecrated in the presence of the Archbishop of Tarragona Pere d'Albalat. Building work continued throughout the fourteenth century. In the City of Majorca, after the conquest of the island by James I in 1229, the project was begun to build the cathedral of Santa Maria, first demolishing the great mosque of Medina Mayurca. The real works started around 1300, first with the architect Ponç des Coll and later with Jaume Fabre, who also worked on the cathedral in Barcelona. Between 1314 and 1327, the actual royal chapel was built, while the three naves date from the mid-fourteenth century.

In Barcelona, we see how the Gothic cathedral configured the urban landscape. Houses were built abutting it, as can still be seen nowadays in Tortosa, and the narrow streets meandered around it. The cloister was a crossing point from one part of the city to the other and the somewhat larger space in front of the façade hosted religious festivals and spectacles. The Gothic cathedral and its cloister became the most privileged burial sites in the city, and not only for the bishops and prestigious members of the clergy, but also for the powerful, the patrons and owners of the chapels and other places more or less related to the life of the cathedral.

The monastery of Santa Maria de Pedralbes, founded by Queen Elisenda de Montcada, James II's third and last wife, rose at the gates of the city, after the queen had tried to found one in 1325 in the old royal palace of Valldaura in Cerdanyola. In 1326, the queen acquired the farm of Pedralbes and commissioned the building of the convent and church. The works progressed rapidly, and on the 3rd of May 1327, the church was consecrated and the convent handed over to the Poor Clares, although it was still unfinished: in 1393 the dormitory was still being erected and one wing of the cloister was not finished until 1412, while the chapter house was not built until 1416–1419. After the death of James II (1327), Queen Elisenda went to live in part of monastery organised as a palace, which was dismantled in 1363 in accordance with her will.

The monastery complex was surrounded by walls and made up of various buildings. The priests and personnel in the service to the community lived around the square actually called Plaça del Monestir, reached through two fortified gates. The most important structures are the church and the cloister, around which there are the dependencies of the community. These are notable examples of the official fourteenth-century Gothic, having been built very fast, which gives them a beautiful unity of style. The church has a single nave head-

ed by a polygonal apse. The nave is covered by a vault and divided into seven sections. To the south of the church is the large cloister. It has three floors covered with wooden ceilings. The first two galleries, built in the fourteenth century, have lancet arches on slender four-lobed columns; the upper floor was finished in 1412 with prismatic columns the roof rests on. There are the monastic dependences around the cloister, and on the side closest to the church, we find the Chapel of Saint Michael, famous for the Gothic mural paintings attributed to Ferrer Bassa, that are explained below.

At the same time, during the Gothic period, a brilliant and rich civil architecture blossomed, one that aimed to symbolise the power of the monarchy and corporative institutions, and that complemented the urban renaissance. The city of Barcelona, which was destined to become a great economic and political centre for the medieval Mediterranean as well as a place where cultures merged, displayed its prestige and wealth in the artistic field with the representation of power and the court and with this monumental reality thanks to the new architectural ambitions that benefited the royal palace and the cathedral. While the structure of the walled city summarised power in the collective imagination more than fear of the invader, the scale of the shipyards expressed the essential importance of the city's relation with the sea.

Within the medieval urban layout, the residential palaces stand out, first those owned by royalty and later the nobility and notables. The typology of these palaces, with a large courtyard from where a main staircase leads to the main floor, survived for over three hundred years, as is shown perfectly by the surviving examples in the Montcada Street in Barcelona. This architectural archetype spread rapidly around the Catalan possessions in the Mediterranean. In Barcelona, the Palace of the *Generalitat* and the Council Building, with the *Sala del Consell de Cent* ("Council of a Hundred"), are the jewels of this medieval civil architecture.

The Grand Royal Palace (*Palau Major*) in Barcelona and the Palace of the Kings of Majorca in Perpignan are notable examples of the courtly architecture. The former is in the oldest part of the city of Barcelona, circumscribed by the late-Roman walls. The building has been heavily altered over time, but two of the finest rooms have survived intact: on one hand, there is the royal chapel devoted to Saint Agatha and, on the other, the great hall. This one, the *Saló del Tinell* in the Palau Major in Barcelona, also known as the *Cambra de Parament*, was built during the fourteenth century to host the social events of the Catalan court. Its name, *Saló del Tinell* dates back to the use it was given, a *tinell* being a piece of luxury furniture used to display the crockery and food of the great lords. It is rectangular in shape, 17 metres wide and 33.5 in length and is covered by six semicircular diaphragm arches that support a framed ceiling, and

which are joined by vaults at each end. Peter the Ceremonious ordered the demolition of the rooms in this part of the palace to make room for a large court chamber. Work began in 1359 and finished in 1362. The chamber frequently mentioned in the documentation of the epoch or in the chronicle of Peter the Ceremonious, its promoter. The tables were set and decorated with the finest ornaments for solemn banquets, but the chamber was also used for different social activities in the court and other purposes, such as the funeral chapel for King John II and his son, Prince Charles of Viana.

Peter the Ceremonious promoted this adaptation of the great hall, and a prestigious master of works, Guillem Carbonell, an architect greatly esteemed by the monarch and who had received other commissions from him, was given the task of organising the works. After building what we know nowadays as the *Tinell*, he was appointed conservator of the new residence that the king and his third wife, Eleanor of Sicily, had decided to have built in the old Palace of the Templars.

The great hall or *Saló del Tinell* in Barcelona shows the specific characteristics of Catalan Gothic architecture: simple forms and technical solutions, plain walls, semicircular diaphragm arches and a flat wooden ceiling. The austerity of the forms used magnifies the room, defined by arches that generate very dynamic rhythm, which, to an extent, contrast with the static sense of the dominant rectangular forms. The *Tinell* is one of the outstanding examples in medieval Mediterranean palaces. To achieve natural lighting, a series of a series of mullioned windows and oculi were opened at the top of the room. The interior was heavily decorated with a ceiling in rich colours, whose decoration Jaume Desfeu took part in. On one of the walls, there were mural paintings depicting the conquest of Majorca. The hall is thought to have been finished by 1362.

Another prestigious palace in Barcelona was the Palace of the *Generalitat*, with its characteristic inner courtyard. During the reign of Peter the Ceremonious, the *Generalitat* or *Diputació del General* was established. This institution, created in 1359 as a organism of the Courts delegated with mainly financial purposes, gradually turned into the effective government of Catalonia in political, financial and judicial questions. The Catalan-Aragonese Confederation needed a great government palace that favoured the architectural image and as a display of power for its maritime trade, especially with the Italian cities. Majorca, with its sea market, became an obligatory port of call on sea routes, as did Sicily, where palaces like those in Barcelona were also built.

Port cities needed hospitals and utilitarian Gothic architecture like the shipyards for shipbuilding. In Barcelona, the Gothic *Drassanes* (shipyards), an important example in the field of naval construction, and the hospital of the Santa

Creu have survived from this period. The *Drassanes* was built when the city's port became an important trade centre. Under Peter the Great, and given the growth of trade and the Crown's desire to expand around the Mediterranean, it was decided to build a new shipyard on the other, western, side of the beach beyond the Rambla. However, the building of this vast complex was seriously affected by the Crown's financial problems. Despite various royal attempts to endow them with privileges, it was not until 1378 that the works finally got underway. The city council, which represented the merchants and ship-owners, among others, signed an agreement with Peter the Ceremonious in the presence of the *Diputació del General*, which was designed effectively to finish the building. From then on, the works progressed continuously under the orders of the master builder, Arnau Ferrer. The royal shipyards (*Reials Drassanes*) were finished before King Peter's death in 1387. The building was extended under John I and became large enough to store around thirty galleys. For its size and architectural quality, this is one of the principal medieval shipyards in the Mediterranean.

In the Gothic centuries, the lands of the Crown also saw prestigious work in the fields of the figurative arts, sculpture, painting, stained glass and silverwork. Stained glass gave the medieval religious building its true sense, transforming the architecture into a surface of colour, with a complex symbology related to light and divinity. Also, in Catalonia, the art of glassmaking can be considered characteristic of the Gothic period. With the use of the rib vault, Gothic architecture favoured the installation of glazing, while the architectural work began to implement and streamline norms that enabled the walls of the buildings to be opened up with large windows. In Catalonia, the oldest surviving stained glass is the decoration of the Cistercian churches in Poblet and Santes Creus, where the typical austerity and decorative sobriety of the order dominated and with characteristics shared with other Cistercian centres. Coinciding with the spread of the Mediterranean Gothic building, especially the cathedrals and churches of Catalonia, Valencia and the Balearic Islands, the fourteenth century saw the expansion of stained glass making. This was when the technical innovations that had first appeared in France reached Catalonia. The tendency continued throughout the fifteenth century, when foreign masters collaborated with local painters. At that moment, in Barcelona, representative works were seen in the City Council, the cathedral, the Palau Reial Major and Santa Maria del Mar. The fifteenth century also saw stained glass finally moving out of an exclusively religious context, thanks to the growth in civil architecture at that time. This meant a progressive modification of the themes portrayed in the windows, often abandoning religious subjects to depict others of a historical or allegorical nature. Before the end of

the fifteenth century, the first member of the Fontanet family was born. They would become one of the families of glassmakers that left their mark on the Late Gothic and Renaissance periods.

While the French and Italian artistic trends came together in Avignon, Catalonia played a role as a Mediterranean centre of exchange. The arrival of foreign artists in the early decades of the fourteenth century did not overshadow the development of some Catalan workshops, like the one in Sant Joan de les Abadesses (Bernat Saulet or Bernat d'Oleto) who were able to make essentially narrative altarpieces, in this case in alabaster, over a limited period of time (1340–1348). In Girona, in 1325, a silversmith called Bartomeu is mentioned for his work on the silver altarpiece of the cathedral prior to the interventions by Andreu and Pere Barnés in 1357 and 1358. Silverwork was of great importance throughout the period, both for the value of the metal the works of art contained and their artistic prestige. This is shown by the acquisition by the deputies of the General in 1536 of a statuette depicting Saint George, made around 1420–1430 in a Flemish or North-European workshop. A small work, 45 cm high, in silver with traces of gold, it offers the habitual iconography, with the saint standing up attacking the dragon. It is an exceptional piece given the quality of the workmanship, the attention to detail and the style (the helmet with the bascinet, with a moveable face guard fixed with hinges, the protection for the torso made of a single piece of armour, the vambrace, or the legs and thighs, the lance or the sword) and their great beauty and delicacy. It is also of historical interest as the statuette was acquired at a time when the *Generalitat* did not have its own statue for the annual celebrations of Saint George and had to borrow or rent one every year.

In a first stage dominated by the progress of realism, from the end of the first third of the fourteenth century, Catalan art looked definitively towards Italy. From 1340, fourteenth-century Catalan sculpture was characterised by the influence of great masters, particularly well known in the documentary aspect. In the field of painting, the leading representatives were Ferrer and Arnau Bassa; in that of sculpture, the tomb of Saint Eulalia in Barcelona Cathedral is the most significant work, closely followed by the tomb of Archbishop John of Aragon in the cathedral in Tarragona. These two funeral monuments, alien to the region, refer directly to the art of the Tuscan masters, probably through the Neapolitan link. The development of narrative formulae is a characteristic of the activity of the masters Eloi de Montbrai, Jaume Cascalls and Bartomeu Rubió. The former, known from 1337, worked in Poblet on royal commissions, in Girona (1345–1356) and later in Tarragona. He is attributed with the statue of the king or Charlemagne in the Museum of Girona. Jaume Cascalls, from Berga, is known between 1345 and 1379, first in Perpignan and later in Cornella

de Conflent, where he sculpted the famous altarpiece the same year. Many of these masters seem to have been related to each other: in 1346, Cascalls, for example, married the daughter of the painter Ferrer Bassa, beside whom he appeared as among the Court's favourite artists. The masters Eloi and Cascalls worked on the tombs in Poblet for about ten years, from 1347. Later, starting in 1361, Cascalls continued the work alone. Around 1360, he was named master of works in the cathedral in Lleida. Bartomeu Rubió (known in Lleida between 1362 and 1378) replaced him before 1365 when Cascalls went back to Poblet to do the altarpiece of the high altar. His style resembled that of the most prestigious Italians of the time, Andrea and Nino Pisano. It is known that the polychrome work on the altarpiece was the work of the famous Bernat Martorell. Cascalls' stay in Lleida was the start of intense activity and the training of numerous sculptors, who were responsible for various tombs and altarpieces. Cascalls' legacy lasted not only in Lleida, but more especially in Poblet, through the work of his old slave and apprentice, Jordi de Déu (altarpiece of Saint Lawrence in Santa Coloma de Queralt). Throughout this time, the taste for the Antiquity continued to reach the Catalan maestros through Italy.

During the Gothic period, new sculptural typologies appeared, such as the altarpieces, the choir-stalls and the sepulchres. Unlike the situation in the Romanesque, thanks to the surviving documentation, we know the names of some of the artists who made these pieces. Among the sculptors who marked the Gothic style, there were two foreigners: Jean de Tournai (sepulchre of Saint Narcissus in the church of Sant Feliu in Girona) and Reinard Fonoll, who worked in the cloister of the monastery of Santes Creus. The Gothic corresponds to one of the most notable artistic moments in which the internationality of the styles did not come about uniquely through the territorial expansion of Catalonia, but also with the presence of numerous foreign artists in the Principality. The geographic relations varied over time. For example, during the first quarter of the fourteenth century, the influence of the French world can be seen, but this would later give way to the Italian.

Apart from the work of Jordi de Déu that culminates the façade of Barcelona City Council, the last quarter of the fourteenth century was marked by the activity of the masters Pere Moragues and Guillem Morell. Their relationship with goldsmithing then structured their artistic legacies. The earliest known document about the Barcelona goldsmith and sculptor Pere Moragues is a contract dated 16th October 1358 signed by the sculptor and the painter Ramon Destorrents for a set of seven images in wood, which clearly illustrates the collaboration between the different trades. The most characteristic work in Pere Moragues' art is the tomb of Archbishop López Fernández de Luna in Saragossa Cathedral, for which the sculptor received a payment in 1379; the style of the

work is characterised by the vertical folds of the cloth and the importance given to the volumes and density of the forms; the minutiae of the goldsmith can be appreciated in the treatment of the details (Moragues had previously done the statue of the Virgin of Mercy in Barcelona). In Girona, Guillem Morell did the tombs of Ramon Berenguer and the countess Ermesinde, around 1385, after having participated in the works on the door of the Apostles on the cathedral. With these artists, we move towards an international end-of-the-century style (the doorway of the church in Castello d'Empuries around 1400, attributed to the circle of Pere Santjoan), shared with various places in Europe. This style was imposed in Barcelona through the works of Pere Ça Anglada. Ça Anglada's art, that reveals contacts with Parisian art and not, as had been supposed, with Sluter's production, enables us to review what was known about the introduction of the international style in Catalonia, as well as to give sculpture a role very shortly after that carried out by miniature, but probably earlier than that of painting. Confirming the continuity of Mediterranean exchanges, in 1407, Ça Anglada was called to Sicily to do the Virgin and Child for the high altarpiece of Monreale.

The same diversity of stylistic tendencies is seen in the field of Gothic painting. Like architecture, Catalan Gothic painting also expressed the new wealth of the mercantile bourgeoisie, and it was enriched by the Mediterranean influences. Ferrer Bassa was the leading Catalan painter in the relations with Italy that spread during the reign of Alfonso the Benign (1327–1336) and continued under Peter the Ceremonious (1336–1387). Giotto dominated the Tuscan scene of the time and that was the art the Catalan princes and leading patrons wanted to mirror. A painter and miniaturist, Bassa, one of the most significant figures of Catalan painting in the second third of the fourteenth century, is documented between 1324 and 1348. He is said to have spent time in Italy at least once during the third decade of the fourteenth century (prior to 1333), a journey that would have taken him to Siena, where he must have found followers of the works of Simone Martini, whose painting coexisted with the monumentalism more typical of Giotto's painting, introduced by the brothers Pietro and Ambrogio Lorenzetti. After 1333, and until his death in the Black Death epidemic of 1348, Ferrer Bassa lived in a Barcelona and received numerous commissions, mainly from royalty or families linked to them. In 1333, Alfonso the Benign commissioned him to illuminate a book of the Usages of Barcelona. The earliest documented work by the painter is the *Book of Hours* for Queen Maria of Navarre (Venice, Biblioteca Marciana), a book about which there is a document dated from 1342, in which Peter the Ceremonious asked the Queen to send him the Book of Hours Ferrer Bassa had painted for her from Valencia.

However, nowadays, the most famous work by this painter and his workshop is the chapel of Saint Michael in the monastery of Pedralbes in Barcelona. This small chamber was the oratory of the second abbess, Francesca Saportella de Pinós. Ferrer Bassa's agreement to paint the chapel is conserved in a document dated in 1343, in which the artist had noted some of the technical procedures he would have to employ, like the use of good quality oil colours, and also a list of the scenes and images that had to appear on the walls. However, thanks to other documentary references, we know he did not decorate the chapel until 1346, the year he began, and very probably finished, it.

On a background dominated by blue, the artist developed an interesting iconographic programme where in the upper part, we find a depiction of the Passion of Christ, with the Calvary as its central point, Saint Stephen, the Archangel Michael and Saint John the Baptist. The lower part is focussed on a beautiful portrayal of the glory of Mary holding the Infant, surrounded by angels. This area is dedicated to the visions of the life of the Our Lady with portrayals of Saint Alexius, Saint Francis and Saint Clare. There are three medallions on the soffit of the arch. These show Chastity, the Agnus Dei and Charity; below that, Christ resuscitated and the angels with the attributes of the passion and, on an inner level, two paintings show the blessed crowned by angels. Other depictions of saints complete the iconographic programme. The execution of the mural paintings shows that their author had a good knowledge of the technique because there are few hesitations and the brush strokes are very fluid.

Ferrer Bassa's great pictorial work in Santa Maria de Pedralbes expresses, in itself, the links that Catalan painting had with Siena and Lombardy in those times, the second third of the fourteenth century. The paintings in the chapel show a clear Giottoesque line, which implies possible visits to Catalonia by well-known Italian painters, who would have provided guidelines that would have continued after the Black Death of 1348 and would have made the existence of a Catalan school possible, formulated from these premises, with notable names like the Serra brothers.

One of Ferrer Bassa's most curious interventions was in the so-called Anglo-Catalan Psalter in the *Bibliothèque nationale de France* in Paris (Lat. 8846). In 1200, due to unknown reasons, the British masters responsible for the illustrations that accompany the text of the manuscript left some miniatures unfinished and even some blank spaces. These illustrations were probably finished in Barcelona much later, probably in the times of Peter the Ceremonious, by Ferrer Bassa who supplied the colour and his personal outlook to the spaces. It is needless to say how original and unique this practice was: that a painter

active in Barcelona during the second quarter of the fourteenth century, accustomed to the Italianised pictorial forms of the 1300s, intervened in the formal artistic Anglo-Byzantine schemes of an insular culture from the end of the twelfth century, very far from the Gothic that had fully replaced the Romanesque as a symbol of the most elitist culture. Perhaps the painter was interested in the challenge of integrating himself into a context that seemed prestigious to him, although we do not know the reasons behind this decision nor who took it and gave the commission to the painter.

The Italianising tendencies were imposed through Ferrer Bassa, Ramon Destorrents and the Serra brothers. Lluís Borrassà introduced the international style, and Bernat Martorell achieved a personal synthesis of this style. Finally, with Lluís Dalmau and especially Jaume Huguet, the Flemish models merged with the Catalan Gothic tradition. Jaume Huguet can be considered one of the most important artists in fifteenth-century Gothic painting. His figures are characterised by a naturalist humanism and a certain Flemish influence. He began his works with a base of flat ink, over which he applied a feathering with short brushstrokes.

At the end of the fourteenth century, saw the start of an epoch of great plagues that would do serious harm to the Catalan cities and countryside with the consequent drop in population and the exodus of people from the country to the cities. This was the time of the reign of Martin the Humane (1396–1410), which, outside Catalonia, corresponded to a key moment of European and Mediterranean artistic creation, a time of transition between two centuries, the fourteenth and the fifteenth, in which a style from the north, the international Gothic, reached the shores of the Mediterranean. This was also a time when the highest classes of European society wanted refined and elitist architecture that publicly displayed their prestige and power through the international Gothic style. In Italy and Avignon, and in the northern power centres between Paris and Burgundy, decorativism took hold, while looking towards the classical tradition and fighting against the Mediterranean austerity. In those years, the courtly architecture promoted by Martin the Humane in Barcelona and Poblet, for example, was far from those more prestigious works and seemed to declare itself in perfect continuity with a tradition of social outreach and political visibility that remained faithful to the Mediterranean Romanesque and Gothic.

By the time Martin acceded to the throne, the main palace in Barcelona, close to the cathedral, had been heavily transformed by his father, Peter the Ceremonious. This was the old medieval palace that John I had wanted to leave by building a new palace for which his father had purchased land near the sea, the Rambla and the convent of Sant Francesc. However, it never went ahead and Martin had to reside in the existing palace. During the early

decades of the fifteenth century, Martin had the upper floors, galleries, chambers, gardens and patios restructured. A notable element was a gallery with views of the sea. For the decoration of the palace, he had artworks brought from various crowns territories, and from Tunisia, France and Flanders, including many fabrics, carpets, silks and ornaments. From Sicily came paintings and stained glass, porphyries and marbles, while specialised workers from Saragossa or Toledo area associated with the works. The king was sensitive to art as shown by his observations on a journey to Xativa from where he brought a coffered ceiling for the new chamber next to the gallery, while he had a certain quantity of majolica glazed tiles brought from Moorish territory around 1408–1409.

Martin, as one of the kings of the time, in accordance with the political necessities, moved to his residences, in Valencia or Perpignan, for example. He wanted a residence near Barcelona, and this would be the Palace of Bellesguard, which he had built at the foot of the Tibidabo hill on land purchased in 1408 in Sant Gervasi. It was a splendid place and work began under Jaume Sala in 1409. However, the main palace he had built was the one in the Cistercian monastery at Poblet where his predecessors had wanted to be buried. The works began in 1397, directed by the master Arnau Bargués, who had done the façade of the council building in Barcelona, and continued until 1407. The building, outside the enclosure, beside the royal doorway of Peter the Ceremonious, juxtaposed on the western side of the cloister, was rectangular, with the rooms on the main floor. There were two reception rooms. The palace, the outside of which gave an impression of great austerity, was never fully finished.

As king, Martin esteemed art and architecture but lacked adequate means to rival the works undertaken by the great European courts of the time. He can be placed very far from the princes of the Italian Renaissance and the northern taste for the Late Gothic. He liked Sicily with its Norman and Islamic past and had materials and artisans brought from there. However, herein also lie the contradictions of a king who had Gothic architecture commissioned but who belonged culturally to the world of the new humanism of classical inspiration. In a speech before the Catalan Courts in Perpignan on the 26th of January 1406, the king revealed his profound classical culture and that of his collaborators; a culture that between Boccaccio and Petrarch, with Cicero and Virgil, the translations of the classics and Bernat Metge.

The famous Breviary conserved in the *Bibliothèque nationale de France* in Paris gives us clear picture of the tastes in royal circles in the court at that time, not far from those in the manuscripts by John of Berry. In 1399, King Martin had ordered his archivist, Pere Palau, to make an inventory of his books. The inventory of the king's library after his death, done by his second wife in September 1410, lists over 400 books in Latin, but also in Catalan, Castilian and French.

As well as books on religion and law, habitual in the libraries of the epoch, there were books on astrology, literature, geometry, medicine, philosophy and poetry, and many classic authors like Caesar, Plutarch and Valerius Maximus: the reading material of educated pre-Renaissance men.

During the first half of the fifteenth century, Catalan art fell within a common style for all Europe and that affected all artistic depictions in the same way. This style was very expressive and elegant, typical of the courtier culture of the epoch, and which gradually moved towards realism. This drift in the international style towards individualism culminated with the introduction of Flemish influenced Catalan artistic depictions in the second half of the fifteenth century. Pere Joan, who did the Gothic façade of the *Palau de la Generalitat* is undoubtedly an exceptional figure. Sculpture of Flemish roots reappeared in Catalonia from time to time thanks to foreign artists like Michael Lochner. However, the work that perhaps best illustrates the art of that time in a Catalonia between the worlds of the North and the Mediterranean is the Virgin of the *Consellers* by Lluís Dalmau, nowadays in the National Art Museum of Catalonia.

Only the central panel survives from the altarpiece that Lluís Dalmau was commissioned to do with the councillors of the city of Barcelona on the 29th of October 1443 and which he completed two years later. The Virgin Mary appears in the centre with the baby Jesus, sitting on a rich Gothic throne. On the left, kneeling and praying at the foot of the Virgin's throne, accompanied by Saint Eulalia and a group of singing angels, we can see three of the councillors for 1445 (Joan Llull i de Gualbes, head councillor, Francesc Llobet, third councillor, and Joan de Junyent, fifth councillor). On the right, there is Saint Andrew and another group of singing angels behind the other two councillor for that year (Ramon Savall, second councillor, and Antoni de Vilatorta, fourth councillor), similarly kneeling at the feet of the Virgin and Child. The councillors are wearing the scarlet gowns that they had to wear from 1349, and which became a symbol of their position. From the contract, we know that the altarpiece also included a predella on which the central image was that of the Lamentation, accompanied by an angel who holds the body and, flanking this episode, two depictions portraying the lives of Saint Eulalia and Saint Andrew, or two other scenes chosen by the councillors. The angles of the predella must have borne the shields of the city of Barcelona.

The Gothic architecture with windows and pierced skylights that frames the scene by this painter denotes the clear influence of Flemish painting. The horizon closes in very distant planes and the buildings and landscapes are detailed and conventional, like those that usually decorate Flemish works. It must be pointed out that in this aspect, Dalmau deviated from the terms of his contract with the councillors, which called for the background to be done in gold, as

was typical in contemporary works. In contrast, Lluís Dalmau was faithful to the clauses of the contract, according to which the councillors had to be depicted individually, as if in portraits, a characteristic of clearly Flemish origin.

The new tendencies in art progressively took over in the cities where artistic creation invaded the public spaces, where the taste for marble and alabaster took off and which saw the spread of realism in the depiction of the human body. Much more than the Romanesque, Gothic art represented an aspiration for a life of beauty in the setting of an artistic sentiment very closely linked to the courtier spirit. As well as the bishops in their cathedrals and lords in their palaces, there were the new religious orders dedicated to preaching, like the Franciscans and Dominicans, who commissioned large iconographic programmes. Art also shows us how to observe the contrast between the everyday life of the wealthy and the difficulties the poorest member of society had to survive. These differences became much more acute during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as the pleasures of the former increased as did the misfortunes of the latter, faced with illness and epidemics. The Gothic period was a time of large epidemics and the Black Death that swept through the West causing a serious demographic crisis. The generalised panic this caused is evident in many writings, like Boccaccio in his *Decameron*, written after the arrival of the plague in Florence in the mid-fourteenth century.

The courts of the princes and the richest palaces became deeply identified with the new cultural concerns during the fifteenth century until they became an integral part of the new humanism. On the 24th of June 1412, Ferdinand of Antequera, a member of the Castilian Trastámara dynasty, was elected King of Aragon and Count of Barcelona in Caspe, with the support of Saint Vincent Ferrer and the allies of the Aragonese anti-pope, Benedict XIII, who wanted to consolidate his positions; Pope Peter de Luna was his main defender. Ferdinand I came from a country where royal authority was in the absolutist tradition and he had many problems to fulfil his obligations with the Catalan Courts. Under the reign of Ferdinand, a marked Castilian influence was imposed; Catalan was relegated to a secondary position with Castilian becoming the language of the aristocracy of the time, literature being cultivated in Castilian and the public posts filled by Castilian speakers. Under the reign of his son, Alfonso the Magnanimous (1416–1458), non-Catalans began to fill important posts in government. In 1442, after Alfonso conquered the kingdom of Naples, he took up residence there and turned it into the centre of his Mediterranean empire. Alfonso's huge military campaigns led to a devaluation of the currency and a rise in the tension between lords and peasants. Alfonso culminated the old dream of the Catalan kings to impose themselves culturally, as well as politically and economically, over the Mediterranean.

Alfonso wanted to renew a cultural tradition that dated back to the second half of the thirteenth century, when new generations of donors and patrons in the leading cities of the Mediterranean, from Genoa to Pisa, Florence or Siena, had begun to donate work and artistic inspiration massively to the great names of painting and sculpture. Alfonso also wanted to renew the old fame of the Catalan count-kings that had reached the Eastern Empire over a century before. There, after entering Minorca in 1287, Alfonso the Liberal, Peter the Great's son, had been summoned by the emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos to fight the Turkish threat. In 1303, the expedition of the Great Company of the Almogavars to the Orient, commanded by Roger de Flor, began. That had led to the founding of a Catalan state in Greece with the conquest of the duchies of Athens and Neopatra. James II had ended his reign with the annexation of Sardinia (1327), at a time when the Catalan-Aragonese Crown was present all over the Mediterranean. Then, at the gates of the Renaissance, Alfonso the Magnanimous felt the need to imitate the prestigious Roman emperors in the context of an interpretation of the old that touched on all the aspects of cultured society, in both the religious and political frameworks; they all insisted on recovering the tradition and studying the classical world.

The monument that sums up best the switch to the new humanism and all the contradictions of the time of Alfonso's reign is the triumphal arch he had built at the entrance to his Castel Nuovo in Naples, inherited from the Angevins. This solemn gateway intended to use the monumental prestige of the Roman triumphal arch, summarised all the Mediterranean ambitions of the medieval princes and the need always desired, but achieved with this monument, to represent power with culture.

The refinement of the court of Alfonso the Magnanimous in Naples allows the reality of artistic and literary creation around the Mediterranean towards the end of the Gothic to be explained, in the same way that the universal preaching of the Dominican Vincent Ferrer (1350–1419) allows other, in this case religious, aspects of the Mediterranean ideal of the Catalan Gothic to be understood through the words and examples of his sermons in Latin and Catalan. To penetrate into that culture, we must look back to Ramon Llull (1233–1316), almost a contemporary of Dante (1265–1321), an excellent example of interculturality who wrote equally in Christian Latin and Muslim Arabic. The chivalrous literature would soon inspire men towards the impossible dreams described in memorable texts, like *Curial e Güelfa* (1435–1462) or the famous *Tirant lo blanc*, by Joanot Martorell, published in 1490. In Italy, the switch from the Middle Ages towards the Renaissance had been palpable for some time, with personalities like Petrarch (1314–1374) or Boccaccio (1313–1375). It was the moment when Ludovico Ariosto (1474–1533), a writer in the service of the

Este family in Ferrara, offered the epic poem *Orlando furioso* (1502–1514) in the Tuscan language propounded by Bembo. At that time, the old ideal had taken over to the point where it had become exclusive in both literature and art.

When the king Alfonso (1396–1458), known as the Magnanimous, occupied Naples in 1442, the Catalan-Aragonese crown reached a position the princes of the House of Barcelona had been seeking since the second half of the thirteenth century. Starting with Naples, Alfonso, who never returned to his Hispanic states, wanted to recreate a great Mediterranean empire, conquering territories, founding vice-kingdoms and especially imposing his court through the refinement of the arts and letters. The triumphal arch that frames the gateway to the Castel Nuovo in Naples is the symbol of that desire and the best summary of the cultural content of the time, made up of inheritances and new ambitions. Begun by Alfonso, the arch, which was destined to be both a triumphal gate and a cenotaph, was continued by his successor, his illegitimate son, Ferdinand I of Naples (1423–1494). The frieze on the arch was inspired by the triumphal arches and sculpted columns of Ancient Rome. The inscriptions and the images showed the symbology the prince considered necessary to impose a certain vision of his power. The bronze doors were another cant to legitimacy and history.

However, the orientation a prince wishes to give to his image, to his posterity, is also perceived through the style of the work, choosing the artists. This way the sponsor of a monumental artistic work also manifests a political line. The finest artists of the time worked in Naples, Isaia da Pisa, Francesco Laurana, Paolo Romano or Guglielmo Lo Monaco, on the bronze doors, among others. Donatello himself (1386–1466), the greatest Florentine sculptor, disciple of Ghiberti, prepared a bronze horse for the upper arch of the façade that was never finished. The head of the horse is still in the archaeological museum in Naples, and had sometimes erroneously been considered authentically ancient.

Alfonso the Magnanimous did not forget his Catalan-origin Gothic Mediterranean culture and, among others, he had the Majorcan architect and sculptor Guillem Sagrera and Jordi de Déu's, the sculptor Pere Joan, son brought to Naples. The latter is mentioned in 1450 as the master of works in the court in Naples, where he had been summoned by the king the previous year with some assistants and we know that in 1453, he was working on the decoration of the arch of triumph. Pere Joan was then the great sculptor of what we now call international Gothic in the Catalonia of that time. He had earned his reputation for works of art in the *Palau de la Generalitat* in Barcelona and the cathedrals of Tarragona and Saragossa, among others. However, in Italy, he was no avant-garde artist. Alfonso had a veritable humanist library and wished to

form a refined court in full Renaissance Italy. However, he asked for a Gothic sculptor from his own country perhaps to show, through this gesture, not only loyalty to his origins but also a desire to promote an art which, although outdated, did not mean less to him, as it must probably have represented his own cultural identity.

It is like some kind of contradiction, because, on one hand, over the main arch of the façade, there is the very famous scene of the triumph of the king while a second inscription lauds him as a prince: *Alfonsus regum princeps hanc condidit arcem*. On the other hand, to our eyes, this king, who wished to be seen as a Renaissance prince, seems as if he trusted more his artists, those who in their land of origin were efficient in management and work, as if he wanted to export a model, a way of doing things. The Magnanimous went even further in presenting these outdated roots and, as if he wanted to show everyone those forgotten origins, he imposed a very Gothic vault on the main reception chamber of his castle-palace. From then on, the political decline of Catalonia at the end of the fifteenth century went hand in hand with a period of lesser home-grown artistic creativity. As well as the introduction of the Castilian dynasty after the heirless death of the last count of the House of Barcelona, Martin the Humane, we can add the definitive submission of Catalonia to the interventions by the French monarchy during the reign of John II and the marriage of his son, Ferdinand, to Isabelle of Castile, divesting the Catalan lands of any kind of court that could have favoured the rise of a fully humanist art. In Catalonia, Renaissance art also had its moments of creative glory, with its own history, but which moved away from the direct patronage of a king, a court or the princes who made up the cultural circle most directly dependent on power.

Identities in Contact in the Mediterranean

Flocel Sabaté

The expansion of the Crown of Aragon in the Mediterranean can be explained for economic, political and strategic reasons, but its consolidation, survival and mutation reflected the social and cultural contexts it mixed with, while it provoked reactions related to identity.

1 Presence and Commercial Incentives

At the start of the twelfth century, despite holding a secondary position on the map of international trade, Barcelona had merchants in different places around the Mediterranean. There was a small Catalan colony in Tripoli in 1111 and Catalan traders participated not only on the route between Genoa and Ceuta, but also a stream of reports from the second half of the century show Catalan merchants in the main trading centres between Majorca, Constantinople and Alexandria.¹ This trend was undoubtedly favoured by the social fabric of traders and investors that had been taking shape in Barcelona since the late eleventh century² and which was consolidated in the mid-twelfth,³ although the profit inherent in this encouraged the participation of nobles and authorities like the Count of Empúries. In the early thirteenth century, he was participating in the trade between Marseilles and Acre, illustrating the various combinations of products and destinations inherent in the everyday Catalan presence on the coast of Provence.⁴

In 1227, the maritime activity in Barcelona had earned a royal privilege that gave priority to ships from the city over foreign vessels for chartering

1 Gaspar Feliu, "Activitats econòmiques," in *Història de Barcelona*, ed. Jaume Sobrequès, 9 vols. (Barcelona, 1992), 2: 232–40.

2 Flocel Sabaté, "Barcelona: the building of a territorial and ideological capital," *European Review* 25/1 (2017), 51–60.

3 Stephen P. Bench, *Barcelona and its rulers, 1096–1291* (Cambridge, Eng., 1995), pp. 170–233.

4 Charles Emmanuel Dufourq, "Vers la Méditerranée orientale et l'Afrique," in *X Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón* (Zaragoza, 20 al 25 de septiembre de 1976). Jaime I y su época, ed. Àngel Canellas, 5 vols. (Saragossa, 1976), 1: 10.

merchandise to and from Ceuta and to Alexandria. In fact, the conquest of Majorca in that epoch was achieved with a Catalan fleet, in contrast to what had happened in other maritime expeditions the count of Barcelona had taken part in over the previous century. In the decades immediately after the conquest of the island, James I favoured the men and the neighbourhood of the Ribera in Barcelona, who were involved in maritime activities.⁵

The dynamic of economic growth combined very well with the efforts for expansion. Just after the conquest of Majorca, the maritime trade based in Barcelona was completely transformed by the closer relations not only with the island but also with the ports in the north of Africa and the Orient, which meant Barcelona acquired a redistributive capacity that can be interpreted as converting the city into a linchpin between the Mediterranean ports and destinations in the interior of Europe.⁶

In all cases, existing Catalan commercial interests increased notably after the incorporation. This was the case of Sicily, with its geographic position as a stopping point on the routes to the Orient and where colonies were established in Messina and Palermo. After the incorporation, all kinds of exchanges and investments with capital from Catalonia rose sharply. Many Catalans also settled there, including craftsmen, seamen and merchants, veritable businessmen. They came especially from Barcelona and notable Barcelonan families like the Marquets, soon established branches there.⁷ All their activities immediately benefited from the favourable attitude of the authorities, as shown in 1286, when the king gave protection to the market of the Catalans in Messina.

On a different scale, Malta, linked to Sicily since 1091 and occupied by Catalan troops in 1284, also saw a great rise in Catalan investments and presence. It benefited from this and its links to Sicily as a strategic position in the Mediterranean, advantage of which was taken, for example, by the slave trade. In the following centuries, it would establish trade links with both Catalan Greece and the Sardinian port of Cagliari.⁸

5 Maria Teresa Ferrer, "El consolat de Mar i els consolats d'ultramar, instrument i manifestació de l'expansió del comerç català," in *L'expansió catalana a la Mediterrània a la baixa edat mitjana*, eds. Maria Teresa Ferrer, Damien Coulon (Barcelona, 1999), pp. 58–59.

6 Feliu, "Activitats econòmiques," pp. 235–40.

7 Carme Batlle, "Les relacions entre Barcelona i Sicília a la segona meitat del segle XIII," in *XI Congresso di Storia della Corona d'Aragona (Palermo, Trapani, Erice, 1982)*. *La società mediterranea all'epoca del Vespro*, ed. Francesco Giunti, 4 vols. (Palermo, 1983), 2: 147–85.

8 Charles Dalli, "'The sea will be ours': Catalan-Aragonese Malta, 1282–1530," in *XVIII Congrès Internacional d'Història de la Corona d'Aragó. La Mediterrània de la Corona d'Aragó. Segles XIII–XVI. VII centenari de la sentència arbitral de Torrellas (1304–2004)*, ed. Rafael Narbona, 2 vols. (Valencia, 2005), 1: 261–74.

The establishment of the Catalan Company (*Companyia Catalana*) in the duchies of Athens and Neopatra⁹ had its corollary in the settlement of families of Catalan origin, especially from Barcelona (where they often had another branch of the family), like the Sabater (*ego, Antiquus Sabaterii, civis Thebarum*).¹⁰ They made up the elite that controlled municipal power while the Greek population was excluded. This derived into a permanent financial and commercial relation with Catalonia. The geographic position and practical precedent of the Catalan Company explain the importance that Thebes would acquire in the Oriental slave market, at a moment of high demand in Iberian lands.¹¹

The spread of the trade consulates around the Mediterranean speaks for itself about the intensity of commercial exchanges, assisted precisely by these territorial centres. The map of Catalan consulates in the thirteenth century covered all the Mediterranean, from Seville to Alexandria passing through the early ones in a Tunis and Bugia, without forgetting Genoa and Pisa, with the addition of various new consulates (Messina, Trapani, Syracuse) to the existing one in Palermo after Sicily was taken over.¹² Similarly, the political interest in Cyprus at the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century—in 1315, James II married Marie of Lusignan, sister to King Henry II of Cyprus¹³—tallied with the moment when this island became the main point of reference for trade with the Orient,¹⁴ attracting an important Catalan trade,¹⁵ which continued throughout the century.¹⁶ The Hospitallers took part in the negotiations to arrange the mentioned marriage between the houses of

9 Ernest Marcos, *Almogàvers. La història* (Barcelona, 2005), pp. 332–39.

10 Ana Pérez Castillo, “Notícia d’un inventari de l’arxiu de la Catedral de Barcelona (els béns d’un barceloní a Tebes),” in *Homenatge a la memòria del prof. Emilio Sáez* (Barcelona, 1989), pp. 139–49.

11 Daniel Duran, “La Compayia Catalana i el comerç d’esclaus abans de l’assentament als ducats d’Atenes i Neopàtria,” in *De l’esclavitud a la llibertat. Esclaus i lliberts a l’edat mitjana*, eds. Maria Teresa Ferrer, Josefina Mutgé (Barcelona, 2000), pp. 557–67.

12 Maria Teresa Ferrer, “El consolat de Mar i els consolats d’ultramar,” in *L’expansió catalana a la Mediterrània a la baixa edat mitjana*, eds. Maria Teresa Ferrer, Damien Coulon (Barcelona, 1999), pp. 66–67.

13 J. Ernest Martínez Ferrando, *Jaume II o el seny català* (Barcelona, 1956), pp. 221–30.

14 David Hunt, “Medieval Cyprus 1191–1571,” in *Colours of Medieval Cyprus*, eds. Dēmētra Papanikola-Bakirtzē, David Hunt, Eleni Loizides (Nicosia, 2012), pp. 26–27.

15 Laura Balletto, “Presenze catalane nell’isola di Cipro al tempo di Giacomo II d’Aragona,” *Medioevo. Saggi e Rassegne* 20 (1996), 39–59.

16 Catherine Otten-Froux, “Chypre, un des centres du commerce catalan en Orient,” in *Els Catalans a la Mediterrània oriental a l’edat mitjana*, ed. Maria Teresa Ferrer (Barcelona, 2003), pp. 129–54.

Aragon and Cyprus. A century later, the main economic interests of the same order, whose base was on the island of Rhodes, were in the Crown of Aragon. This favoured the influence of the Crown, and especially Catalonia, over this order and the island whose position was a vital link on the trade routes between the Orient and Europe.¹⁷

In various ways, the expansion increased trade relations and even established networks along which the first to benefit were the traders of the Crown of Aragon. The taking of Naples, for example, contributed to consolidating a situation where commercial and financial penetration by Italian and Catalan businessmen often left the local merchants in secondary positions.¹⁸

These different benefits, linked to the expansion in different ways, enable us to understand why there was talk of a Mediterranean empire in this economic and commercial sense. However, the same expansion across the Mediterranean implied many other interlinked aspects.

2 Royal Exaltation, Strategies of Power and the Management of the Memory

James I was the first monarch to write his autobiography in the vernacular. The author and work can be defined, in Jaume Aurell's words, as "King James I and his chivalric Autobiography".¹⁹ It is, in fact, a biography about his own success, as corresponds to the first among the knights. His birth already heralded a hero,²⁰ as materialised in his deeds in Majorca and Valencia.²¹ It is largely a stereotype, one that has been repeated in the historiography,²² but that begins in the same royal setting: conquest as the ostentation of the glory of the sovereign, who would forever be identified with "*aquel qui conquès Malorques e*

17 Pierre Bonneaud, *Le prieuré de Catalogne, le couvent de Rhodes et la couronne d'Aragon 1415-1447* (Millau, 2004), pp. 152-55.

18 Sandra Bernato, "Le attività di Coluccio d'Afflitto a Sorrento (1437-1439)," *Schola Salernitana. Annali* 11 (2006), 335-36.

19 Jaume Aurell, *Authoring the Past. History, Autobiography, and Politics in Medieval Catalonia* (Chicago, 2012), pp. 39-54.

20 Stefano Maria Cingolani, *Jaume I. Història i mite d'un rei* (Barcelona, 2006), pp. 69-84.

21 This episode can be found widely highlighted in many biographies of the king, such as: José Luis Villacañas, *Jaime I el Conquistador* (Pozuelo de Alarcón, 2003); Antoni Furió, *El rei conqueridor. Jaume I: entre la història i la llegenda* (Valencia, 2007).

22 Flocel Sabaté, "Poder i territoris durant el regnat de Jaume I. Catalunya i Aragó," in *Jaume I. Commemoració del VIII centenari del naixement de Jaume I*, ed. Maria Teresa Ferrer, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 2011), 1: 124-29.

València".²³ In fact, in the following century, he would be the explicit model for his descendents, as Louis IX was for the French sovereigns.²⁴

The campaign in Sicily also had this attraction for Peter the Great, which would help him in the power games in the Crown of Aragon, as the historiography has indicated: "*él vio en Sicilia la muestra inmediata de un objeto para seguir sustentando su preeminencia social y política; para alzar sus valores monárquicos al destino de la comunidad catalana*."²⁵ He presented the Sicilians with four reasons why he should hold the royal title of Sicily. In first place, by the right that was held through his wife by the dynasty they generated ("*Regnum Sicilie iure domine consortis et filiorum nostrorum rationabile ad nos spectat*"), then secondly, because the kingdom was ruled by an oppressor, Charles of Anjou, Count of Provence, why committed abuses that made him unworthy of the power he held.²⁶ Thirdly, because all the lands and towns of Sicily had asked him for help ("*omnes et singule universitates terrarum et locorum Sicilie*") and, in fourth place, because he defeated the enemies through force of arms.²⁷

Legitimate right was thus added to the victorious character. Being victorious encompassed all the virtues a model monarch must have. Peter the Ceremonious saw this clearly in the fourteenth century in models from the previous century, well laced with biblical reminiscences. He incorporated it into his speeches and the story that included his own deeds against the enemy, who were thus defeated.²⁸ He reflected this well enough by taking up the

-
- 23 "he who conquered Majorca and Valencia". Stefano Maria Cingolani, *Historiografia, propaganda i comunicació al segle XIII: Bernat Desclot i les dues redaccions de la seva crònica* (Barcelona, 2006), pp. 175–221.
 - 24 Flocel Sabaté, "L'invisibilità del re e la visibilità della dinastia nella Corona d'Aragona," in *Il principe invisibile*, ed. Lucia Bertolini, Arturo Calzona, Glauco Maria Cantarella, Stefano Caroti (Turnhout, 2015), pp. 51–52.
 - 25 "He saw Sicily as the immediate chance to continue to maintain his social and political pre-eminence; to lift his monarchic values with the destiny of the Catalan community". José Enrique Ruiz Doménec, "¿Por qué la conquista de Sicilia?: Una lectura receptiva de Desclot," in *XI Congresso di Storia della Corona d'Aragona (Palermo, Trapani, Erice, 1982). La società mediterranea all'epoca del Vespro*, eds. Francesco Giunta, Pietro Corrao, 4 vols. (Palermo, 1984), 4: 178.
 - 26 The tyranny, expressed by different ways, will join the disqualification of Charles of Anjou: Claude Carozzi, "Saba Malaspina et la légitimité de Charles I," in *L'état angevin. Pouvoir, culture et société entre XIIIe et XIVe siècle* (Rome, 1998), pp. 91–94.
 - 27 Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Cancelleria, reg. 53, f. 4v.
 - 28 Frédéric Alchalabi, "A chronicler King: rewriting history and the quest for image in the catalan chronicle of Peter III (1319–1336/1387)," *Imago Temporis. Medium Aevum* 2 (2008), 177–89.

autobiographic model through his own chronicle: he had the model of James I in mind and had to leave a book written with his own deeds.²⁹

With these approaches, the expansion across the Mediterranean chiefly benefited and eulogised the royal lineage, in other words, the house of Aragon. All the campaigns served to exalt the house of Aragon. In line with contemporary feudal practice, used in both private wars and large battles, the combatants went into battle invoking the house of their lord. Thus, Mediterranean expansion carried the name of Aragon to all corners of the Sea. In the lands of the Byzantine Empire, as the chronicler Muntaner recalls, the battle against the Turks was very hard and cruel, so that at the end, even the Franks cried out: *Aragón!, Aragón!*³⁰ In this sense, expansion united the royal lineage: the sovereign presented himself as the holder of the Kingdom of Sardinia or talked about his Sicilian kingdom, but he was commonly known as the King of Aragon, which was also accepted by his officials, they being “*pro illustrissimo domino rege Aragonum* and acting such as *comissarius domini regis Aragonum*”.³¹

However, this royal position could only result from ongoing political negotiations. The intervention on Sicily meant that the king interfered in the baronial and municipal affairs of the island, and even participated in a wider international context. Beyond the profits for Catalan and Majorcan traders and the glory for the sovereign, the campaign on Sicily had a widespread international effect: “*esperona l'hostilitat dels genovesos i provoca un redreç del gibel·lisme a Itàlia*”.³² This way, or even more so, royal consolidation at the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth centuries around the Martini (Martin the Younger, king of Sicily between 1390 and 1409, assisted by his father, Martin the Elder or the Humane, who became king of Aragon in 1396) was a game of balance and tension. Both Martin the Humane and Martin the Younger had to know how to manoeuvre and build a strategy in a context of powerful barons and strong municipal councils.³³ Similarly, from its beginnings the

29 Jordi Rubió i Balaguer, *Història de la literatura catalana* (t. 1) (Barcelona, 2006), pp. 126–27.

30 Ramon Muntaner, “Crònica,” *Les quatre grans cròniques*, ed. Ferran Soldevila (Barcelona, 1983), p. 854 [chapter CCVII].

31 Flocel Sabaté, “L’idéel politique et la nation catalane: la terre, le roi et le mythe des origines,” in *La légitimité implicite*, ed. Jean-Philippe Genet, 2 vols. (Paris, 2015), 2: 98–99.

32 “spurring on the hostility of the Genoese and provoking a new rise of Ghibellism in Italy.” Antoni Riera, “El Mediterrani Occidental al darrer quart del segle XIII: concurrència comercial i conflictivitat política,” *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 26 (1996), 729–30.

33 Patrizia Sardina, *Palermo e i Chiaromonte splendore e tramonto di una signoria. Potere nobiliare, ceti dirigenti e società tra XIV e XV secolo* (Caltanissetta, 2003); Daniela Santoro, *Messina l'indomita. Strategie familiari del 'patriziato' urbano tra XIV e XV secolo* (Caltanissetta, 2003); Maria Antonietta Russo, *I Peralta e il Val di Mazara nel XIV e XV secolo. Sistema di potere, strategie familiari e controllo territoriale* (Caltanissetta, 2003).

intervention on Sardinia would be a game of alliances and confrontations, not only with the Arboreas but also with the Doria, the Malaspina, etc., while also involving a game of strategy with the municipal councils.³⁴ On Majorca and the Balearic Isles, where the native Muslim populations lost their elites and the rest were expelled, captured or confined, development of the land was entrusted to a new population of incomers. In the other cases, the arrival of the new population, especially Catalans, involved all the social sectors, but did not alter the fact that both the conquest and the subsequent articulation always had to take into consideration relations with the existing powers in all their social diversity.

In an even more clearly defined way, all Alfonso's activities in the Balkans were part of a game of strategy, which included a keeping a wary eye on the Turks, maintaining relations with Hungary, contacts with local powers in the Balkans and, very clearly, paying attention to Venice, the later in the context of the situation in Italy.³⁵ The Magnanimous adopted Ptolemy's motto "*vir sapiens dominabatur astris*"³⁶ with all it implied for adaptating the discourse exalting the sovereign to the new Renaissance reality, while taking advantage of the medieval legacy.³⁷ Consequently, Alfonso the Magnanimous' policy characterised the peak of the expansion of the Crown of Aragon and also the highest expectations for the figure of the monarch, for the position he had reached, the discourse invoked and the vigour achieved. In truth, this king sought resources in various kingdoms and cities (such as Valencia), and took over the trade with the Eastern Mediterranean with the aim of financing his own political ambitions, thus displaying his ability to design policies in the Mediterranean that were for his own benefit. It can be understood that clashes with the commercial interests of the city of Barcelona would arise as a result.³⁸

34 Luciano Gallinari, *Les Judicats sardes: Un modèle de souveraineté médiévale?*, PhD Dissertation (Paris, 2009), pp. 248–367; Francesco Cesare Casula, *La Sardegna catalano-aragonese. Perfil històric* (Barcelona, 1985), pp. 33–92.

35 Alan Ryder, *Alfonso el Magnánimo, rey de Aragón, Nápoles y Sicilia (1396–1458)* (Valencia, 1992), pp. 221–527.

36 Juan Francisco Esteban Lorente, "El influjo de la emblemática en el arte aragonés," in *Emblemata Aurea. La emblemática y la literatura en el Siglo de Oro*, eds. Rafael Zabra, José Javier Azanza (Tres Cantos, 2000), p. 150.

37 Flocel Sabaté, "The king's power and the astrology in the Crown of Aragon" (forthcoming).

38 Damien Coulon, "Un tournant dans les relations catalano-aragonaises avec la Méditerranée orientale: la nouvelle politique d'Alphonse le Magnanime (1416–1442 environ)," in *XVI Congresso Internazionale di Storia della Corona d'Aragona (Naples-Caserta-Ischia, 1997). La Corona d'Aragona ai tempi di Alfonso il Magnanimo*, eds. Guido D'Agostino, Guido Buffardi, 2 vols. (Naples, 2000), 2: 1055–79.

The sovereign of the Crown of Aragon, permanently harassed by the lack of jurisdiction and incomes and with the corresponding dependence on the estates and the need to establish a discourse of pre-eminence, became very receptive to exploiting the triumphs achieved through the expansion. The memory of earlier successes had to be preserved and publicly proclaimed. Stefano Cingolani states that “*els últims trenta anys del segle XIII varen ser l'època daurada de la producció historiogràfica a la Corona d'Aragó*”³⁹ The chronology coincides, in fact, with a political, economic and social dynamism that tallies with the expansion across the Mediterranean. It is clear that the sovereign had to maintain the memory of this, and that this became propaganda.

Images commemorating the conquest of Majorca decorated the “*Saló del Tinell*” in the royal palace, but also other palaces, like the one in Caldes (nowadays Berenguer Aguilar). In a certain continuity with the tradition of the poetry of the troubadours that explained the prowess of the barons, a pictorial memory of the deeds of the knights and burghers was preserved, with an awareness that these were epic events of historical importance.⁴⁰ Thus, the memory of these deeds was not maintained exclusively in the royal propaganda. The other protagonists were also involved.

This leads us to consider the range of effects of expansion across the Mediterranean. A commercial component was materialised through specific political action, but this also involved wider and more complex aspects of the societies involved.

3 A General Benefit for the Society of the Crown of Aragon

Beyond the political benefits for the sovereign or the commercial interests of the merchants, the different sectors of society in the Iberian Crown of Aragon were able to take advantage of this Mediterranean expansion.

First of all, the feudal structure of the royal army gave immediate benefits to nobles and barons accompanying the king in campaigns like the one on Sicily.

39 “the last thirty years of the thirteenth century were the golden age of historiographic production in the Crown of Aragon”. Stefano Maria Cingolani, *La memoria dels reis. Les quatre gran cròniques i la historiografia catalana, des del segle X fins al XIV* (Barcelona, 2007), p. 137.

40 Joan Sureda, “Les arts del gòtic,” in *Tresors Medievals del Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya* (Barcelona, 1997), pp. 376–82.

Members of the so-called military estate from Catalonia or Aragon received due compensation for their participation in military campaigns and also settled secondary branches of their families on the island. The continued link with Catalonia maintained these kind of transferences. In 1302, when it was established that the kingdom of Sicily should be ruled separately from the Crown of Aragon while sharing the dynastic link through the brother of James II of Aragon, King Frederick, this one called some outstanding Catalan nobles to move to his service, nevertheless his brother James II blocked it.⁴¹ Then, in the 1390s, when the heir to the Crown of Aragon, Martin the Elder, moved to Sicily to help his son, Martin the Younger, he was accompanied by a new group of Catalan and Aragonese barons who then put down roots on the island, helping to consolidate royal power with their support and stabilisation as “*cathalans heretats, c’est à dire fieffés*”, according to Henri Bresc.⁴² Throughout the fourteenth century, the turbulent history of Sicily was marked by the confrontation between two factions, the so-called Latins and Catalans, generic denominations that included some local nobles in the latter,⁴³ tagging, in any case, the important weight of nobles from the Crown of Aragon, all of them known as Catalans. Among these were members from a long and important tradition, such as the Catalans Montcada,⁴⁴ and other ones from less notorious past but that, after settling in the island, they reached a notable position, such as the Aragonese Peralta.⁴⁵

Looking on the ecclesiastical side, during the Western Schism, the Mediterranean expansion benefited the Avignon faction, the official option of the Crown of Aragon since 1387. Joining Martin the Elder many clergies reached Sicily sharing the compromise for the Martini and for the Avignonese option.⁴⁶

41 Maria Teresa Ferrer, “Nobles catalans arrelats a Sicília: Guillem Ramon I de Montcada,” in *Mediterraneo Medievale: scritti in onore di Francesco Giunta*, 3 vols. (Soveria Mannelli, 1989), 1: 417–31.

42 “*cathalans heretats*”, that is Catalans possessing fief. Henri Bresc, “Un royaume pour Martin, duc de Montblanc,” in *Martí l’humà. El darrer rei de la dinastia de Barcelona (1396–1410). L’interregne i el Compromís de Casp*, ed. Maria Teresa Ferrer (Barcelona, 2015), p. 322.

43 Vincenzo d’Alessandro, “Dinamiche socio-politiche e apparati di potere: la Sicilia,” in *Le Italie del tardo medioevo*, ed. Sergio Gensini (Pisa, 1990), p. 75.

44 Ferrer, “Nobles catalans arrelats a Sicília,” pp. 417–31.

45 Russo, *I Peralta e il Val di Mazara*, pp. 19–21.

46 Salvatore Fodale, “Naciones mercantiles y patriciado urbano en Palermo entre los siglos XIV y XV,” in *El Mediterráneo medieval y renacentista, espacio de mercados y de culturas*, ed. Jaume Aurell (Pamplona, 2002), p. 64.

The services to the Sicilian royal court and the urban professions such as notaries, merchants and artisans generated notable immigration from the Crown of Aragon. Attempts were made to correct the demographic difficulties of Sardinia⁴⁷ by moving people from the Crown of Aragon, especially from Catalonia and Valencia, to towns and cities such as Cagliari, Sassari or Alghero. That strengthened the economic links with the Iberian lands,⁴⁸ developed new collective values⁴⁹ and, at the same time, led to these urban centres influencing the surroundings and structuring institutions in a similar way to the models in the Crown of Aragon.⁵⁰

Mediterranean expansion should benefit the different social levels of the Crown of Aragon. According to Antoni Riera, beyond the profits obtained by nobles, merchants and the urban patrician class, the wealth resulting from the conquest of Sicily would reach all the people of the Crown of Aragon, "*pel fet d'atenuar-hi les oscil·lacions del preu del blat i d'estimular-hi alhora la producció d'alguns sectors manufacturats*".⁵¹ The cost of the Sardinian campaign and especially the need for funding after the control of the island being stalled since the mid-fourteenth century demanded an important cost for the states of the Crown of Aragon, who are required by the king to offer important and repetitive special economic contributions.⁵² Nevertheless, in 1380, King Peter the Ceremonious justified this insistence in order to conserve Sardinia because of

47 Maria Bonaria Urban, *Cagliari aragonese. Topografia e insediamento* (Cagliari, 2000), pp. 61–66.

48 Marco Milanese, "Aspetti del commercio catalano medievale in Sardegna. Sistemi di fonti e nuovi sguardi sulle fonti archeologiche in margine all'enclave di Alghero," in *Tra il Tirreno e Gibilterra, un Mediterraneo Iberico?*, eds. Luciano Gallinari, Flocel Sabaté, 2 vols. (Cagliari, 2015), 2: 602–18.

49 Roberto Porrà, "I culti di origine catalana in Sardegna: processi di assimilazione e persistenza," in *Tra il Tirreno e Gibilterra, un Mediterraneo Iberico?*, eds. Luciano Gallinari, Flocel Sabaté, 2 vols. (Cagliari, 2015), 2: 661–92.

50 Flocel Sabaté, "Il 'regnum Sardiniae' nella Corona d'Aragona durante la seconda metà del XIV secolo," in *Le strategie dell'invincibilità. Corona d'aragona e 'Regnum Sardiniae' nella seconda metà del Trecento*, Alessandra Cioppi (Cagliari, 2012), pp. 13–14.

51 "by reducing the swings in the price of wheat and, at the same time, stimulating the production of different artisan sectors". Antoni Riera, "La Mediterrània occidental vers 1300: comerç, cors, pirateria i diplomàcia," in *XXX Jornades d'estudis històrics locals: Jaume II i Sanç I: Dues actituds, un mateix projecte* (Palma, del 23 al 25 de novembre de 2011), eds. Maria Barceló, Jaume Sastre (Palma of Majorca, 2012), p. 148.

52 Manuel Sánchez, *El naixement de la fiscalitat d'Estat a Catalunya (XII–XIV)* (Vic–Girona, 1995), pp. 89–129.

the need for supplies from the Sicily and Sardinia to reach Majorca: “*perduda Sardenya pot fer compte que axí mateix li tolrà Mallorques, car les virtualles que Mallorques sol haver de Sicilia et de Sardenya cessaran e per consegüent la terra se haurà a desebltar e perdre*”.⁵³ Beyond checking the real sense of the phrase, it shows the links got between the different territories added to the Crown of Aragon.

4 Cohesion and Perceptions of Identity and Nationality

When the people of the Mediterranean saw the spread of the men of the Crown of Aragon, they normally identified them as Catalans. Consequently, the war cry on Sardinia was “*Arborea!, Arborea! Morgen sos Cathalanos*”. On Sicily, the clashes took place during “*guerrarum discrimine inter catalanos et siculos invicem preliantes*, one could be *tantu contra catalani quanti sichiliani*”, and the conflict with Genoa was referred to as the “*guerram catalanorum et ianuensium*, around the tensions *cum catalani et ianuensi*”.⁵⁴

In fact, this was a hyperbolic use of the term Catalan that covered everyone from the Crown of Aragon. As Vincenzo d'Alessandro has highlighted in the case of Sicily, “*‘Catalani’ erano detti allora quanti provenivano dal regno iberico (Aragona, Catalogna, Valenza, Baleari), per il peso politico ed economico tenuto sin dall’inizio da quelli che venivano dalla città o dalla contea di Barcellona*”.⁵⁵ There are more examples of this from around the Mediterranean: all the defenders of the papal palace in Avignon under the Aragonese Benedict XIII

53 “If we lost Sardinia, the same could happen after in Majorca, because if the supplies from Sicily and Sardinia to Majorca stopped, it would become depopulated and lost”. David Abulafia, “El comercio y el reino de Mallorca, 1150–1450,” in *En las costas del Mediterráneo Occidental*, eds. David Abulafia, Blanca Garí (Barcelona, 1996), pp. 115–16.

54 Sabaté, “L’idéel politique et la nation catalane,” 2: 100–01.

55 “‘Catalani’ was the name given to everyone from the Iberian kingdom (Aragon, Catalonia, Valencia, Balearics), but the political and economic weight was held from the start by those who came from the city or county of Barcelona”. Vincenzo d'Alessandro, “Spazio geografico e morfologie sociali nella Sicilia del basso Medioevo,” in *Commercio, finanza, funzione pubblica. Stranieri in Sicilia e Sardegna nei secoli XIII–XV*, ed. Marco Tangheroni (Naples, 1989), p. 7.

were seen as “*catalanos*”,⁵⁶ while in Rome, the pontificate of the Valencian Calixtus III was defined as a “*regnano cathalani*”.⁵⁷

Different institutional actions contributed to the same perception: the representatives in ports were known as Catalan consuls, although they lent their services to all citizens of the Crown of Aragon, as was explicitly stated in Ragusa (nowadays Dubrovnik):

omnes et singulos Cathalanos et alios subditos et naturales dicti domini Regis de dictis suis regnis et terris et insulis ad dictam civitatem Raguxii et eius territorium et districtum navigantes seu aplicantes aut appelantes aut in eis mercantes, negotiantes seu residentes.⁵⁸

There is a hyperbolic use of the demonym Catalan, according to its prestige: the assistants of the Tocco in their domains in the third quarter of fifteenth century were called Catalan although they were from the south of Italy, into the same Crown of Aragon.⁵⁹ Nevertheless, the word could be concretised at the same time. In this sense, and beyond its political importance and demographic weight, the language used was hugely determinant in the Catalan denomination. This is clearly seen inside a consulate like the one in Ragusa: the Valencians and Majorcans, who spoke the same language as the Catalans, were usually defined as Catalans (Johannes Collomerius, Cathelanus de Valencia; Bernardus Spanus, Catalanus de Valencia; Johannes Solanus, Cathelanus de Maioricha, etc.), while the Aragonese were easily differentiated: Petrus Martines de Aragonia, Antonius Damit de Saragosa de Aragonia.⁶⁰ In reality, the hyperbolic use of the Catalan adjective allowed the definition of their respective origins to be respected. This can be appreciated at the end of the fifteenth century, when there was talk of the policy of concentrating the new population carried out the previous century in Sardinia:

56 Francisco de Moxó, “La coyuntura económica catalana-aragonesa y el repliegue de Benedicto XIII de Porto Venere a Port Vendres (1403–1408),” in *Jornades sobre el Cisma d'Occident a Catalunya, les Illes i el País Valencià* (Barcelona-Peñíscola, 19–21 d'abril de 1979), 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1986), 1: 119.

57 Eugenio Dupré-Theseider, “La politica italiana di Alfonso il Magnanimo,” in *IV Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón. 25 septiembre-2 octubre 1955*, 3 vols. (Palma of Majorca, 1955), 1: 234.

58 Nenad Fejić, *Шпанци ч Дубровник ч средњем Векч* [The Spanish in Dubrovnik in the Middle Ages] (Belgrade, 1988), p. 206.

59 Nada Zečević, *The Tocco of the Greek Realm. Nobility, Power and Migration in Latin Greece (14th–15th centuries)* (Sarajevo, 2014), p. 117.

60 Fejić, *Шпанци у дубровнику у средњем веку*, pp. 114–276.

los predecessors Reys ab gran deliberació molt prudentment provehiren de tal manera que lo castell de Càller e la vila del Alguer fossen poblats de catalans, aragonesos e valencians e no de altres nacions e asò per tenir apretada e sotmesa la dita nació sarda.⁶¹

According with this, sometimes it was thought worth differentiating the origins of these populations. On signing the peace that had to pacify the king's supporters and those of the judge of Arborea in Sardinia in 1388, it was specified that the agreement was between "*Cathalanos et Aragonenses, Sardos et alios honorem regium preservantes ex parte una, et domum Arboree et Sardos ad domum ipsam spectantes ex altera*".⁶²

The fact that the newcomers were seen generically as Catalans facilitated the duality in the relation. The perception of the confrontation was not between the respective rulers but between peoples. There was enmity between Sicilians and Catalans and especially between Sards and Catalans. On Sicily in 1348, the conflict was explained as the occupation by the Catalans of what belonged to the Sicilians:

propter intolerabiles catalanorum excessus qui contra magnates et alios siculos minus debite calcaneum erexunt ab eis honores, dignitates et comoda ad siculos de iure spectantes ipsi catalani ut exosi ab universe populo infestentur ur regnum exeant et castra, officia, dignitates et honores dimictant que de iure ad siculos pertinere.⁶³

In 1392, the Sard, Brancaleone Doria, wrote to the Sicilian, Andreotto Chiaramonte, to exhort an alliance against the common enemy, because

sense dubio li dicti iniqui et malvagi Cathalani meteriamo ad morte et ad crudelissimo destrugimento et la loro superbia et presumptuosa arrogancia conculchiamo in manera che sariam pagati di tutti loro traitioni et malvastai che anno usati in ver di noy.⁶⁴

61 "the predecessor Kings with great deliberation very prudently took care that the castle of Cagliari and the town of Alghero were populated by Catalans, Aragonese and Valencians and not those of other nations and that to keep the said Sard nation under pressure and submitted". Antonio Era, *Il Parlamento sardo nel 1481-1485* (Milan, 1959), p. 178.

62 Casula, *La Sardegna catalano-aragonesa*, p. 64.

63 Cecilia Bilello, Anna Massa, *Registro di lettere (1348-49 e 1350)* (Palermo, 1993), pp. 13-14.

64 "I have not doubt that we will cruelly kill and destroy the unfair and evildoing Catalans and we will demolish their superby and purposefulness, and thank to this we will be

In the royal chancellery, the sard problem was approached as the fatuous and detestable rebellion of the Sardinian nation⁶⁵ and as King Martin started in 1409, combating it was good for both the royal house of Aragon and the Catalan nation: “*punir e domdar los rebelles et tornar aquells a la reyal senyoria de la casa d'Aragó; o e en quanta precipuitat de gràcia és huy posada nació Cathalana*”.⁶⁶ In 1369, before the Valencian Parliament or Courts, Peter the Ceremonious said that what pained him most about the Sard revolt was the ingratitude of the person leading it, the judge of Arborea, Martin IV, because he had been educated in Barcelona, together with his brother, “*on els donaren per maestres qui els nodrissen a les nostres maneres e los mostressin servir lo senyor rei nostre pare e nós e amar la nostra nació*”.⁶⁷

The Sardinian war was thus seen as hatred between two nations, the Sards and the Catalans. The former accused the latter of having seized their land and the corresponding assets, as explicitly stated regarding the city of Sassari:

aquesta siutat de Sàsser és fundada per Sarts propis e naturals e no pas per Cathalans ni per altra generació, e lo rey, ab los Cathalans malvadamment e hinigua la levaran sots bona fe als dits sarts e ls giraran for a ab gran trayció de que se-n seguí dan e manquement.⁶⁸

This thus led to events that generated great astonishment and fear. This convinced “*tot lo poble de Sàsser e les dones ab los infants ab braços, cridant que abans se mengerien los fills que no consentirien que fossen de Catalans*”.⁶⁹

compensated for their treachery and hostility against us”. Francesco C. Casula, *Carte reali diplomatiche di Giovanni I el Cacciatore, re d'Aragona, riguardanti l'Italia* (Padova, 1977), p. 64.

65 ACA, Cancelleria, reg. 2220, f. 75r.

66 “punish the rebels and return them to the royal lordship of the house of Aragon; and how prominent is currently the grace of the Catalan nation”. Próspero de Bofarull, *Colección de documentos inéditos del Archivo General de la Corona de Aragón*, 41 vols. (Barcelona, 1847), 1: 115.

67 “where they were given teachers who fed them in our manners and showed them how to serve our lord the king and to love our nation”. Flocel Sabaté, “Amar la nostra nació,” in *Sardegna e Catalogna 'officinae' di identità. Riflessioni storiografiche e prospettive di ricerca*, ed. Alessandra Cioppi (Cagliari, 2013), p. 17.

68 “this city of Sassari was founded by real and natural Sards, and not by Catalans nor by another generation, and the king with the Catalans unfailly and evildoerly seized it thanks to the good faith of the Sards, and immediately expelled these with treachery, following a big damage”. Casula, *Carte reali diplomatiche di Giovanni I el Cacciatore*, p. 62.

69 “all the people of Sassari and the women with children in their arms, shouting that they would rather eat their children than allow them to belong to Catalans”. Luciano Gallinari,

According to a Catalan chronicle, the Battle of Sanluri in 1409, with the victory of the king of Sicily, Martin the Younger acting as heir to the Crown of Aragon, began because “*los sarts ab moltes cordes e lligams que havien aparellats se havien lexat dir que penyarien los catalans e que lurs menjarian lo fetja e varen venir molt poderosament contra los Catalans*”.⁷⁰

In fact, the Sicilian revolt of 1282 was formally envisaged, from the start, as a reaction against the invaders occupying the island, in this case, the French, under a very clear slogan: “*moranu li Franchiski*”.⁷¹ As we have seen, among the four reasons that legitimated his right to the Sicilian crown, Peter the Great included the abuses of the previous holder of the kingdom, which made him unworthy to sit on the throne. Another was the wishes of the representatives of the land of Sicily, especially those from the cities.⁷² Certainly, the collective invocations of the people should be contextualised, because if not, anachronic explanations could be repeated. That is what Pietro Corrao valued about the interpretation with which the historiography has explained these events in a tone closer to the nineteenth century than the medieval context: “*il mito del grande passato nazionale indipendente che ha origine con il Vespro del 1282. Il Vespro interpretato come espressione di nazionalismo e di una identità siciliana è una creazione risorgimentale*”.⁷³

The concepts of land and nation have to be analysed with attention to who invokes them or who claims to represent them. It was the Sicilian cities that dominated the representativeness of the land. Even more explicitly, in fourteenth-century Sardinia, the Arboreas legitimated their justificatory discourse claiming themselves to be representatives of the Sard nation against the invading nation. In fact, this was not much different from how the land was invoked

“Amerigo di Narbona, ultimo sovrano di Arborea?,” *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 29 (1999), 321.

70 “the Sards, after preparing many strings and cords, pounced on the Catalans, saying that they will hang them and they will eat their livers, thus becoming very powerfully against the Catalans”. Ernest Moliné, “Noticiari català dels selges XIV y XV,” *Butlletí de l'Ateneu Barcelonès* 1 (1915), 217.

71 “death to the French”. François Béranger, “‘Moranu li Franchiski!’ Les Vêpres siciliennes et leur traitement à travers les siècles,” in *Le massacre, objet d'histoire*, ed. David El Kenz (Paris, 2005), pp. 140–54.

72 ACA, Cancelleria, reg. 53, f. 4v.

73 “the myth of the great independent national past originated with the Vespers of 1282. The Vespers was interpreted as an expression of nationalism and a Sicilian identity and a creation of the context of the ‘Risorgimento’”. Pietro Corrao, “Medioevo Siciliano: percorsi storiografici,” *Quaderni della Scuola di Archivistica Paleografia e Diplomatica. Studi e strumenti* 1 (1996), 27.

by those who claimed to represent it in the parliaments of the different territories of the Crown.

These are aspects that fed each other mutually. The Catalan origin and the use of the language and cultural elements of the *nació catalana* were fully incorporated into the identity traits of the bourgeois elite in such Sardinian cities as Cagliari in the fifteenth century. They naturally aligned themselves with royal power and distanced themselves from the Sardinian traits.⁷⁴ More generically, in the Late Middle Ages, those of Christian lineage on Majorca identified themselves as Catalans, and took pride in preserving the language and being descended from those who had conquered the island.⁷⁵ This is how the members of the *Diputació* from Catalonia perceived the identity of the Majorca's people in 1469: "*sou fills del dit Principat e vertaders cathalans e sempre los huns als altres havem fetes obres de pares, frares i germans.*"⁷⁶

This expansion across the Mediterranean showed up and accentuated the phenomena of cohesion of collective identities explicitly using the references of the land and nation. Opposition to other groups had facilitated cohesion. The phenomenon had to combine the external perception and internal awareness of the respective national unity, but notably also involved the representativeness accepted by those who presented themselves as the representatives. These three aspects overlapped and fed each other.

5 Spaces and Territories of Religious Identity

Between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the progressive change in the interpretation of Christianity from realism with Aristotelian roots infused the Christian religion with greater security and, in passing, more intolerance to error and contrary postures, like heresy or the religiously inassimilable, all

74 Esther Martí, "El poder urbano en clave identitaria. Notas sobre las oligarquías catalano-aragonesas a través del 'Llibre verd' de Cagliari," in *Sardegna e Catalogna 'officinae di identità. Riflessioni storiografiche e prospettive di ricerca*, ed. Alessandra Cioppi (Cagliari, 2013), pp. 421–23.

75 Antoni Mas, *Esclaus i catalans. Esclavitud i segregació a Mallorca durant els segles XIV i XV* (Palma of Majorca, 2005), pp. 111–20.

76 "you are the sons of this Principality and true Catalans who ones and the others have always done work as fathers and brothers". Ricard Urgell, *El Regne de Mallorca a l'època de Joan II. La Guerra Civil Catalana i les seves repercussions* (Palma of Majorca, 1997), p. 103.

under strong ecclesiastic guidance.⁷⁷ The Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 set out the path to follow, imposing, for example, discrimination against the Jews and the need to mark them out, measures that were implemented by the local authorities in the Crown of Aragon, especially from the fourteenth century on.⁷⁸ The anthropomorphic view of God, as one who became angry and punished humans if they failed to comply with divine law or tolerated his enemies, helped to spread intolerance among the lower levels of the population.⁷⁹

The evangelical obligation to reach the end of time with Christianity united—*"fiet unum ovile et unus pastor"*⁸⁰—fed the visions and approaches of the spiritualists,⁸¹ very attentive to the millenarian warnings to identify the proximity of the end of time.⁸² It also led to reflections about how to achieve this necessary unity.⁸³ Roger Bacon anticipated the return of the Orthodox Greeks and the conversion of the Tartars, but saw no other solution for the recalcitrant Muslims than their destruction.⁸⁴ The ascendance of the mendicants in both royal circles and popular preaching, the circulation of these ideas around Europe and the overlap between the formulae of coexistence and personal fears about eternal salvation facilitated the mixing and diffusion of these religious ideas.

77 "Santa Gleiza-us somon / Que non aiatz temensa ni mala sospeison, /qu'ela a poder que-us tola e ha poder que-us don/e poder que us defenda e poder que-us perdon" ("We are the Holy Church, we must not have fear or bad suspicion, because she has the power to give the good, the power to defend their children, the power to pardon the offences"). *La chanson de la croisade albigeoise* (Paris, 1989), p. 458.

78 Flocel Sabaté, "L'ordenament municipal de la relació amb els jueus a la Catalunya baix-medieval," in *Cristianos y judíos en contacto en la Edad Media: polémica, conversión, dinero y convivencia*, eds. Flocel Sabaté, Claude Denjean (Lleida, 2009), pp. 733–804.

79 Flocel Sabaté, "Les juifs au moyen-âge. Les sources catalanes concernant l'ordre et le dés-ordre," in *Chrétiens et juifs au Moyen Âge: sources pour la recherche d'une relation permanente*, eds. Flocel Sabaté, Claude Denjean (Lleida, 2006), pp. 91–136.

80 "Γενήσεται μία ποίμνη, εἷς ποιμὴν". Jn. 10:16.

81 André Vauchez, *Saints, prophètes et visionnaires. Le pouvoir surnaturel au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1999), pp. 95–219.

82 Marjorie Reeves, "Pauta y propósito en la historia: los periodos de la baja Edad Media y el Renacimiento," in *La teoría del apocalipsis y los fines del mundo*, ed. Malcolm Bull (City of Mexico, 1998), pp. 109–32.

83 Marjorie Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages. A Study in Joachimism* (Oxford, 1969), p. 399.

84 Aleksey Klemeshov, "The Conversion and Destruction of the infidels in the Works of Roger Bacon," in *Religions and Power in Europe*, ed. Joaquim Carvalho (Pisa, 2007), p. 23.

Thus, the expansion around the Mediterranean took place at a time of unity in a Christendom strongly rooted in popular experience under clear ecclesiastic guidance. The attitude of such an important chronicler as Ramon Muntaner has drawn the attention of the historiography: crossing landscapes full of classic monuments like Ephesus or Gallipoli, Ramon Muntaner only thought it worth highlighting the various relics, related miracles and wonders and the remains linked to such important characters for Christianity as Saint Evangelist.⁸⁵

It was this proximity to the Orient that made it easier to obtain precious relics like the arm of Saint George that the queen of Cyprus gave to Peter the Ceremonious. Peter was especially concerned about obtaining relics of Saint George, as he believed him to be linked to the monarchy.⁸⁶ The duchies of Athens and Neopatras included precisely the town of Livadia, whose church was believed to guard the relic of the head of Saint George. In 1354, Peter the Ceremonious sent a request to the head of the leading authorities in the duchies (the vicar general of the duchies of Athens and Neopatras, the leader of the Catalan company, the dean of the Latin cathedral of Thebes, the aldermen and syndics of the Catalan states in Greece, etc). He had to repeat it in 1355. Significantly, he addressed the people he appealed to in these letters as *naturals nostres*, although the duchies were really the sovereignty of the king of Sicily. Peter offered many concessions in exchange for none. Notably, he agreed to include the Company in the peace or truce with Venice, but there were also others, such as an appeal to the Papacy to lift the interdict on Athens. However, the relic was not only not handed over, but was even moved to Livadia Castle for greater security. Two years after the death of Frederick III of Sicily in 1377, the duchies formally passed to the Crown of Aragon. In 1381, Peter the Ceremonious practically centred the Order of Saint George he had created in 1353 in Livadia,⁸⁷ and the following year, he ordered a detachment of the order to be sent to take custody of the castle that housed such a crucial relic. However, Navarrese mercenaries besieged Thebes in 1379, Athens was taken by the Florentine Nerio Acciaiuoli in 1388, and the duchies with the priceless relic were lost. Nevertheless, John I concerned himself with recovering the head in 1393. It was thought that with the disorders, it had been removed from Livadia

85 Miguel Morán, *La memoria de las piedras* (Madrid, 2010), p. 39.

86 Alberto Torra, "Reyes, santos y reliquias. Aspectos de la sacralidad de la monarquía catalano-aragonesa," in *XV Congreso de Historia del a Corona de Aragón* (Jaca, 1993). *Relaciones de la Corona de Aragón con los Estados cristianos peninsulares (siglos XIII–XV)*, ed. Isabel Falcón, 3 vols. (Saragossa, 1996), 1/3: 504–05.

87 Regina Sainz de la Maza, *L'orde català de Sant Jordi d'Alfama (1201–1400)* (Lleida, 1991), pp. 151–66.

and it was also known the king of England had an interest in it. King Martin again tried to recover the head, which was now on Aegina, although it had to be determined whether this was the real head and not the one the Byzantine emperor took to Paris in 1400. Finally, the head was seized from Aegina by the Venetians in 1462.⁸⁸ Beyond this specific case, this event shows how the Eastern Mediterranean was the scene of a common need to supply the relics required to support the faith but also to meet the demand from the house of the monarch⁸⁹ with his desire to create royal chapels well supplied with the saints held to be benefactors and protectors of the dynasty.⁹⁰ This was a religious necessity but one that became diplomatic and political and, from here, had a marked effect on the dynamics of expansion in the Mediterranean.

On other occasions, the religious invocation was indirect or even inexistent beyond the historiographic interpretations. This would be the case of the supposed relation between the Bonaria of the Sard sanctuary and the characteristic malaria of the island. It is true that one of the main problems on Sardinia was the endemic *mall'aria*, with the permanent corruption of one of the four elements that nature was interpreted through, and which caused frequent deadly fevers, giving it the image of a pestilent land.⁹¹ Many of those who went there from Catalonia in the fourteenth century campaigns fell victim to pestilential, tertian or quartan fevers,⁹² which spread great fear among Catalans about the prospect of moving to Sardinia.⁹³ In fact, exile to Sardinia was among the harshest punishments handed out by the justice in the Crown

88 Kenneth M. Setton, *Recerca i troballa del cap de Sant Jordi* (Barcelona, 1974), pp. 11–26.

89 Vicent Baydal, “Santa Tecla, San Jorge y Santa Bárbara: Los monarcas de la Corona de Aragón a la búsqueda de reliquias en Oriente (siglos XIV–XV),” *Anaquel de Estudios Árabes* 31 (2010), 153–62.

90 Nikolas Jaspert, “Santos al servicio de la corona durante el reinado de Alfonso el Magnánimo (1419–1458),” in *XVI Congreso Internazionale di Storia della corona d'Aragona. La Corona d'Aragona ai tempi di Alfonso il Magnanimo*, eds. Guido d'Agostino, Giulia Buffardi, 2 vols. (Naples, 2000), 2: 1839–57.

91 Francesco Manconi, “La Sardegna d'antico regime: una terra ‘pestilente’?,” in *Sardegna, Mediterraneo e Atlantico tra Medioevo ed età moderna*, ed. Luisa d'Arienzo, 3 vols. (Rome, 1993), 1: 451–57.

92 Lluís Cifuentes, “Una confidencia feta al notari bartomeu de Miralat per fra Francesc, bisbe de Bisarcio: ‘fembres’, febres i ‘desnaturament’ a la Sardenya de mitjan segle XIV,” *Estudis Històrics i Documents dels arxius de Protocols* 17 (1999), 7–24.

93 Pere Català, Joan Gala, “Entorn de ‘Lo bon ayre e la noblea d'esta illa dee Sardenya,’” in *XIV Congresso di Storia della Corona d'Aragona. La Corona d'Aragona in Italia (secc. XIII–XVIII)*, eds. Maria Giuseppina Meloni, Olivetta Schena, 5 vols. (Sassari, 1995), 1: 263–76.

of Aragon.⁹⁴ Peter the Ceremonious attempted to counter these fears by stating the opposite, as he did in 1354 at the siege of Alghero:

Quesque-s diga de la ma sanitat de Sardenya, nós, beneÿt sia Déu, havem trobat tro ací, e de present trobam axí bons ayres e plaer de star en lo dit setge dejús les tendes, ab plena sanitat de nós e de tota la host com si érem dins en lo pus san loch que hajam en nostra senyoria.⁹⁵

Moreover, the king did not hesitate to resort to the propaganda inherent in writing and transmitting a sirventes about “*lo bon ayre e la noblea d'esta illa*” de Sardinia.⁹⁶ However and despite this context and despite the relation with the Catalans shown by the origin of the order, the Mercedarian convent of Bonaria does not appear invoked against the *mall'aria*, in accordance with the etymology that relates the original place with *balnearia*.⁹⁷ In fact, the functions of the place in the context of war on the island in the fourteenth century were coherent, basically, with the actions of the population and its strategic position.⁹⁸

In any case, the Christian invocation offered the elements with which to interpret all aspects of reality and unite society, and this highlighted the inassimilable nature of the minorities with whom the population coexisted despite cultural and religious differences. Massimo Longo Adorno and Federico Martino stated that, in Sicily, “*sotto gli aragonesi lo status di inferioritat giuridica degli ebrei rispetto allà popolazione cristiana si aggravò*”.⁹⁹ In reality, during the late-medieval centuries, the usual dynamic around a united Europe was an exclusive Christianity. So, the legislation that relegated the Jews behind the Christians in various activities and imposed discriminatory and identificatory

94 Pere Català, “Pena d'exili a Sardenya,” in *Sardegna, Mediterraneo e Atlantico tra Medioevo ed età moderna*, ed. Luisa d'Arienzo, 3 vols. (Rome, 1993), 1: 337–40.

95 “Although someone speaks about the bad health of Sardinia, we found here, thanks to God, until nowadays and at the moment we continue to find, a good airs and the pleasure of being in said seige under the tents, with full health for us and all the troops as if we were in the healthiest place there is in our lordship”. Ramon Gubern, ed., *Epistolari de Pere III* (Barcelona, 1955), p. 116.

96 “the good air and nobility of this island”. Pier Enea Guarnerio, “Un sirventese del Re Pietro IV d'Aragona intorno a Cagliari,” *Archivio storico Sardo* 2 (1906), 434–36.

97 Sergio Atzeni, *Cagliari, storia de una città millenaria* (Tricase, 2015), unnumbered.

98 Giuseppe Manno, *Storia di Sardegna*, 3 vols. (Milan, 1835), 2/9: 17.

99 “under the Aragonese the legal inferiority of the Jews compared with Christian population worsened”. Massimo Longo Adorno, Federico Martino, “Condizione giuridica degli ebrei di Sicilia dal periodo arabo all'espulsione del 1492,” in *Ebrei e Sicilia*, eds. Nicolò Bucaria, Michele Luzzzati, Angela Tarantino (Palermo, 2002), p. 100.

measures on them developed at the same rate as in the Crown of Aragon. The secondary position that Jewish activities were increasingly relegated to, far from the great investments and focussed on more socially disagreeable activities like petty lending, and the pressure that induced them to abandon the craftwork and commercial tasks that were taken up by Christians, complemented a situation that increasingly confined the Jewish population to their own neighbourhoods. In this same context, its definition as a *servis regis* also linked to the customary practice in the rest of the Crown of Aragon,¹⁰⁰ precisely where the jurisdictional and fiscal links of the Jews became a way to reclaim royal power and the desired protection.¹⁰¹ The progressive degradation of Jewish living conditions was the cause of protests in Sicily, especially in the fifteenth century, invoking their own legislation while attempting to avoid it being unified with the Catalan and Aragonese.¹⁰²

In contrast, on Sardinia, given that the different institutions were fashioned along the lines of the Catalan model, the same practice was adopted in the structure of the Jewish communities or *aljamas*. In 1335, Alfonso the Benign agreed that the Jews of Cagliari would be treated like the Jews of Barcelona (*"prout iudei aliame iudeorum civitatis Barchinone et singulares eiusdem tractantur in civitate Barchinone predicta"*). The aim of this measure was this to equate the Cagliari Jews with their Catalan and Aragonese counterparts, as the king himself stated: *"dignaremur concedere quod iudei predicti accedentes ad dictum castrum et inibi populantes tractentur tanquam Cathalani et Aragonenses in eodem"*.¹⁰³

The other inassimilable minority, the Muslims, had remained in a very secondary position and with little social impact, mainly concentrated in certain places in the south of Catalonia and in Aragon and Valencia. Regarding the expansion across the Mediterranean, the relations with the Muslims focussed on the need to trade with them despite the limitations the Church might impose on dealings with infidels. These limitations were already in place in the twelfth century, as can be seen in the Third and Fourth Lateran Councils, based on the

100 Ilan Shoval, "'servi regis' Re-Examined: On the Significance of the Earliest Appearance of the Term in Aragon, 1176," *Hispania Judaica Bulletin* 4 (2004), 22–69.

101 Flocel Sabaté, "Discurs i estratègies del poder reial a Catalunya al segle XIV," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 25/2 (1995), 624.

102 Salvatore Fodale, "Mosè Bonavoglia e il contestato iudicatus generalis sugli ebrei siciliano," in *Gli ebrei in Sicilia dal tardoantico al Medioevo. Studi in onore di Mons. Benedetto Roco*, ed. Nicolò Bucaria (Palermo, 1998), pp. 99–109.

103 Nuria Viñolas, "Documentos sobre la aljama hebrea de Cagliari," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 4 (1967), 423.

concern to avoid supplying the enemy of the faith with materials which they could use to fight the Christians. This evolved during the thirteenth century and was tightened up after 1291, when Pope Nicholas IV referred to "*quecumque mercimonia*".¹⁰⁴ However, the game was about obtaining the due licences, as Peter of Portugal did emblematically, as lord of Majorca, when he obtained a papal licence in 1240 to allow Majorcans to trade freely with the Muslim countries, with the exception of strategic products.¹⁰⁵ This was thus a permanent negotiation about the products and, especially, the places where this trade was allowed.¹⁰⁶

The importance of the slave trade from the Eastern Mediterranean generated a problem about the legality of enslaving Bosnians, Greeks and others who claimed to be Orthodox Christians. Frederick II of Sicily ruled that they should be given their freedom after they had accepted Catholicism and served for seven years: "*ut servi greci de Romania postquam ceperunt credere articulos fidei, ut Sancta Romana Ecclesia tenet, si ex tunc seriverunt per septem annos, sint liberi*".¹⁰⁷ In 1310, James II took care to adapt this same legislation to all the Crown of Aragon,¹⁰⁸ although at the end of the century, John I and Martin I, on request from the city of Barcelona, ordered that owners had to be compensated for the cost of the slave.¹⁰⁹ However, there were reiterated disputes about whether many of the eastern slaves were Christians. In some cases, these took place where they were purchased, as in the litigation against some of Catalan merchants in Ragusa in 1393,¹¹⁰ and more often in the place of arrival, with both

104 Stefan K. Stantchev, *Spiritual Rationality. Papal embargo as cultural practice* (Oxford, 2014), p. 120.

105 Pau Cateura, "Las cuentas de la colonización feudal (Mallorca, 1231–1245)," *En la España Medieval* 20 (1979), 63.

106 Josep Baucells, *Vivir en la edad media: Barcelona y su entorno en los siglos XIII y XIV* (1200–1344), 4 vols. (Barcelona, 2005), 2: 1746–54.

107 Charles Verlinden, "Orthodoxie et esclavage au bas Moyen Age," in *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, 7 vols. (Vatican City, 1964), 5: 433.

108 Hiroaki Sakurai, "Tráfico humano hacia la España medieval. Manumisión y mecenazgo," in *De l'esclavitud a la libertad. Esclaus i lliberts a l'edat mitjana*, eds. Maria Teresa Ferrer, Josefina Mutgé (Barcelona, 2000), pp. 82–83.

109 Maria Teresa Ferrer, "Esclaus i lliberts orientals a Barcelona. Segles XIV i XV," in *De l'esclavitud a la libertad. Esclaus i lliberts a l'edat mitjana*, eds. Maria Teresa Ferrer, Josefina Mutgé (Barcelona, 2000), p. 187.

110 Nenad Fejić, "L'esclavage et le discours antiesclavagiste au Bas Moyen Âge: quelques exemples du monde méditerranéen," in *Construire l'histoire antillaine*, eds. Lucien Abenon, Danielle Begot, Jean-Pierre Sainton (Paris, 1992), pp. 483–84.

civil processes and appeals to the ecclesiastic tribunals alleging their Christian condition. With the aim of defusing these disputes, an inquiry into the origin of the slaves was set up in Barcelona in 1433, using translators if necessary.¹¹¹

6 Culture as a Tool for Cohesion

An important part of medieval Catalan literature, and one which became axial, arose in royal circles, either by being promoted within the court itself, by royal incentive or was the work of writers who were also civil servants in the royal chancellery. From the troubadour style poetry of the great chronicles to authors like Francesc Eiximenis or Bernat Metge, these works certify this intimate relation at least between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, one that gave great prominence to royal circles in the development of Catalan as a literary language.¹¹² As the Middle Ages went by, the great barons, like the Count of Urgell, had added the promotion of the arts and literature to their interests,¹¹³ and the urban patricians, together with the associated lesser nobility, were becoming recognised as holding an important position in this aspect in line with their social and political weight. Significantly, it was this urban social sector in the prosperous city of Valencia in the mid-fifteenth century where the apogees of literary production in Catalan were reached, just when the court had moved to Naples.¹¹⁴

However, this Catalan culture united the Crown territories and their areas of influence in those times. When Pietro Summonte described, in 1524, the Great Hall that Alfonso the Magnanimous had had built in Castel Nuovo in Naples, he summed it up as: “è cosa catalana”. More than eulogy, this was an identification, because Guillem Sagrera had built this hall following the late-Gothic models he had seen during his career in such widely separated places

111 Flocel Sabaté, “Gli schiavi davanti alla giustizia nella Catalogna bassomedievale,” in *Schiavitù e servaggio nell'economia europea, secc. XI–XVIII*, ed. Simonetta Cavaciocchi (Florence, 2014), p. 395.

112 Lola Badia, “Literatura catalana i patronatge reial al segle XV: episodis d'un distanciament,” *Pedralbes. Revista d'història moderna* 13/2 (1993), 525–34.

113 Antoni Maria Espadaler, Eloi Castelló, eds., *Cançoners dels Comtes d'Urgell* (Lleida, 1999); Francesc Fité, Alberto Velasco, “Els comtes d'Urgell Promotors artístics,” in *600 Anys de la fi del comtat d'Urgell* (Balaguer, 2015), pp. 52–67.

114 Rafael Alemany, “Ausiàs March i el context literari valencià del segle XV,” in *Ausiàs March (1400–1459). Premier poète en langue catalane*, eds. Georges Martin, Marie-Claire Zimmermann (Paris, 2000), pp. 7–10.

in the Crown of Aragon as Perpignan, Majorca, Barcelona and Valencia.¹¹⁵ In fact, there was an explicit urge to imitate Iberian models. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the Sardinian cities not only saw the arrival of Catalans, Valencians and Majorcans, but also new buildings in such places as Cagliari that closely following the Catalan Gothic model.¹¹⁶ Sometimes even Catalan towns were created, such as Lapola in the fourteenth century, where, as well as dedicating the parish to Saint Eulalia (medieval patron of Barcelona), the streets were given the names of Iberian cities and towns: Valencia, Girona, Lleida, Vilafranca.¹¹⁷ Various popular elements, like hagiography, were adapted to the new territories,¹¹⁸ and such everyday details as dress and food defined identity, as stated in Sicily: *“i Catalani di Palermo mantennero un forte legame con le loro tradizioni e con la terra d'origine, manifestato chiaramente dalle scelte in materia di abbigliamento ed alimentazione”*.¹¹⁹

In reality, the royal families of Majorca and Sicily not only continued the dynastic and strategic unity with the house of Aragon but also maintained their Catalan identity, as Pietro Corrao commented about Frederick, James II's brother, during his rule on Sicily at the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century: *“Federico non rinunciava mai, neanche nei momenti più acuti del conflitto con il fratello, a ritenersi un sovrano catalano, una delle espressioni della dinastia che coordinava un insieme di domini attraverso legami di dipendenza personale e familiare”*.¹²⁰

-
- 115 Amadeo Serra, “‘È cosa catalana’. La Gran Sala de Castelnuovo en el contexto mediterráneo,” in *XVI Congresso Internazionale di Storia della Corona d'Aragona. La Corona d'Aragona ai tempi di Alfonso il Magnanimo*, eds. Guido d'Agostino, Giulia Buffardi, 2 vols. (Naples, 2000), 2: 1787–99.
 - 116 Alessandra Cioppi, *Le strategie dell'invincibilità. Corona d'Aragona e 'Regnum Sardinae' nella seconda metà del Trecento* (Cagliari, 2012), pp. 184–85.
 - 117 Maria Bonaria Urban, *Cagliari aragonese. Topografia e insediamento* (Cagliari, 2000), pp. 265–70.
 - 118 Roberto Porrà, “I culti di origine catalana in Sardegna. Processi di assimilazione e persistenza,” in *Tra il Tirreno e Giberterra. Un Mediterraneo Iberico?*, eds. Luciano Gallinari, Flocel Sabaté, 2 vols. (Cagliari, 2015), 2: 661–93.
 - 119 “the Catalans in Palermo maintained strong links with their traditions and their land of origin, clearly demonstrated by the choices with regard to clothing and food”. Patrizia Sardina, “I catalani ed il Castello a Mare di Palermo,” in *XVII Congrès d'Història de la Corona d'Aragó. El món urbà a la Corona d'Aragó del 1137 als decrets de Nova Planta*, ed. Salvador Claramunt, 3 vols. (Barcelona, 2003), 2: 387.
 - 120 “Frederick never renounced, not even during the most acute moments of the conflict with his brother, being considered a Catalan sovereign, one of the expressions of the dynasty which coordinated a set of domains through ties of personal and family dependence”. Pietro Corrao, “Dal re separato al re assente. Il potere regio nel regno di Sicilia nel '300

In this context, the various elements identified with the Crown of Aragon could be defined as Catalan in the widest sense. The influence of Naples, derived from its political power and cultural prestige, adopted the Catalan seal. Thus, the cookbooks that spread around Italy at the end of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries were mainly from the south of the Peninsula, which is why, in Bruno Laurioux's words, "*s'y manifeste une grande ouverture aux cuisines méditerranéennes, singulièrement aux usages et au répertoire catalans*". Precisely at that time, many of the prestigious dishes promoted and spread from Naples were known as 'Catalan style': "*zenestratto allà cathelana, mirrause catalano, starne al modo catalano, bianco mangiare a la catalana, carabaze a la catalana, sausa de napi di Cathalogna, suppa a la catalane...*".¹²¹ "*Lo libre lo qual ha compost lo diligent mestre Robert, coch del sereníssimo senyor don Ferrando, rey de Naples*", was written in Catalan.¹²²

As well as its presence in the royal court in Naples from the times of Alfonso the Magnanimous, Catalan enjoyed great prestige in the papal court in Rome, at the same level as Italian and Latin during the pontificates of Calixtus III and his nephew Alexander VI.¹²³ This was favoured by the visits to both courts of numerous authors from Catalonia, Valencia and Majorca, while, in this position, Catalan received the attention of the great humanists linked to these courts, including Antonio Beccarelli il Panormita, Lorenzo Valla, Leonardo Bruni l'Aretino, Giovanni Pontano, Bartolomeo Fazio and Paolo Pompilio among others.¹²⁴ The move towards a Hispanophilia, which also included attention to and promotion of Castilian, took place under Alexander VI, in the political context of the 1490s.¹²⁵

nel '400," in *XV Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón* (Jaca, 20–25 de septiembre de 1993). *Relaciones de la Corona de Aragón con los Estados cristianos peninsulares (siglos XIII–XV)*, ed. Isabel Falcón, 3 vols. (Saragossa, 1996), 1/3: 71.

121 "A great opening to the Mediterranean cuisines, singularly to a Catalan usage and repertoire is perceived". Bruno Laurioux, *Une histoire culinaire du Moyen Âge* (Paris, 2005), pp. 358–72.

122 "The book that the diligent master Robert has composed, chef to Lord Ferdinand, king of Naples". Mestre Robert, *Libre del Coch* (Barcelona, 1996), p. 25.

123 Miguel Batllori, *La familia de los Borja* (Madrid, 1999), pp. 149–83.

124 Antoni Ferrando, "La gènesi romana d'una norma lingüística catalana del segle XV: les 'Regles d'esquivar vocables o mots grossers o pagesívols', 'fetes' per Jeroni Pau," in *Da Papa Borgia a Borgia 'Papa': Letteratura, lingua e traduzione a Valencia*, eds. Nancy de Benedetto, Inés Ravasini (Lecce, 2010), pp. 44–52.

125 Nicasio Salvador, "Intelectuales españoles en Roma durante el gobierno de los Reyes Católicos," in *Rumbos del hispanismo en el umbral del cincuentenario de la AIH*, ed. Patrizia Botto, 8 vols. (Rome, 2012), 1: 51–53.

Catalan was omnipresent in Naples, firstly in the court, especially in the chancellery, but also in many other both cultivated and popular fields. In a multilingual context, it was one of the languages spoken in the streets but also used in the literature, with a notable production of prose. Catalan even became a model for Neapolitan, and so encouraged the normalisation of Italian-Neapolitan by facilitating grammatical standardisation, its introduction into the chancellery and use as a language of culture.¹²⁶ Castilian also entered into this concurrence of languages in Naples, with authors of this origin and language accompanying Alfonso the Magnanimous. So, Catalan prose, Castilian poetry and the emergent Neapolitan coexisted, together with the educated Latin. This was, as Martí de Riquer expressed it, “*quatre vehicles lingüístics que gosaria afirmar que eren entenedors a tot home culte que es trobava integrat en els dominis del Magnànim i dels seus successors immediats d'allà i d'ençà: el llatí, l'italià, el català i el castellà*”.¹²⁷

In fact, in the second half of the fifteenth century, under both Alfonso the Magnanimous and John II, his successor in the Crown of Aragon, the cultural environment around the court was bilingual, in Catalan and Castilian, with authors like Pere Torroella and Francesc Moner¹²⁸ who expressed themselves in both languages in their works.¹²⁹ This was not only due to the Castilian origins of the dynasty but also especially to the cultural dynamic that, on the humanist side, recovered the classic view of Hispania and that, on the Castilian side, linking the Visigoth origins teleologically with the mission reserved for the Castilian monarchy.¹³⁰ Thus, the unification of the crowns of Castile and

126 Ana Maria Compagna Perrone Capano, “L'uso del catalano a Napoli,” in *XVI Congresso Internazionale di Storia della Corona d'Aragona. La corona d'Aragona ai tempi di Alfonso il Magnanimo*, eds. Guido d'Agostino, Giulia Buffardi, 2 vols. (Naples, 2000), 2: 1353–70.

127 “four linguistic vehicles that I would dare to state were understood by all educated men who were integrated under the domains of the Magnanimous and his immediate successors from here and there: Latin, Italian, Catalan and Castilian”. Martí de Riquer, “Elements comuns en la cultura i en l'espiritualitat del món aragonès,” in *IX Congresso di Storia della Corona d'Aragona. La Corona d'Aragona e il Mediterraneo: aspetti e problemi comuni, da Alfonso il Magnanimo a Ferdinando il Cattolico (1416–1516)*, 4 vols. (Naples, 1978), 1: 211.

128 Peter Cocozzella, “Pere Torroella i Francesc Moner: aspects del bilingüisme literari (catalano-castellà) a la segona meitat del segle XV,” *Llengua i Literatura: revista anual de la Societat Catalana de Llengua i Literatura* 2 (1987), 155–172.

129 Montserrat Ganges, “Poetes bilingües (català-castellà) del segle XV,” *Boletín de la Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval* 6/1 (1992), 57–232.

130 Alan Deyermond, “La ideología del Estado moderno en la literatura española del siglo XV,” in *Realidades e imágenes del poder en España a fines de la Edad Media*, ed. Adeline Rucquoi (Valladolid, 1988), pp. 176–77.

Aragon in 1479, although defined as a medieval aggregation of kingdoms with no institutional consequences,¹³¹ meant a teleological Castilian pre-eminence, expressed precisely in language and culture,¹³² and that coincided with a political setting that facilitated the strengthening of power around the king based, to a great extent, on the social structures and government institutions from Castile.¹³³

Under the new Hispanic Monarchy, Catalan ceded its courtly position to Castilian, just when the throne was in the hands of kings who not only did not reside in the lands of the Crown of Aragon but also preferred to deal with the domains of the old Crown separately,¹³⁴ a situation facilitated by the previous inability to establish unifying institutional links between the territories it was made up of.¹³⁵ Institutionally, a council for the lands in Italy was created in 1555 and, since the previous century there had been the "*sostituzione dei vecchi potenti catalani con i nuovi funzionari castigliani ai vertici dello stato*" in Sicily for example.¹³⁶ Jesús Lalinde explained it as "*la disolución del Rey de Aragón en el rey de España, metamorfosis del Rey de Castilla*."¹³⁷ This evolution was, in any case, expressed through cultural traits, especially the language. This can be appreciated with the weight that Castilian acquired not only in the administration but also among the population of the territories of the Crown of Aragon in the Mediterranean, "*conscients que la seva promoció social passa per la cultura i la llengua del domini polític i cultural*", as Francesco Manconi commented regarding the Castilianisation of Sardinian society from the sixteenth century

131 Antoni Simón, *La monarquía de los Reyes Católicos: hacia un Estado hispánico plural* (Madrid, 1996), pp. 12–14.

132 Luis Fernández Gallardo, "Lengua e identidad nacional en el pensamiento político de Alfonso de Cartagena," *E-Spania* 13/2 (2012), <<http://e-spania.revues.org/21012>>.

133 Miguel Ángel Ladero, *Los Reyes Católicos: La Corona y la Unidad de España* (Madrid, 1989), pp. 72–174.

134 Miguel Pérez Latre, "Pervivència i dissolució. La Corona d'Aragó en temps de Felip I (II)," in *Història de la Corona d'Aragó*, ed. Ernest Belenguier, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 2007), 2: 214–18.

135 Flocel Sabaté, "Corona de Aragón," in *La época medieval: administración y gobierno*, eds. Pedro Andrés Porras Arboledas, Eloísa Ramírez Vaquero, Flocel Sabaté (Tres Cantos, 2003), pp. 449–50.

136 "substitution of the old powerful Catalans with new Castilian officials at the head of the state". Pietro Corrao, "Egemonia aristocratica, mobilità sociale e costruzione statale nella Sicilia dei secoli XIV–XV," *Schede Medievali* 14–15 (1988), 63.

137 "the dissolution of the King of Aragon in the King of Spain, metamorphosis of the King of Castile". Jesús Lalinde, "La disolución de la Corona de Aragón en la monarquía hispana o católica (sec. XVI a XVIII)," in *XIV Congresso di Storia della Corona d'Aragona. La corona d'Aragona in Italia (secc. XIII–XVIII)*, eds. Maria Giuseppina Meloni, Olivetta Schena, 5 vols. (Sassari, 1993), 1: 156.

on. That, for example, explains why, between 1566 and 1616, the typographers in Cagliari and Sassari printed preferentially in Castilian, did so rarely in Latin and Catalan, while Italian disappeared, although it was still being used at the beginning of the century.¹³⁸

The different social groups and diverse aspects of society imposed nuances, but, in any case, the cultural elements reflected the veritable roots of the historical events among the population. The time for the memory, about how to remember this now distant past or recreate it, would come later. That would be the moment of the nostalgic song of Velardinello: "*Sai quando fuste Napole Corona? / Quanno regnava Casa d'Aragona*".¹³⁹

138 "aware that their path to social promotion was through the culture and language of the political and cultural domain". Francesco Manconi, "El regne de Sardenya: de Ferran el Catòlic al decret de Nova Planta," in *Història de la Corona d'Aragó*, ed. Ernest Belenguer, (Barcelona, 2007), pp. 412–15.

139 "Do you know when Naples had a crown? When the House of Aragon reigned". Antonio Saladino, *Napoli Aragonese* (Naples, 1979), p. 17.

The Medieval Legacy: Constitutionalism versus Absolutism. The Case of Catalonia

Antoni Simon

1

In the late fifteenth century, the dynastic union of the branches of the Trastámara house reigning in the Crown of Aragon and the Crown of Castile heralded a monarchy composed of two different models of state: the constitutionalist and “confederal” model of the Crown of Aragon and the model characterised by absolutist trends and unitarist forms characteristic of the Crown of Castile. The dynastic unity of the Catholic Kings did not manage to bring the cultural-political traditions of both crowns closer together, nor was there any merger or integrative process in the realm of political practice since, as is well known, the institutional and governmental structures characteristic of each historical formation were maintained in their most substantial forms until the Bourbon triumph in the War of the Spanish Succession.

Even though constitutional tensions deriving from the divergence of these models of state arose several times during the first half of the sixteenth century, they became more acute during the second half due to several factors: 1) Castile’s solidification as the centre driving the vast Habsburg monarchy, which ran parallel to the strengthening of a Castilian hegemonist ideal in the Iberian Peninsula, thus breaking the *de jure* equality of the dynastic union of the Catholic Kings in both political theory and practice. 2) Since the late decades of the sixteenth century, the shaping of a “Spanish” peninsular project in the political community developed by the intelligentsia at the Castilian court. This project aspired to build a mid-sized state that was territorially compact and had shared cultural and historical ties which would be more plausibly feasible than a model of diverse, disperse monarchy that had already revealed the dangers of political disaggregation, especially in the case of the Netherlands. However, this state would have Castilian legal and political underpinnings, which would then have to be transferred to the other parts of the Iberian Peninsula. 3) The rising contrast between two conceptualisations of political power that were increasingly defined doctrinally. Thus, while the centre of

the Castilian court suggested that there was an incompatibility between sovereignty as public authority and the imposition of conditions *pactum subjectionis*, in line with Jean Bodin's theorisations, at the same time the Crown of Aragon was reinforcing the parliamentary and constitutionalist principles that sought to place limits on the exercise of the prince's power. 4) Finally, in the realm of political practice, the alterations in the Kingdom of Aragon in 1591 signalled a critical juncture in the tensions between royal authoritarianism and Aragonese foralism. Meanwhile, in Catalonia, the institutional tensions culminated in the "upheaval" of the years 1587–1593, which could be interpreted as a pivotal point in the "political fracture" between Catalonia and the Habsburg dynasty that would place the relationships between king and kingdom on the pathway to the revolution of 1640.

This clash between models of state would revolve around two fundamental issues: one was whether or not, within a single state, forms of government characteristic of each province or segment of the state could coexist; and the other was whether or not a royal power could exist that was subjected to a system of institutional and legal controls. Obviously, both the theoretical positions and political practices were expressed many intermediate positions; however, these were the underlying issues which arose quite clearly in the second half of the sixteenth century.

As is known, the tensions in this early stage in the construction of a modern Spanish state led to the "Bourbon moment" of the War of the Spanish Succession, which *manu militari* imposed a new constitutional order on the monarchy characterised by absolute power, which was incompatible with maintaining a body of constitutions, codes of law and territorial rights.

The model of institutionally unified and nationally compact state that the Bourbons strove to impose (with all the nuances that should be acknowledged: survival of Catalan private law, maintenance of the codes of laws in the Basque Provinces, etc.) has been interpreted by the majority of Spanish historiographers as a rational, modernising step in history. According to this line of interpretation, the nation-state of Spain characterised by enlightened despotism was a higher stage in historical evolution than the institutionally plural monarchy of the Habsburgs, since it would introduce elements of modernity (administrative rationality, economic impetus, political reformism, etc.) that, though within the coordinates of the Old Regime, entailed a step forward towards reaching the contemporary Jacobin nation-state.¹

1 This historical conception is present in such widely divergent historians as Carmelo Viñas Mey, Jaume Vicens Vives, Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, Carlos Seco Serrano, Juan Luis Castellano, Luis González Antón, Antonio Miguel Bernal, Carlos Martínez Shaw, Juan Pablo Fusi, Fernando García de Cortázar and many more. A condemnation of the unilateral and

Given that in the earliest centuries of modernity the unifying model of the Castilian court coexisted with the model of the Crown of Aragon, this Spanish “deterministic” discourse has striven to discredit the Catalan-Aragonese Crown’s “confederal” and “constitutional” form of state by pointing to the obsolete and “mediaevalising” nature of this model, which was unable to evolve politically and thus had no future.

The purpose of our contribution to this volume is to analyse the evolution of the constitutionalist tradition in the Crown of Aragon during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, focusing particularly on Catalonia, by comparing it with the model of the Castilian Court which was ultimately imposed after the Bourbon victory in the War of the Spanish Succession.² Unlike the interpretative paradigm of statalist unifying “determinism” so deeply rooted in Spanish nationalist historiography, we shall uphold the thesis that the ideology and institutional evolution of the Catalan-Aragonese pactist model was not a throw-back in the political world of Europe in the Late Middle Ages.

2

In the decades prior to the 1640 Revolution, Catalan political thinking never managed to formulate a clear proposal on popular or parliamentary sovereignty which could replace the corporate and jurisdictionalist paradigm carried over from the Middle Ages. However, together with the institutional and political upheaval in with the central government of the Spanish Monarchy that the Catalan institutions were enmeshed at that time, it did raise the levels of power and legitimacy attributed to the political community at the expense of those attributed to the prince. These theoretical strains ran counter to what was taking root during the same period in the heart of the Castilian

manipulative nature of this Spanish nationalist historiographic discourse can be found in: Juan Sisinio Pérez Garzón, “La creación de la Historia de España,” in *La gestión de la memoria. La Historia de España al servicio del poder*, ed. Juan Sisinio Pérez Garzón (Barcelona, 2000), pp. 63–110; Juan Sisinio Pérez Garzón, “Los mitos fundacionales y el tiempo de la unidad imaginada del nacionalismo español,” *Historia Social* 40 (2001), 7–27; and Antoni Simon, “Mitos historiográficos sobre la relación Cataluña España en la construcción del estado moderno. Una lectura crítica de la historiografía nacionalista española,” in *Mitificadores del pasado, falsarios de la Historia*, ed. José Antonio Munita (Bilbao, 2011), pp. 91–108.

- 2 A general comparative analysis of these two political traditions can be found in: Xavier Gil, “Republican Politics in Early Modern Spain: The Castilian and Catalano-Aragonese Traditions,” in *Republicanism. A Shared European Heritage*, eds. Martin Van Gelderen, Quentin Skinner, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Eng., 2002), 1: 263–88.

court, where, based on a heavy religious impetus, the goal was essentially to invigorate the power of the prince.

The issue of sovereignty that was being unleashed in legal-political thinking in Catalonia and more widely in Europe in the age of the reason of state frames the dispute around a seminal question: the locus of sovereignty. There are three main strains of thought on this issue: the monarchist vision, which essentially places sovereignty in the hands of the prince; the theory of corporate sovereignty, or shared sovereignty between the prince and the community; and finally the "populist" thesis based on popular sovereignty emanating from the community.³

In Catalonia, the thesis of corporate sovereignty had been assimilated back in the thirteenth century, and in the Late Middle Ages, jurists like Jaume Callís disseminated the idea of the *respublica* as a "mystical body" which placed the prince at the helm and his vassals as the members.⁴ This corporate representation can be summarised in the axiom "*princeps in respublica et respublica in principe*". This corporatist discourse, however, embodied a tension between the two poles of legitimacy, king and community, as well as two controversies over the conception and nature of the assembly representing the community, the Courts.

Catalan corporate thinking in the Late Middle Ages generally advocated a peer-to-peer relationship or dialogue between the community and the prince. This was a "pactist" sort of political conception which was grounded upon the jurisdictional limits on royal power which were derived from natural law or the law of nations, which would be enshrined in the royal oath.

This pactist or contractualist conception of power, which can be summarised in the formula "King and Parliament", gained an important theoretical alternative after the late sixteenth century. According to the increasingly clear perception of the strength of corporate assemblies and, in short, political communities being experienced in many parts of Europe, especially in England,⁵ in Catalonia a new conception of corporate sovereignty was also introduced

3 Quentin Skinner, *Los fundamentos del pensamiento político moderno*, trans. José Utrilla, 2 vols. (City of Mexico, 1986), 2: 119 and forward.

4 Aquilino Iglesia, "Cos místic," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 25 (1995), 683–97.

5 Geoffrey R. Elton, *The Parliament of England 1559–1581* (Cambridge, Eng., 1986); Corinne C. Weston, Janelle R. Greenberg, *Subjects and Sovereigns: The Grand Controversy over Legal Sovereignty in Stuart England* (Cambridge, Eng., 1981). For the vitality of the constitutionalist approaches in the Crown of Aragon, see: Joan Pau Rubiés, "Reason of State and Constitutional Thought in the Crown of Aragon 1580–1640," *The Historical Journal* 38/1 (1995), 1–28; Joan Pau Rubiés, "El constitucionalisme català en una perspectiva europea: conceptes i trajectòria. Segles XVI–XVII," *Pedralbes. Revista d'història moderna* 18/2 (1998), 453–74; an overview of parliamentarism in the Crown of Aragon can be found in: Xavier Gil, "Parliamentary life in

which can be summarised in the formula “*rex in curiae*”, which is equivalent to the English “King in Parliament”. According to this theorisation, the king was encompassed by a body from which he could not be distinguished and in which his power was subsumed. This formula, which in turn allowed for a variety of more or less restrictive interpretations of royal power, was mentioned in Catalonia in the works of Antoni Oliba and Andreu Bosc, and especially in Joan Pere Fontanella's memorials on the controversy of the royal oath of 1622.

Fontanella, primarily drawing inspiration from the Aragonese jurist Pedro Luis Martínez, claims specifically that “*lo supremo poder y jurisdicció de la Provincia no la té Sa Magestat a soles sinó sa Magestat y los tres Braços y statments de la Provincia, y tenen poder absolut y supremo de fer y desfer lleis, y mudar la machina y govern de la Provincia*”.⁶

However, on the threshold in the Revolution of 1640, the issue of the locus of sovereignty would develop an even more ground-breaking proposition: the thesis of original popular sovereignty, which would place the Catalan community, not the prince nor the community-prince binomial, at the legitimising core of sovereignty.

The populist theory of the source of the state's power had originally been formulated back in late-medieval political thinking. At the dawn of the fourteenth century, an heir to the Thomist doctrines, John of Paris, had postulated the principle that the kings had risen to power through the will of the people (*rex est a populi voluntate*), a principle which stemmed from the idea that power could only be attained through the consent of those being governed. During the centuries of the Late Middle Ages, Marsilius of Padua and Bartolus de Saxoferrato had also elaborated upon the political and legal underpinnings of popular sovereignty.⁷ In Catalonia, Francesc Eiximenis was the one who the

the Crown of Aragon: Cortes, Juntas de Brazos, and other Corporate Bodies,” *Journal of Early Modern History* 6 (2002), 362–95.

6 “the supreme power and jurisdiction in the Province is not held by His Majesty alone but by His Majesty and the three Arms and Estates of the Province, which have absolute and supreme power to unmake laws and move the machine and government of the Province”. Joan Pere Fontanella, *Per los diputats del General de Catalunya en defensa de la resolució presa en la Diputació y casa de la Ciutat acerca la assistència que-s pretenia avien de fer al jurament de lloctinent general, provehit per sa Magestat ans de jurar* (Barcelona, 1622), f. 2; on Joan Pere Fontanella, see basically: Joan Lluís Palos, *Els juristas i la defensa de les constitucions. Joan Pere Fontanella (1575–1649)* (Vic, 1997); and Josep Capdeferro, *Ciència i experiència. El jurista Fontanella (1575–1649) i les seves cartes* (Barcelona, 2012).

7 Walter Ullman, *Historia del pensamiento político en la Edad Media*, trans. Rosa Vilaró (Barcelona, 1983), pp. 190–216; Otto Von Gierke, *Teorías políticas de la Edad Media*, trans. Piedad García Escudero (Madrid, 2010), pp. 150–88; Anthony Black, *El pensamiento político en Europa, 1250–1450*, trans. Fabián Chueca (Madrid, 1996), pp. 190–200.

most clearly and strikingly expressed the idea that any state had its origins in a “foundational pact” or constitutive pact from the community, through which the state had the authority and right to establish the conditions under which the ruler exercised power. However, Eiximenis, who regarded the hereditary monarchy as the best form of governance for maintaining order and freedom, claimed that the king and princes had no authority in themselves but instead only administered power.⁸

Yet Eiximenis’ thesis does not seem to have been broadly accepted in sixteenth and seventeenth century Catalan political and legal thinking, although there are traces of it in authors like Rafael Cervera.⁹ As Jesús Villanueva has demonstrated, the populist theory of the source of power reached Catalonia in the decades immediately before the Revolution of 1640 through iusnaturalist populism from sixteenth century Castilian scholasticism.¹⁰ In the seventeenth century, there was *receptio* in Catalan political thinking of the populist theses developed by authors like Martín Azpilicueta, Francisco Suárez, Gregorio Martínez and Fernando Vázquez de Menchaca, who envisioned the state as a natural community that emerged from the social impetus of a collective that transferred power in order to fulfil its needs of defence and protection, yet reserving its freedom and sovereignty for itself. The principle that sovereignty naturally belonged to the community and that it could never abdicate this sovereignty was wielded by authors like Joan Pere Fontanella and Francesc Martí Viladamor in the constitutional controversies of the thirties and in the great texts justifying the Revolution of 1640. Likewise, this principle was incorporated into legal treatises such as *Regaliarum tractatus* (1644) by Acaci de Ripoll.

As is known, the development and dissemination of populist legal and political theses was often linked to historical-legendary constructions that supported the existence of founding pacts demonstrating popular sovereignty, a kind of “ancient constitution” that must be preserved or restored if it has been violated.¹¹

8 Francisco Elías de Tejada, *Las doctrinas políticas de la Cataluña medieval* (Barcelona, 1950), pp. 138–63.

9 Daniel Genís, “Francesc Eiximenis al segle XVII: la presència del Crestià en els ‘Discursos històrics’ de Rafael Cervera,” *Butlletí de la Reial Acadèmia de Bones Lletres de Barcelona* 51 (2007–2008), 91–128; regarding Eiximenis’ presence in Catalan thinking in the seventeenth century, see also: Jorge García López, “Francesc Eiximenis en la Guerra dels Segadors: dos pliegos de la colección Bonsoms,” *Estudi General* 22 (2002), 421–43.

10 Jesús Villanueva, *El concepto de soberanía en las polémicas previas a la Revuelta Catalana de 1640*, PhD Dissertation (Bellaterra, 2002), pp. 156–64.

11 John G. A. Pocock, *The Ancient Constitution and the Feudal Law: A Study of English Historical Thought in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, Eng., 1987); Gleen Burgess, *The*

The ties between history, legal-political thinking and contemporary reality are quite clear in the case of Aragon with the development of the myth of the *furs* (codes of law) of Sobrarbe, which were literally developed in the twelfth century but would attain full legal and ideological maturity in the sixteenth century. The ideological base of the alterations of 1591 was vigorous Aragonese constitutionalist thinking, mainly stemming from the efforts of chroniclers and jurists like Jerónimo Blancas, Pedro de Molinos, Gerónimo de Portolés and Pedro Luis Martínez, who connected the populist schema of sovereignty with the founding myth of Aragon.¹² Jerónimo Blancas, the author who made perhaps the most comprehensive historical-political construction, drew direct inspiration from François Hotman's *Francogallia* (1573), a work which re-created the "ancient constitution" of France and was widespread in European political thinking during the Baroque.¹³ In Catalonia, as revealed by Jesús Villanueva's research, the populist founding myth of the Catalan *respublica* was re-created in the late sixteenth century through a new story on the medieval origins of Catalonia.¹⁴

Catalan political thinking had used historical-legendary episodes of the *Nou Barons de la Fama* (Nine Barons of Fame) and *Guifré el Pelós* (Wilfred the Hairy's) detachment from the Frankish kings and his campaigns to free Catalonia from the yoke of Islam both to argue the Catalan prince's independence from the imperial domain and to support the corporativist thesis that framed the origins of Catalonia as a shared enterprise between the prince and his subjects. However, in the late sixteenth century, a new historical version took root which claimed that after the fall of the Visigothic monarchy, the Christians who were the forerunners of the future Catalans had spearheaded the reconquest of the country occupied by Muslims on their own, without

Politics of the Ancient Constitution: An Introduction to English Political Thought 1500–1800 (Basingstoke, 1992).

- 12 Ralph G. Giesey, *If Not, Not. The Oath of the Aragonese and Legendary Laws of Sobrarbe* (Princeton, 1968); Jesús Gascón, "Los fundamentos del constitucionalismo aragonés. Una aproximación," *Manuscrits. Revista d'Història Moderna* 17 (1999), 253–76; Xavier Gil Pujol, "Constitucionalismo aragonés y gobierno Habsburgo: los cambiantes significados de Libertad," in *España, Europa y el mundo Atlántico. Homenaje a John H. Elliott*, eds. Richard L. Kagan, Geoffrey Parker, trans. Lucía Blasco, María Condor (Madrid, 2001), pp. 217–50.
- 13 Jerónimo Blancas, *Comentarios de las cosas de Aragón*, ed. and trans. Guillermo Redondo, Esteban Sarasa (Saragossa, 1995).
- 14 Jesús Villanueva, "Francisco Calça y el mito de la libertad originaria de Cataluña," *Revista de Historia Jerónimo Zurita* 69–70 (1994), 75–87; Jesús Villanueva, *Política y discurso histórico en la España del siglo XVII. Las polémicas sobre los orígenes medievales de Cataluña* (Alicante, 2004), especially pp. 53–72.

any prince, and that thereafter they had sought the protection of the kings of France, to whom they subjected themselves in a spontaneous, voluntary act. This new interpretation was based on documents heretofore ignored by historiography: the precept of Charles the Bald handed down in 844 to the *hispani* in the Spanish March and conserved in a copy from the thirteenth century which encapsulates the first *Liber antiquitatum* of the archive of the cathedral of Barcelona.¹⁵ As Jesús Villanueva himself noted, the archivist Francesc Tarafa was the one to discover the precept of Charles the Bald, although he did not have the chance to include it in his *Chrònica de província de Cathalunya* because this work reaches no further than the Visigothic period. However, the dissemination and incorporation of this document into the political-ideological discourse came about thanks to the poet and historian Francesc Calça, although the document was not published until 1603 in Friar Francesc Diago's *Historia de los victoriosísimos antiguos Condes de Barcelona*. This author seemed to make use of the handwritten volumes of *De Catalonia* that Calça never managed to publish.¹⁶

The precept—with the new interpretation of the medieval origins of Catalonia—added extraordinarily important legal and ideological elements. First of all, it demonstrated the original “franchise” of Catalonia, that is, its almost total fiscal immunity which was assumed to remain intact. Secondly, it proved the legal autonomy that Catalonia had always enjoyed thanks to French kings’ respect for the Visigothic laws. Finally, it revealed the true origin of the Catalan pactist regime, since it could refer to both the thesis of Gothicist continuity—according to which Catalan pactism derived from the court regime in the Visigothic monarchy—and the thesis of “constituent” pacts with the Frankish kings. Therefore, this is a classical version of the popular theory of the state, with a vindication of the community’s original freedom prior to the constitution of royal power, which subsisted once this power had been put into place. Likewise, the new historical narrative entailed the condition of respect for Catalonia’s own laws since it was the outcome of a pact of submission and therefore the origin of limited royal power or even the underpinning of an elective monarchy.

The majority of historians in Barcelona’s scholarly circle in the 1620s—Jeroni Pujades, Jaume Ramon Vila, Rafael Cervera and Esteve Corbera¹⁷—as well as the numerous jurists who participated in the jurisdictional controversies in

15 Ramon d'Abadal, ed., *Catalunya Carolíngia II. Els diplomes carolingis a Catalunya* (Barcelona 1926–1952), 2/2: 422–25.

16 Villanueva, *Política y discurso*, pp. 76–79.

17 Antoni Simon, Jesús Villanueva, “El cercle erudit i històric barcelonès dels anys vint i trenta del Sis-cents i la Revolució de 1640,” *Revista de Catalunya* 122 (1997), 40–53.

which the Catalan institutions were enmeshed with the Crown during the decades prior to 1640 (including Joan Pere Fontanella, Pere Antoni Jofreu and Felip Vinyes) adopted the idea that the Carolingian privileges contained the founding pacts of the Catalan *respublica*.¹⁸

However, after the 1640 uprising, the propagandists, theologians and jurists on the Catalan revolutionary side divulged the populist theses and overstated the political deductions in an effort to justify the war and the separation from the Spanish monarchy. Francesc Martí Viladamor in particular, in his *Notícia universal de Catalunya* (1640) and especially in his *Praesidium inexpugnabile Principatus Cataloniae* (1644), made the boldest political derivations of this populist historical-legal construction on the source of power. Martí Viladamor upheld the existence of an elective political regime in Catalonia while also developing a thesis on the right to resistance based on the defence of tyrannicide.¹⁹

In short, in the years of the revolutionary process of 1640, even though the theorisations of Catalonia political thinking stretched the model of corporate sovereignty with medieval roots to its utmost, they never managed to replace it with a parliamentary regime based on the principle of popular sovereignty or, more precisely, sovereignty of the estates. However, political practice extended beyond these theoretical limitations since with Pau Claris' calling of the *Junta General de Braços* (Church, Military and Royal or Popular Arms) on the 10th of September 1640, a corporate assembly was set into motion that acted with fully sovereign power. Between the 10th of September 1640 and the 30th of December 1641 —the date when Louis XIII took his oath on the laws and constitutions of the Principality through Marshal Brezé— the institutional representatives of the Catalan *Braços* appointed officials to impart justice and administer the land; they recruited and organised a Catalan militia; they implemented and collected new taxes; they coined money; and they turned themselves over to the sovereignty of Louis XIII of France after having broken the bonds of loyalty that bound them to Philip IV.²⁰

It is true that this power would not take on an explicitly republican guise, since it simply rendered royal sovereignty idle; however, in political practice, the *Junta General de Braços* of 1640–1641 acted as a sovereign power that based

18 Villanueva, *Política y discurso*, pp. 103–06; Antoni Simon, *Els orígens ideològics de la Revolució catalana de 1640* (Barcelona, 1999), pp. 121–62.

19 Simon, *Els orígens ideològics*, pp. 187–98, 265–66; Villanueva, *El concepto de soberanía*, 194; Jon Arrieta, “La ‘lex regia’ en la obra de Francisco Martí Viladamor: recepción y evolución del concepto,” *Pedralbes. Revista d'història moderna* 28 (2008), pp. 103–40.

20 Basili de Rubí, *Les Corts generals de Pau Claris* (Barcelona, 1976); Simon, *Pau Claris*, pp. 311–25, 411–14.

the legitimacy of its decisions on natural law and on *ius gentium*. From this the principle of *quod omnes tangit ab omnibus aprobari debet* derived, which is implicit in the conception of popular sovereignty that had developed in Catalan political thinking in the decades prior to 1640.²¹

We should add that these advances towards popular sovereignty in both political theory and practice were accompanied by a tendency to expand the social base of the governing institutions. Thus, the *Junta General de Braços* of 1640–1641 witnessed a huge increase in the representation of the cities and villages compared to their representation in earlier Courts. Despite the pactist backsliding in the second half of the sixteenth century, this tendency was once again visible in the Parliament or Courts of 1701–1702, in which the Royal Arm asked to boost its representation in the Courts (the number of cities and villages with the right to attend), a request that was put into place in the Courts of 1705–1706, during which the Royal Arm also called for the individual vote to replace the unitary vote of each arm, just as the representatives of the third estate would in the French General Estates eighty years later, in 1789.²²

3

Many years ago, Charles H. MacIlwan noted that the limitation of the government by law was consubstantial with constitutional regimes, while also being the fundamental strand of continuity between “old” and “modern” constitutionalism.²³ The principle of all public authority being subjected to the rule of law was already present in the regime of Catalan corporate

21 Regarding the theoretical principles of the *Junta General de Braços* of 1640, based on the idea of popular sovereignty and the rise in societal participation in this institution, especially by the urban mesocracies, see: Aquilino Iglesia, “Pau Claris y la soberanía nacional catalana. Notas,” in *Actas del IV Symposium de Historia de la Administración* (Madrid, 1983), pp. 401–50; Víctor Ferro, *El Dret Públic català. Les institucions de Catalunya fins al Decret de Nova Planta* (Vic, 1987), p. 287; Eva Serra, “1640. Una revolució política. La implicació de les institucions,” in *La revolució catalana de 1640*, ed. Eva Serra (Barcelona, 1991), pp. 3–65, especially pp. 43–57; Simon, *Pau Claris*, pp. 31–25; Villanueva, *El concepto de soberanía*, pp. 144–48.

22 See: Eva Serra, “Les Corts de 1701–1702: la represa política a les vigílies de la Guerra de Successió,” *L’Avenç* 206 (1996), 22–29, especially pp. 25–26; and Mònica González, “Les Corts catalanes de 1705–1706,” *L’Avenç* 206 (1996), 30–33.

23 Charles H. MacIlwan, *Constitucionalismo antiguo y moderno*, trans. Juan José Solozabal (Madrid, 1991), p. 37.

sovereignty in the Middle Ages.²⁴ This principle was manifested in two basic legal-political mechanisms: 1) the prince's oath that he and his officials will observe the constitutions and other laws of the country, an obligation established by the Parliament or Courts of Barcelona in 1299; and 2) The reparation of grievances committed by the king and royal officials at every meeting of the Courts, which, as Víctor Ferro stresses, had a clear judicialist purpose of defending the underpinnings of the legal system agreed upon.²⁵

After the upheaval of the Civil War in the fifteenth century, the so-called constitution of *Observança* or *Poc Valria* approved by the Parliament or Courts held in Barcelona in 1480–81 sought to ensure the subjugation of the executive authority to the structure of the Catalan legal system by declaring any order, provision or command from the king and the royal officials that ran counter to the laws of the Principality null and void.²⁶ By virtue of this constitution, the Royal Audience was charged with handing down its opinion in the last instance—with a binding nature that could not be appealed—on possible cases of noncompliance with and violation of what was stipulated in the constitutions, chapters and acts of court, privileges and any other norm similar to the agreed-upon laws of Catalonia. However, this mechanism to control constitutional legality was nullified by the fact that it was entrusted to a tribunal that was the advisory body of one of the parties (royal power) and that the choice of its members was controlled by the monarch.

In the sixteenth century, the fragility of this cornerstone of the Catalan judicial and political-constitutional edifice led to numerous clashes between the representatives of Catalan institutions and members of the royal administration. Thus, in the Courts of 1533, the Catalan deputies demanded a *tribunal de contrafaccions* (court to determination violations of the constitution) independent from the Royal Audience, denouncing the fact that the constitution of *Observança* would not profit at all if the methods of 1481 continued.²⁷

However, what we wish to spotlight here is that during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Catalan pactist system continued to make headway in its quest for legal and institutional solutions so that the primacy of the rule

24 Tomàs de Montagut, "El principi de l'imperi del dret i el control de la seva observança a la Catalunya medieval i moderna," in *Corts i Parlaments de la Corona d'Aragó. Unes institucions emblemàtiques en una monarquia composta*, eds. Remedios Ferrero, Lluís Guàrdia (Valencia, 2008), pp. 559–67.

25 Ferro, *El Dret Públic català*, pp. 409–11.

26 Ferro, *El Dret Públic català*, pp. 412–18.

27 Àngel Casals, *L'emperador i els catalans. Catalunya a l'imperi de Carles V (1516–1543)* (Granollers, 2000), p. 271.

of law would prevail in the political order of the Principality. This tendency ran counter to what was being imposed during those same centuries in the heart of the Castilian court, which determined the fate of the Spanish monarchy of which Catalonia was a part.

At the heart of the Castilian court, the reception of the theses of sovereignty put forth by Jean Bodin and other theoreticians of absolute monarchy only sparked arguments to reinforce the legitimacy of a royal power with absolutist tendencies which, in Castile, had a longstanding doctrinal tradition that can be dated back to the reign of Alfonso x. After all, despite the existence of political and legal thinking that was critical—or relatively critical—of the idea that the monarch was above positive law and that he could therefore legislate and grant privileges at will, the *comunis opinio* of the doctrine of Castilian policy in the Early Modern Age was that the sovereign was only limited by divine, natural law and the law of nations.²⁸

The constitutional tensions over the king's *potestas iurisdicendi*—that is, over his ability to legislate, judge and interpret laws—were quite visible back in the Courts of Monzon of 1585; these tensions became particularly pronounced at the start of the reign of Philip IV and seriously damaged relations between the Crown and the Catalan institutions. Indeed, they became a chief factor in the failure of the Courts of 1626–1632 and triggered the spiral of tensions that preceded the rupture of 1640.²⁹

After the death of Philip III in March 1621, the Catalan institutions opposed the continuation of the viceregal government of the Duke of Alcalá, alleging that the viceroy could neither take oath nor act because the monarch had not done so. Similar opposition was reprised in 1622 with the appointment of Joan de Sentís, bishop of Barcelona, as the new viceroy.³⁰ The Catalan institutions' resistance to these appointments was grounded upon the conception that the viceregal jurisdiction was not ordinary but delegated, and that therefore it had ended upon the death of the monarch to whom it had been delegated. Therefore, the administration of justice befell the highest ordinary magistrature: the *portant-veus* of the general governance, which came to serve as the

28 Salustiano de Dios, "El absolutismo regio en Castilla durante el siglo XVI," *Ius Fugit* 5–6 (1996–1997), 53–236.

29 Jon Arrieta, "La disputa en torno a la jurisdicción real en Cataluña (1585–1640): de la acumulación de tensión a la explosión bélica," *Pedralbes. Revista d'història moderna* 15 (1995), 33–93.

30 On this historical context, see: John H. Elliott, *La revolta catalana. 1598–1640*, trans. Josep Vallverdú (Barcelona, 1966), pp. 142–47; Jesús Lalinde Abadía, *La institución virreinal en Cataluña (1471–1716)* (Barcelona, 1964), pp. 55–56 and 84.

“viceroys” and to preside over the Audience until the new monarch took the oath to observe the privileges and constitutions of the Principality and appoint a new viceroy.³¹

In addition to the institutional strain, these episodes were accompanied by a far-reaching constitutional debate that John H. Elliott has compared to the one in the Kingdom of Bohemia in 1619, when its estates deposed Ferdinand II and chose in his place the Palatine elector Frederick.³²

The absolutist reform advocated by the Count-Duke of Olivares and the desire to defend the agreed upon legality of the Catalan contractualist system clashed in the Parliament or Courts of Barcelona of 1626–32. The ruling class of the Principality, led by the Military Arm, interpreted that the action of the viceroys constantly violated the laws and constitutions of the Principality and that the mechanism to control legality called for in the constitution of *Observança* (appeal to the Royal Audience) was totally ineffectual. The project of creating a *tribunal de contrafaccions* submitted to the Courts of 1626–32 had several forerunners in the proposals put forth in the Courts of 1533, 1585 and 1599, which had different formulations but shared the feature of diminishing the power of the Audience and questioning the principle of last appeal to the authority of the prince.³³

The clashes amongst the very same estates that had unleashed the proposed reform of the constitution of *Observança* in the Courts of 1626–32 have been noted. It is true that there might have been inter-estate and intra-estate disagreements regarding the jurisdictional scope of the proposed *tribunal de contrafaccions*, as well as regarding the grievance procedures and the penalties to be applied, but it is equally true that these disagreements were goaded

31 On the institutional mechanism of the “*viceregia*”, see: Ferro, *El Dret Públic*, pp. 55–56 and 100–06; Jesús Lalinde, *La gobernación general de la Corona de Aragón* (Madrid, 1963), pp. 201–04 and 301–70.

32 John H. Elliott, “Catalunya dins d’una Europa de monarquies compostes,” *Pedralbes. Revista d’història moderna* 13/1 (1993), 11–23, see especially p. 18; in general about the ideological debate unleashed in 1621–1622, see: Simon, *Els orígens ideològics*, pp. 121–29.

33 Regarding the sessions of 1626, see: Elliott, *La revolta*, pp. 205–33; Eulogio Zudaire, *El conde duque y Cataluña* (Madrid, 1964), pp. 44–59; Jesús Villanueva, “El debat sobre la constitució de l’Observança a les Corts catalanes de 1626–1632,” *Manuscrits. Revista d’Història Moderna* 13 (1995), 247–72; Simon, *Pau Claris*, pp. 61–64. Regarding the sessions of 1632: Elliott, *La revolta catalana*, pp. 261–72; Eulogio Zudaire, “El cardenal infante vi-rrey de Cataluña,” *Hispania* 31/84 (1961), 580–633; Villanueva, *El debat*; Simon, *Pau Claris*, pp. 64–68; Antoni Simon, “Corts i exèrcit. Catalunya en l’estratègia política del ministeri del comte duc d’Olivares (1632–1640),” *Manuscrits. Revista d’Història Moderna* 32 (2014), 179–202.

on by the royal ministers with the purpose of halting the proposal, which was ultimately rejected by the monarch. This, in turn, played a key role in the failure of the Courts.

In the sessions of 1632, despite dissent on the coverage of the ministers for the city of Barcelona, the debate on the constitution of *Observança* continued. Once again, the Military Arm took the initiative and submitted a variety of proposals to amend the laws, but just as in the sessions of 1626 there were major disagreements between the arms on the composition of the *tribunal de contrafaccions*. However, the royal ministers' outright rejection of any of these formulas is much more significant, as they interpreted that this *tribunal de contrafaccions* would usurp royal sovereignty.

The continuation of the desire to subjugate the executive power to the legal structure of the Principality can be seen in the French-Catalan pacts of La Peronne (19 of September 1641) which, after the Revolution of 1640, sealed the Catalans' handover to the rule of Louis XIII of France. Chapter 14 of these pacts was targeted at ensuring respect for the laws and constitutions of the Principality by creating a *tribunal de contrafaccions* made up of thirteen judges, seven of them from the Royal Council and the other six extracted from the regional government's *Llibre de l'Ànima* (book of potential public servants).³⁴

However, the state of war that Catalonia experienced under French domination nullified the effective validity of this and many other points in the French-Catalan agreements. Likewise, the return of most of Catalonia to Spanish domination after the conquest of Barcelona by John Joseph of Austria in October 1652 signalled the start of a new era in the relations and political-constitutional articulation between Catalonia and the Crown. Even though there were still bids for power and rather complex jurisdictions, the general feature of the period that got underway in 1652 is unquestionably the sweeping progress of the jurisdiction of the royal institutions and power. Via institutional reform measures imposed after 1652, along with the strength conferred on the viceroys-captain generals by omnipresent war and the new ideological and mental framework derived from the failed revolutionary experience of 1640, a new stage in Catalonia's historical configuration was ushered in with a political balance that was tilted much more in favour of the king than the kingdom. With institutions that were stripped bare by royal power, Catalan pactism began to backslide after 1652, and the constant violations of the laws and constitutions

34 Josep Sanabre, *La acción de Francia en Cataluña en la pugna por la hegemonía de Europa 1640–1659* (Barcelona, 1956), pp. 650–51.

perpetrated by the viceroys, military officers and royal officials were now met with a much less vigorous response than in the stage prior to 1640.³⁵

Despite the difficulties in Catalan constitutionalism caused by the lengthy cycle of war and open violence after the 1640s, the resurgence of the pactist culture in the parliaments would be proof of the buried strength and deep roots of these constitutionalist principles in Catalonia. At the start of the seventeenth century, the relative weakness of the Court of Madrid and the circumstances in international politics which conditioned Louis XIV made Philip v willing to pay a political price to the Catalans for accepting a dynastic change that had been driven by the "Castilian national party" of Cardinal Portocarrero.³⁶

In the Parliament or Courts of Barcelona of 1701–1702, the new Bourbon monarch did not budge in the two core issues that had caused tension in the political life of the Principality since 1652: the demand for the institutions' return to self-governance and the regulation of the accommodation of the troops. However, in compensation, major legislative concessions were made in both politics and economics,³⁷ including the restoration of the *tribunal de*

-
- 35 Regarding this new political-constitutional stage, see mainly: Fernando Sánchez Marcos, *Cataluña y el gobierno central tras la guerra de los Segadores (1652–1679)* (Barcelona, 1983); Eva Serra, "El pas de rosca en el camí del austriacisme," in *Del patriotisme al catalanisme* (Vic, 2001), pp. 71–103; Josep M. Torras, "L'aparença de normalitat després de la derrota: la Generalitat de Catalunya fins al decret de Nova Planta," in *Dietaris de la Generalitat de Catalunya VII* (Barcelona, 2002), pp. 9–29; Antoni Simon, *Construccions polítiques i identitats nacionals. Catalunya i els orígens de l'estat modern espanyol* (Barcelona, 2005); Antoni Simon, *Del 1640 al 1705. L'autogovern de catalunya i la classe dirigent catalana en el joc de la política internacional europea* (Valencia, 2011).
- 36 Jean Béranger, *El imperio de los Habsburgo 1273–1918*, trans. Godofredo González (Barcelona, 1992), p. 344; regarding the gestation of the dynastic change in the Madrid Court, see: Luis Ribot, *Orígenes políticos del testamento de Carlos II. La gestión del cambio dinástico en España* (Madrid, 2010).
- 37 Regarding the Courts of 1701–1702, see mainly: Jaume Bartrolí, "La cort de 1701–02: un camí truncat," *Recerques* 9 (1979), 57–75; Serra, "Les Corts de 1701–02," pp. 22–29; Jesús Lalinde, "Las Cortes de Barcelona de 1702," *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español* 62 (1992), 7–46; Ernest Belenguer, "Entorn de les darreres corts catalanes a l'Edat Moderna. Una institució peril·litada?," in *Les Corts a Catalunya. Actes del Congrés d'Història Institucional*, 28, 29 i 30 d'abril de 1988 (Barcelona, 1991), pp. 168–72; Joaquim Albareda, *Els catalans i Felip V. De la conspiració a la revolta 1700–1705* (Barcelona, 1993), pp. 70–90; Joaquín Albareda, "Las cortes de 1701–1702 en Cataluña: Rey y 'República'," in *Contributions to European Parliamentary History*, eds. Joseba Agirreazkenaga, Mikel Urquijo (Bilbao, 1999), pp. 291–309; Joaquim Albareda, "Les Corts de 1701–1702 i 1705–1706. La represa del constitucionalisme," in *Constitucions, capítols i actes de Cort. Anys 1701–1702 i 1705–1706*, ed. Joaquim Albareda (Barcelona, 2004), pp. 5–33; Simon, *Del 1640 al 1705*, pp. 255–62.

contrafaccions, made up of six members, three representing royal power (the regent of the Chancery and the two most senior doctors in the Audience) and three representing the *Braços* (the archbishop of Tarragona, the protector of the Military Arm and the chief councillor of Barcelona). The Court's constitutions 36, 37 and 38 which regulated this tribunal also established a sort of lottery among the judges on the court to grant the vote to one of them in the case of a tie and stipulated that the court's decisions were definitive and not subject to appeal.³⁸ However, political practice from 1702–1705 demonstrated that neither the Royal Audience nor the Crown were willing to grant supreme jurisdiction in justice matters, and this became clear in what is called the “Jäger Affair”, when there were attempts to activate the juridical-constitutional mechanisms of the constitutional court for the first time over the expulsion of this Dutch pro-Austriacist merchant from Catalonia.³⁹

In the Parliament or Courts of Charles of Austria from 1705–1706, the composition of the *tribunal de contrafaccions* agreed to in 1701–1702 was slightly modified. After that, the three judges from the royal side were the Chancellor, the regent of the Chancery and the most senior judge from the Audience, while from the *Braços* it was stipulated that the representative from the Royal Arm was the Chief Councillor of Barcelona and could not be a member of the nobility. However, perhaps the most important regulation that emerged from constitutions 83, 84 and 85 which regulated the new *tribunal de contrafaccions* was the reinforcement of its autonomy and authority, since possible legal consultations from the court to the Royal Audience were eliminated, as were the causes for exceptions that benefitted the royal officials.⁴⁰

However, on an extraordinary basis, the War of the Spanish Succession would once again limit the effective validity of this tribunal which guaranteed Catalan legitimacy.

38 Joaquim Albareda, ed. *Constitucions, capítols y actes de cort, fetas y atorgats per S.C.R. magestat del rey nostre senyor Don Felip IV de Aragó y V de Castella* (Barcelona, 2004), pp. 32–41.

39 Eduard Martí Fraga, *La Conferència dels Tres Comuns (1697–1714). Una institució decisiva en la política catalana* (Barcelona, 2008), pp. 96–106. Regarding Jäger's personal and family background, see: Albert García Espuche, *Barcelona entre dues guerres. Economia i vida quotidiana 1652–1714* (Vic, 2004), pp. 292–323.

40 Joaquim Albareda, ed. *Constitucions, capítols y actes de cort, fetas y atorgats per S.C.R. magestat del rey nostre senyor don Carlos III* (2004), pp. 128–43.

4

Besides the topic of the locus of sovereignty and the subjugation of public authority to the rule of law, the divergence between the Castilian Court's model of state and the model developed in the political culture of the Catalan-Aragonese parliament would spur yet another seminal question in the definition of the territorial organisation of a state. However, this topic is particularly complex given the "composite" or "segmented" nature of the majority of political formations in medieval and Renaissance Western Europe, including the Spanish monarchy.⁴¹

Generally speaking, the constitutionalist avenue of thinking advocated a territorial model of state that recognises the institutional diversity of the historical formations that comprise it, while in the majority of cases the absolutist and pro-uniformity tendencies were tamped down, since institutional diversity was interpreted as an obstacle to the strengthening of royal power.

It should be noted that there is no dearth of exceptions to this rule. Thus, a supporter of placing limits on monarchic power, Juan de Mariana, who even advocated tyrannicide, was, in contrast, a supporter of Spanish institutional unity.⁴² Likewise, we can find several theoreticians from the Crown of Aragon

41 For the notion of composite monarchy, see: John H. Elliott, "A Europe of Composite Monarchies," *Past and Present* 187 (1992), 48–71; Pablo Fernández Albaladejo, "Lex Regia Aragonensium: Monarquía compuesta e identidad de los Reinos en el reinado de Felipe III," in *España y Suecia en la época del Barroco (1600–1660)*, eds. Enrique Martínez Ruiz, Margarita de Pazzis (Madrid, 1998), pp. 51–72; also the series of studies compiled by Conrad Russell and José Andrés Gallego: Conrad Russell, José Andrés Gallego, eds., *Las monarquías del Antiguo Régimen, ¿Monarquías compuestas?* (Madrid, 1996); specifically regarding Catalonia: Núria Sales, "Podem parlar de la Catalunya dels Àustries com d'un estat? ¿I on rau l'estatalitat, en les monarquies compostes?," *Manuscripts. Revista d'Història Moderna* 15 (1997), 23–31; for the notion of segmented state, see: Charles Tilly, *Las revoluciones europeas 1452–1992* (Barcelona, 1994), especially chapter 2, pp. 41–75; also interesting conceptually: John Robertson, "Empire and Union: Two Concepts of the Early Modern European Political Order," in *Union for Empire. Political Thought and the British Union of 1707*, ed. John Robertson (Cambridge, Eng., 1995), pp. 3–36; a comparison of Spain and Britain can be found in: Jon Arrieta, John H. Elliott, eds., *Forms of Union: the British and Spanish Monarchies in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Donostia, 2009).

42 Joan Pau Rubiés, "La idea del gobierno mixto y su significado en la crisis de la Monarquía Hispánica," *Historia Social* 25 (1996), 57–81, especially pp. 69–72; Simon, *Construccions polítiques*, pp. 99–103; Mateo Ballester, *La identidad española en la edad Moderna (1556–1665). Discursos, símbolos y mitos* (Madrid, 2010), pp. 189–226; regarding Mariana's political thinking in general, see: Guender Lewy, *Constitutionalism and Statecraft during the Golden Age of Spain: A Study on the Political Philosophy of Juan de Mariana* (Ann Arbor,

who upheld moderate regionalism (such as the Valencians Cristòfor Crespí de Valldaura and Llorenç Mateu i Sanz) while at the same time defending the local codes of law, privileges and institutions of each kingdom.⁴³

However, the predominant note was that the theorisations from the Castilian Court which pointed towards strengthening royal authority came hand in hand with a political proposal of unity across the Iberian Peninsula, the centre or heart of the monarchy, since it believed that the combination of these two avenues was the best recipe for ensuring the “conservation” of the state.

Indeed, after the sixteenth century, a prominent group of jurists, chroniclers, theologians and professors linked to the Spanish monarchy’s spheres of governance and administration advocated forming a Spanish political community as a future project that could deal with the upheaval and roadblocks of that stormy time in the shaping of the modern state. In general, these authors (Baltasar Álamos de Barrientos, Pedro de Valencia, Martín González de Cellorigo, Sancho de Moncada, Gregorio López Madera, etc.) followed the line of thinking that posited that the monarchy’s overextension was the source of its weakness. In the opinion of many authors, the ideal lay in a mid-sized, compact, united and well-governed monarchy, and they often cited the example of France to offer a mirror and model to follow.⁴⁴

The opinion that the excessive size and vast dispersion and diversity of the Spanish monarchy was the primary root of its weakness still survived in the time of the absolutist reform of Olivares’ ministry. Thus, in his *Respuesta al manifiesto de Francia* published in 1635 in the midst of the war of papers unleashed upon the King of Castile’s declaration of hostilities against the King of Catalonia-Aragon, Diego Saavedra y Fajardo, the diplomat from Murcia, supported the ideal of the mid-sized, well-governed monarchy: “*Mas como es verdad que un exercito mediano bien governado basta para deshazer el mayor del mundo, assí lo que es una mediana Monarquía bien governada tiene bastante-mente lo que ha de menester para resistir las que se estienden mas. Un palo largo se rompe mas fácilmente que otro corto del mismo grueso*”. Despite the fact that this is a propagandistic anti-French combat text, Saavedra y Fajardo praised the political constitution of the French monarchy: “*Concluyo que la Francia tiene todo el ámbito que debemos desearla para poder ser bien regida, governada*

1960): Harald E. Braun, *Juan de Mariana and Early Modern Spanish Political Thought* (Aldershot, 2007).

43 James Casey, “‘Una libertad bien entendida’: los valencianos y el estado de los Austrias,” *Manuscripts. Revista d’Història Moderna* 17 (1999), 237–52.

44 Simon, *Construccions polítiques*, pp. 65–94.

y unida en la persona de su Soberano y que, siendo bien reglada, tiene gente y dinero para hazer frente a la mayor Monarquía del mundo".⁴⁵

The treatise writers in the Castilian Court were aware that this desired cohesion was impossible to achieve because of the constellation of peoples and territories in the Spanish empire, but perhaps they were not aware that it was not possible for the peoples and territories of Spain itself, a concept which a long hegemonist cultural tradition in Castile had attempted to appropriate and politicise. To many theoreticians, there were enough elements in this scenario on the Iberian Peninsula —compact territory, the commonality of a shared past, similarities in customs and culture— that, when coupled with the shared prince and religion, it enabled them to think about the formation of a Spanish national political community.

The author who surely made the most comprehensive and elaborate political proposal in this vein, and who exerted the most influence on the reformist and unifying projects of Olivares' ministry, was the tactician Baltasar Álamos de Barrientos. In his *Discurso político al rey Felipe III al comienzo de su reinado*, this former partner of Antonio Pérez sketched out a view of the Spanish monarchy in which the leitmotiv was the insecurity prompted by its plethora of enemies, both at home and abroad, and the weakness of its forces. However, there were several avenues or means of redressing this difficult situation. Within the monarchy as a whole, Álamos de Barrientos highlighted "united kingdoms", the ones "*unidos y trabados unos con otros, que son los que tiene en términos de España, poderosos de suyo, aunque estuvieran solos*".⁴⁶ Just like Tommaso Campanella, he proposed a policy of marital ties and exchanges of government posts and sinecures among the ruling classes of Castile, Aragon and Portugal as a way of uniting the kingdoms. The unifying project was expressed by Álamos de Barrientos in words that are a clear foretaste of Olivares' subsequent discourse:

45 "Just as it is true that a well-governed mid-sized army is enough to undo the largest army in the world, so it is true that a well-governed mid-sized monarchy has enough of what it needs compared to those which are larger. A long stick breaks more easily than a shorter one of the same thickness"; "I conclude that France has the entire realm that we should wish it to have to be well-ruled, well-governed and united in the person of its sovereign and that, being well-ruled, it has enough people and money to handle the largest monarchy in the world". Diego Saavedra, "Respuesta al manifiesto de Francia (Madrid, 1635)", 1635. *Historia de una polémica, semblanza de una generación* ed. Jose Maria Jover Zamora (Madrid, 1949), p. 518.

46 "which worked with each other, the ones which in terms of Spain are powerful unto themselves even if they are alone". Baltasar Álamos de Barrientos, *Discurso político al rey Felipe III al comienzo de su reinado*, ed. Modesto Santos (Barcelona, 1990), p. 19.

fácilmente Castilla se quedaría Castilla, y Aragón y Portugal serían Castilla [...] Que en fin unes leyes, unos privilegios, unos nobles, unos eclesiásticos y poseedores comunes de sus rentas muy brevemente harán un reino de muchas provincias. Pero que sea uno solo, y un rey de todos y de todo.⁴⁷

The purpose of seeking a base or centre for the monarchy that was broader than Castile may have been shared by the majority in the court circles, but the Castilian bias of the text reproduced above, which permeated Álamos de Barrientos' entire discourse, meant that ultimately his proposal was closer to a model of annexation than integration. This follower of Tacitus asserted Castilian pre-eminence by saying: "*Los reinos de Castilla, que son sin duda la cabeza de esta monarquía, como Roma, Constantinopla, Macedonia y Persia lo fueron de las antiguas*".⁴⁸ Just like many other treatise-writers from the Castilian court, Álamos de Barrientos complained about Castile's huge efforts to maintain the empire while seeking political solutions to deal with the enormous challenges of international politics, and at the same time the challenges of the internal crisis of Castile.

With regard to this unitarist model, we should note that the idea or plan to set up a broad, binding political-territorial base on the Iberian Peninsula may have been formulated based on somewhat divergent lines of thinking. To the sectors in the Castilian court who advocated a reduction in the monarchy's multiple international commitments or even its territorial mutilation, this was the logical solution to stanch the drain on the core and to ensure its "conservation". The ideal of a compact, well-articulated state that was more attentive to its internal needs than to faraway foreign policies would be fulfilled following this course. However, the reputationist or imperialist sectors were also able to support this undertaking since the political, fiscal and human unity of the peninsular territories—especially evident if the Castilian model was used—would argue for the possibilities of conserving the empire and triumphing in the struggle with the French power for hegemony over Europe.

The rootedness and awareness of these ideas among the circles in the monarchy's Castilian court was deep and sweeping. Thus, in the stage of Count-Duke Olivares' ministry, there was an attempt to test a set of military, fiscal

47 "Castile would easily remain Castile, and Aragon and Portugal would be Castile [...] That ultimately laws, privileges, nobles and ecclesiasts and shared owners of their incomes would soon make a kingdom of many provinces. But there should be just one king, a king of everyone and of everything". Álamos de Barrientos, *Discurso político*, pp. 106–07.

48 "The kingdoms of Castile, which are unquestionably the head of this monarchy, like Rome, Constantinople, Macedonia and Persian were of the ancient monarchies". Álamos de Barrientos, *Discurso político*, p. 26.

and institutional reforms that combined a political model with absolutist trends with the establishment of a state centre identified with the peninsular territories.⁴⁹ Just like many members of the central government of the monarchy, Olivares, the omnipotent Private of Philip IV, thought that institutional diversity and the barriers that laws, privileges and constitutions entailed for the authoritarian exercise of royal power were an obstacle that had to be eliminated. And, as is clear in his 1624 *Gran Memorial*, Olivares supported “Spanish” unification in which the Castilian institutional model was transplanted to other peninsular territories:

Tenga Vuestra Magestad por el negocio más importante de su Monarquía el hacerse rey de España; quiero decir, señor, que no se contente Vuestra Magestad con ser rey de Portugal, de Aragón, de Valencia, conde de Barcelona, sinó que trabaje y piense con consejo maduro y secreto de reducir estos reinos de que se compone España al estilo y leyes de Castilla.⁵⁰

However, the theorisations and political practice that aspired to unify the Iberian Peninsula legally and politically were at total odds with the historical and legal traditions and developments that prevailed in Catalonia and, in general, throughout the entire Crown of Aragon. In fact, when this political conceptualisation of Spain envisioned in peninsula-wide terms took hold at the Castilian Court, Catalonia underwent a process of institutional and identity strengthening that made it even more difficult for Castile to carry out its hegemonistic unifying plans.

Especially after the last decades of the sixteenth century, the *Diputació del General* or *Generalitat*, as delegation of the estates, and the *Consell de Cent* (“Council of One Hundred”) in behalf of the city of Barcelona, became more representative of the Catalan community and less representative of royal power. The strengthening of these institutions—administratively, symbolically and in other spheres⁵¹—as well as the *Generalitat* promotion of taxation and

49 Elliot, *La revolta*, p. 192; John H. Elliott, *El conde duque de Olivares. El político en una época de decadencia*, trans. Teófilo de Lozoya (Barcelona, 1990), pp. 202–12.

50 “May His Majesty have as the most important business of his Monarchy the job of becoming the King of Spain: I mean, my Lord, that Your Majesty should not be content to be the King of Portugal, of Aragon, of Valencia, and Count of Barcelona, but that you should work and think with mature, secret council to reduce these kingdoms that Spain is comprised of to the style and laws of Castile”. John H. Elliott, J. Francisco de la Peña, eds., *Memoriales y cartas del conde duque de Olivares* (Madrid, 1978), p. 96.

51 Basically, Miquel Pérez Latre, *Entre el rei i la terra. El poder polític a Catalunya al segle XVI* (Vic, 2003), especially pp. 33–74; Miquel Pérez Latre, *La Generalitat de Catalunya en temps de Felip II* (Barcelona, 2004).

a financial system, enabled it to articulate a web of interests and complicities around it that spread to broad swaths of Catalan society.⁵²

Within this historical framework, there was an unquestionable strengthening of Catalan national identity. This conscious idea of a Catalan nation was reflected in the historical and legal arguments that accompanied the clashes over jurisdiction or sovereignty between the Crown and the Catalan institutions. In parallel, among the ruling groups—and also among broad swaths of the middle classes—a political culture took root in which the defence of the laws of the “land” would become a prime political value. Likewise, the economic, cultural-linguistic and historical thinking of the period would nourish and reflect the idea that Catalonia was the political fatherland of the Catalans.⁵³

In this context Early-Modern Catalan political thinking advocated, with only a handful of exceptions, even among the most royalist authors,⁵⁴ an institutionally plural model of state, and the most common vein among the more constitutionalist theoreticians was a combination of the principle of the primacy of the rule of law with the idea of respect for the institutional variety of the monarchy. Thus, in his anonymous leaflet published in 1622 amidst the controversy over the royal oath, the renowned jurist Joan Pere Fontanella clearly stated the differences between the Catalan constitutionalist regime and the regimes in other kingdoms and provinces of the monarchy:

Las cosas del Principat de Cathalunya, no se han de medir ni judicar conforme las de altres Regnes y Provincias, ahont los Reys y senyors de aquelles són soberanos senyors, amb tanta plenitud que fan y desfan lleys

52 Bernardo Hernández, *Fiscalismo y finanzas en la Cataluña moderna: La real hacienda y el erario de la Diputación catalana en la época de Felipe II*, PhD Dissertation (Barcelona, 2001), especially pp. 353–67; also: Eva Serra, “Diputats locals i participació social en les bolles de la Diputació del General (1570–1638). Una mostra i una reflexió,” *Pedralbes. Revista d’història moderna* 13/1 (1993), 259–79. The graphs and maps from these articles were published in: Eva Serra, “Diputats locals i participació social en les bolles de la diputació del general (1578–1638): Una mostra i una reflexió,” *Pedralbes. Revista d’història moderna* 14 (1994), 199–206.

53 Regarding the strengthening of Catalan national identity in this period, see basically: Simon, *Construccions polítiques*, pp. 135–268; Eulàlia Duran, “Patriotisme i historiografia humanística,” *Manuscrits. Revista d’Història Moderna* 19 (2001), 43–58; Maria Antonia Martí Escayol, *La construcció del concepte natura a l’Edat Moderna. Natura, cultura i identitat en el pensament català dels segles XVI i XVII* (Bellaterra, 2005); Oriol Junqueras, *Economia i pensament econòmic a la Catalunya de l’Alta Edat Moderna (1520–1630)* (Bellaterra, 2006), especially pp. 155–65.

54 Xavier Gil, “El discurs reialista a la Catalunya dels Àustries fins el 1662, en el seu context europeu,” *Pedralbes. Revista d’història moderna* 18/2 (1998), 475–87.

ad libitum y governan com volen a sos vassalls; y después de aver fetes las lleys no estan subjectes a elles.⁵⁵

And during the Revolution of 1640, the Catalan polemicists openly denounced Olivares' policy of unity. In his *Noticia universal de Catalunya*, Francesc Martí Viladamor waged a frontal attack on Olivares' policy of Hispanisation which sought to break the moulds of the constitutional order inherited from the Catholic Kings: "*para sacar la Monarquía del riesgo que la amenaza, ha tomado una resolución, aunque difícilmente, precisamente necesaria, que pues todos los súbditos a un monarca reconocen, según los preceptos de la Política, sin distinción alguna, reconozcan solamente un Rey, una ley y una moneda*".⁵⁶ Martí Viladamor's perception of the "new policy" which the government of Madrid wished to introduce was quite clear. The Count-Duke's particular animosity towards the Principality and the calculation that its submission was the key to imposing his unitarist programme around the entire Iberian Peninsula was the reason Catalonia had become Olivares' most important political target: "*Por un rayo de crueldades que arroje el Privado a qualquier reino o provincia, ha de arrojar mil a Catalunya, porque por su disposición, y la de sus moradores, es la tierra que puede imponer mas estorvos a su intención*".⁵⁷

However, it should be noted that the mixture of the constitutional model of the exercise of power (which stipulated control of executive power according to representative assemblies) and the "confederal" model of the definition of state created ambiguities and problems that were not always thoroughly addressed or solved in the constitutionalist theorisations.

There were essentially two problems: 1) How to define—especially in view of international policy—an executive power shared by quasi-independent historical formations and at the same time by distinct geopolitical, economic and

55 "The matters of the Principality of Catalonia should be neither measured nor judged according to the matters of other Kingdoms and Provinces, where their Kings and lords are sovereign rulers with such power that they make and unmake laws *ad libitum* and govern their vassals as they will; and after having made the laws they are not subject to them". Fontanella, *Per los diputats*, f. 2.

56 "To remove the Monarchy from the risk that the threat has taken a resolution that was precisely necessary, though difficult, and that therefore all the subjects of a monarch recognise, according to the precepts of the Policy, without any distinction, only one King, one law and one currency". Francesc Martí Viladamor, *Noticia universal de Catalunya* (Barcelona, 1640), p. 105.

57 "For a rash of cruelties that the Private [Olivares] brings to any kingdom or province, he must bring a thousand to Catalonia, because its disposition and that of its denizens is the realm that can pose the most obstacles to his intention". Martí Viladamor, *Noticia universal*, p. 107.

other interests, and 2) How to adapt this model of state to growth through new territorial acquisitions, whether from marital ties or conquest. The case of the Spanish monarchy, which joined the Crowns of Aragon and Castile, the Portuguese empire and other territories, may be paradigmatic of this issue. The response to these questions in terms of political theory was the development of representative federal bodies (courts of the monarchy and a kind of "council of councils"), which Diego Saavedra y Fajardo noted in the mid-seventeenth century and which the Aragonese exiled Austriacist Juan Amor de Soria theorised more elaborately in the eighteenth century.⁵⁸

Conclusion

The vision of Spanish nationalist historiography which upholds the political modernity of centralist and unifying absolutism compared to the constitutionalist, plural system of the Crown of Aragon in general and Catalonia in particular assumes the inability of the pactist and "confederal" system of the Old Regime to evolve towards the forms found in democratic parliamentarism. According to this interpretative paradigm, the destruction of the traditional freedoms by absolutism was a necessary step prior to reaching the regime of freedoms of contemporary democracies through the liberal revolutions.

This interpretative assumption does not bear up in the realms of historical experience and the evolution in the world of ideas. The Catalan constitutionalist tradition, and more generally the same tradition in the Crown of Aragon, which pointed towards a model of state based on a balance of powers and the regulation of executive power according to collectively-rooted criteria, was not a model that was unable to develop. The specific cases of England, Sweden, the Netherlands and the Helvetic Union demonstrate that "old constitutionalism" evolved from forms of shared sovereignty towards republican or parliamentary monarchy models, and finally into fully liberal-democratic regimes through longer or shorter transitional periods.⁵⁹ The Catalan-Aragonese state's political

58 José Antonio Maravall, "Las tendencias de reforma política en el siglo XVIII español," *Revista de Occidente* 52 (1967), 53–82; Virginia León, "Una concepción austracista del Estado a mediados del siglo XVIII," in *Coloquio Internacional Carlos III y su siglo*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1990), 2: 213–24; Ernest Lluch, *L'alternativa catalana (1700–1714–1740)*. Ramon de Vilana Perlas i Juan Amor de Soria: *teoria i acció austriacistes* (Vic, 2000), pp. 9–114.

59 Helmut G. Koenigsberger, "Republicanism. Monarchism and Liberty," in *Royal and Republican Sovereignty in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Robert Oresko, Graham C. Gibbs, Hamish M. Scott (Cambridge, Eng., 1997), pp. 43–74; Quentin Skinner, *Liberty before*

horizon was characterised by respect for the historical, legal and institutional personality of each of the parts that comprised the “composite monarchy” or “segmented state”, which would also have been historically feasible, as proven by some of the specific cases just cited.

Likewise, in the field of political thinking, especially after John A. Pocock published his *The Machiavellian Moment* in 1975, numerous authors, including Quentin Skinner, Maurizio Viroli and Philip Pettit, among others, have noted the connections between the Italian republican political traditions in the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance and the principles of “freedom” that inspired the Atlantic revolutions of the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries.⁶⁰ These republican traditions, the heirs to classical antiquity in a host of different guises, had much in common with the theories and political practices of Catalan or Aragonese pactism, which was grounded upon the idea of mixed government—which also existed in the classical world and postulated a combination of the monarchic, aristocratic and popular forms of government—and aspired to govern the political community under the fundamental principles of the rule of law and the commonweal.

Liberalism (Cambridge, Eng., 1998); Wim P. Blockmans, “The Parliamentary History of the Netherlands and Belgium compared to that of Sweden,” in *The Swedish Riksdag in an International Perspective*, ed. Nils Stjernquist (Stockholm, 1989), pp. 33–45. For Catalonia, see: Hector López Bofill, *Constitucionalisme a Catalunya. Preludi de modernitat* (Barcelona, 2009).

- 60 John A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment. Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton, 1975); Maurizio Viroli, *Republicanesimo* (Rome, 1999); Philip Pettit, *Republicanism. A Theory of Freedom and Government* (Oxford, 1997); Quentin Skinner, *Hobbes and Republican Liberty* (Cambridge, Eng., 2008); G. Bock, Q. Skinner, M. Viroli, eds., *Machiavelli and Republicanism* (Cambridge, Eng., 1990); James Hankins, ed., *Renaissance Civic Humanism. Reappraisals and Reflections* (Cambridge, Eng., 2000); Gelderen, Skinner, *Republicanism*.

The Medieval Heritage: Islands and Territories with a Specific Identity?

*Luciano Gallinari and Esther Martí Sentañes*¹

The Catalan-Aragonese cultural legacy in the Mediterranean islands needs to be analysed by distinguishing between the western and the eastern areas. We can talk about the cultural legacy, especially for the former area—although with varying degrees of intensity and typology—, while in the eastern sector, it must be considered that Catalan-Aragonese settlement was mostly limited and episodic.

In the Western Mediterranean, the Iberian legacy has declined in significantly different ways in the Balearic archipelago, Sicily and Sardinia. All of them share a very similar historical past, although with some significant differences characterising their identity at the time of their annexation to the Catalan-Aragonese crown. A first common element is that they belonged to the Byzantine Empire, which left traces of different depth on these three island societies, protecting them from Germanic dominations. The Balearic Islands and Sicily left the institutional, cultural and religious Byzantine orbit with the Muslim conquest, which occurred in a relative short space of time (eighth-tenth centuries), while Sardinia, always linked to the Empire, experienced a greater political and institutional autonomy between ninth and the eleventh centuries with the development of the “judical” society (from *iudex* = governor of the *Provincia Sardiniae*). At the same time, the Balearic Islands, Sardinia and Sicily are linked by other elements as in each of them, although for different reasons, “*non si costituì il laboratorio signorile che, nei secoli centrali del Medioevo (...), caratterizzò largamente, sia pure con forme ed esiti localmente differenziati, l'Europa postcarolingia, Italia meridionale compresa*”.² The destinies

1 Luciano Gallinari is the author of the text presented on pages 484–491 (Introduction, Sicily and Naples) and 503–507 (Easter Islands); Esther Martí Sentañes wrote the text on pages 491–492 and 494–503 (Sardinia and Malta). The remaining parts of the chapter were jointly-written by the authors.

2 “the seigniorial laboratory that long characterised post-Carolingian Europe during the central centuries of the Middle Ages was not fulfilled, although it was through locally differentiated formulae and outcomes, and including Southern Italy”. Igor E. Mineo, *Nobiltà di stato. Famiglie e identità aristocratiche nel tardo medioevo. La Sicilia* (Rome, 2001), p. 295.

of these islands merged in the thirteenth century under the Crown of Aragon, which deeply shaped their culture and society.

On the other hand, the identity of a person is often created in a dialogue within the space between us and the other, between the limits of a continuously changing frontier.³ To discuss the identity of a community, one must take into account different processes of historical memory and selection of this, always bearing in mind that this prioritisation is hardly an innocent choice. Political mechanisms and nationalist tendencies are nurtured by certain memories, leading to a selection of these and of historical memory that influences people's identity-building.⁴

Due to limitations of space, it is not possible to present a detailed study. Our main aim is to draw a picture of the most significant elements of the cultural heritage left on these islands and territories by the Crown of Aragon, and to discuss how some of these are actually part of the identity profile of the local population.

1 Naples and Sicily, with Malta

On Sicily, as well as on Sardinia, we find a historiographic tradition with deep roots and a widespread culture that have interpreted the islands' history in line with erroneous modern local stereotypes, as a succession of foreign domination always superimposed on the political will of the native Sicilian people with poorly-defined features.⁵ This concept of identity profile was favoured in the nineteenth century by two factors with strong political and ideological connotations: the *Risorgimento* against the foreign oppressor and the *Questione meridionale*, following Italy's Unification and rekindled after World War II by

3 Michele Parodi, "I fantasmi dell'antropologia," *Orbis Tertius* 1 (2010), 119; Marc Augé, *Pour une anthropologie de la mobilité* (Milan, 2010), pp. 11–18.

4 José A. Sesma, "La creación de la memoria histórica. Una selección interesada del pasado," in *Memoria, mito y realidad en la historia medieval. XIII Semana de Estudios Medievales* (Najera, 2003), pp. 13–14; Peter Burke, "La historia como memoria colectiva," in *Formas de historia cultural* (Madrid, 2000), pp. 65–85.

5 Fabrizio Titone, "Aragonese Sicily as a model of Late Medieval state building," *Viator* 44/1 (2013), 249. This is an example of what Flocel Sabaté argued in: Flocel Sabaté, "Identitats," in *Identitats*, ed. Flocel Sabaté (Lleida, 2012), p. 21: *En definitiva, investigar la història consisteix a posar de manifest els mecanismes emprats, per una determinada societat, en la construcció de la identitat* ("In conclusion, to research into History means to reveal the mechanisms used by a specific society for building its identity").

the rise of separatist demands transferred to a special regional autonomy, as occurred simultaneously on Sardinia.⁶

The Vespers insurrection and the subsequent election of Peter III of Aragon as King of Sicily (September 4th 1282) had enormous effects on the real extent of papal authority, the reshaping of the House of Anjou, and the balance between Mediterranean trading powers.⁷ The original support given to the House of Aragon by the Sicilians collapsed in 1295, when the island was due to return to Angevin hands, according to the terms of the Treaty of Anagni.⁸ Then Sicilian anti-Angevin sentiments and members of the new Catalan-Aragonese political class made a “nationalistic” choice in 1296 by crowning Frederick II—III according German account—who had been a lieutenant of his brother James II since 1291, king of Sicily without interrupting the dialogue with the Aragonese Crown.⁹

The first phase of the War of the Sicilian Vespers came to an end with the Peace of Caltabellotta in 1302, which decided that Sicily should be returned to the Angevins following Frederick II's death.¹⁰ This treaty gave institutional autonomy to the Kingdom and engaged it in a very long war with the Angevins accelerating its internal crisis combined with the insular aristocracy's economic recession, until Frederick III's death in 1377.¹¹ This phase of Sicilian history, with Princess Maria as heir to the throne, and the island divided into territories administered by four Vicars, ended with the Martin the Younger's coronation as King of Sicily (1392), which provoked strong resistance from part of the island's nobility. The latter has been interpreted by historians as a new Sicilian Vespers in terms of the defence of national independence, moving the many

6 Giuseppe Galasso, ed., *Alle origini del dualismo italiano: Regno di Sicilia e Italia centro-settentrionale, dagli Altavilla agli Angiò (1100–1350). Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Ariano Irpino, 12–14 settembre 2011* (Soveria Mannelli, 2014).

7 Illuminato Peri, *La Sicilia dopo il Vespro. Uomini, città e campagne 1282/1376* (Rome, 1990).

8 Vicente Salavert, *El tratado de Anagni y la expansión mediterránea de la Corona de Aragón* (Barcelona, 1952); Pietro Corrao, “Il nodo mediterraneo: Corona d'Aragona e Sicilia nella politica di Bonifacio VIII,” in *Bonifacio VIII. Atti del XXXIX Convegno storico internazionale* (Spoleto, 2003), pp. 154–55.

9 Titone, “Aragonese Sicily,” p. 220, n. 12. See also: Clifford R. Backman, *The decline and fall of medieval Sicily. Politics, religion and economy in the reign of Frederick III, 1296–1337* (Cambridge, Eng., 1995); Salvatore Tramontana, *Il mezzogiorno medievale. Normanni, svevi, angioini, aragonesi nei secoli XI–XV* (Rome, 2000).

10 Pietro Corrao, “Mezzogiorno e Sicilia fra Mediterraneo ed Europa (sec. XI–XV),” in *L'Italia mediterranea e gli incontri di civiltà*, eds. Pietro Corrao, Mario Gallina, Claudio Villa (Rome, 2001), pp. 95–168.

11 Mineo, *Nobiltà di stato*, pp. 90–95 and the bibliography cited here.

political, economic and personal bonds existing with the Catalan-Aragonese world to the background.¹²

During this period, between Martin's Sicilian coronation and the early years of the reign of Alfonso the Magnanimous, radical changes took place in the island society. Among them was the rise of the lesser and medium nobility and professionals, for whom the monarchy and restoration of the royal demesne meant the recovery of their sources of income and a guarantee of greater opportunities for social advancement as a reward for loyalty and bureaucratic, legal and financial services offered to the Monarchy.¹³

These classes became allies of the Sicilian kings in their struggle to restore the balance with the Barony. That was charged with tyranny for having illegally ruled using independentist "discourses" to cloak their rebellions, and also fuelled by the pope's exhortations against schismatic Catalans and fears of the rebels' redistribution of wealth in favour of Catalan and Sicilian noble supporters of the Monarchy. Given their sudden end and the subsequent return to royal obedience, these rebellions —mismatched and episodic— recalled the military pressures on the Crown for the recognition of their prerogatives, called into question by the monarchy's restoration and the relevant entry of Catalan feudal lords.¹⁴

On the death of Martin the Younger, some self-rule tendencies surfaced given the danger of becoming merged directly into the Crown of Aragon and losing any influence on local government, as evidenced by the request to Martin the Elder not to take general measures about the kingdom without consulting with the official representatives of the Sicilian political class.

However, the real crisis for the island came during the interregnum that preceded the election of Ferdinand I of Antequera (1412). Two key figures embodied the clash: Blanche of Navarre, widow of Martin the Younger and head

12 David Abulafia, "Signorial Power in Aragonese Southern Italy," in *Sociability and its discontents: civil society, social capital and their alternatives in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, eds. Nicholas Eckstein, Nicholas Terpstra (Turnhout, 2009), pp. 173–92.

13 Among others, see: Henri Bresc, *Un monde méditerranéen. Économie et société en Sicilie 1300–1450* (Rome, 1986), Sthephen R. Epstein, *An Island for itself. Economic development and social chance in late medieval Sicily* (Cambridge, Eng., 1992) and *Rappresentazioni e immagini della Sicilia tra storia e storiografica. Atti del convegno di Studi*, eds. Francesco Benigno, Claudio Torrissi (Caltanissetta, 2003).

14 Other elements inciting to speak about rebellion are: the rapid co-optation of many rebels among the highest echelons of power and their full acceptance of the new Iberian dynasty after the end of the rebellion. The Sicilian aristocracy seemed much less sure than its European contemporary counterparts and unable to sustain the confrontation with the monarchy to restore its power. See: Mineo, *Nobiltà di stato*, p. 257.

of the alliance and autonomist, and Bernat de Cabrera, master executioner of the Kingdom, supporter of the rights of Aragonese. This contrast was read by late nineteenth-century historians as Sicilians versus foreigners, although the role of the champion of the island independence was attributed to Blanche, then to Cabrera. These “national” claims are nowadays combined with other similar and much later ones, as shown by the Maestro di Campo festival in Mezzoiuso (Palermo), which celebrates the clash between a queen (positive hero) and a *Maestro di Campo* with diabolical characteristics, in whom we recognise Cabrera (negative hero) defeated at the hands of Giuseppe Garibaldi.¹⁵

The autonomist claims concealed much more concrete needs of direct access to the monarchy, the source of distribution and legitimisation of power and wealth, according to a permanent feature of the Sicilian aristocracy since the times of the Vespers. This was further confirmed in 1413, when the Catania Parliament demanded a *re separatu* from Ferdinand I. These requests went unattended by the Aragonese king, who kept the Sicilian throne for himself by appointing a viceroy as his representative on the island; that was an institutional transition whose effects were no less than those caused by the Vespers.¹⁶ In the early years of the Viceroyalty, the Aragonese Crown, following Martins’ policy, consolidated the process of forming a new island society to make it a safe choice of interlocutor, enabling the monarchy to focus on funding his conquest of Naples.

Since the beginning of the fifteenth century, there had been some attempts to process the memory and public image of the island aristocracy due to the post-1392 institutional stabilisation, which led to the growth of the “State”: a partial new affirmation of the Crown’s authority and the development of the aristocracy as a fundamental element of the regional political space. This aristocracy operated in a new space, quickly integrated into the Crown of Aragon and Naples, after its annexation to the Crown. After 1412, the aristocracy depended on the relationship with the Crown and this was a long lasting element in Sicilian history. A constitutional, economic and identity-making dependence: royal service instead of the previous military identity. This institutional and political process prevented the occurrence of new episodes of baronial resistance in the fifteenth century. It was in this same century that in Sicily —now peaceful and politically stable, between the reigns of Alfonso the Magnanimous and Ferdinand the Catholic— the modern island aristocracy was established, as a part of a new political order from which it obtained its own full legitimacy.

15 Elsa Guggino, *I canti e la magia. Percorsi di una ricerca* (Palermo, 2004), pp. 373–74.

16 Mineo, *Nobiltà di stato*, p. 254.

So, in the mid-nineteenth century, under the crown's guidance, the formation of the modern upper nobility began, legitimised and institutionalised by the relationship with the king rather than by local roots.

An element of major importance for the institutional development of the Sicilian aristocracy as well as another important element of Catalan cultural heritage in the island, ever since the first half of the fifteenth century, was the insertion and stabilisation of the *Corts* as the Parliament in the Sicilian institutional structure. This change means an earlier historiographic hypothesis can be refuted, one according to which the central core of the modern island aristocracy would be formed in the Norman-Swabian times, during the Sicilian Vespers, or even in the fourteenth century.

After the mid-fifteenth century, there was a strong contrast between different social forces that were looking for new spaces to occupy. An echo of that was the political role assumed by the Kingdom's Diputation (*Diputació* or *Deputació*) which was structured according to the equivalent Catalan models, thus helping a further Catalanisation of Sicilian society, despite the survival of "nationalistic" instances. This would be the structure of the island until the early sixteenth century with the government of the viceroy Hugo de Moncada (1509) and the Inquisition (1513), against which the island reinforced resistance in defence of local interests and social classes.

As a result of all these events, contacts with Catalan culture are largely traceable in Sicily in many artistic expressions: painting, miniature, architecture and jewellery. There is an affinity between iconographic themes of cycles depicted by artists such as Steri di Palermo, Cecco di Naro, Simone di Corleone, the Darenas from Palermo inspired by romances, or the Bible. They recall Mudejar-type works from the fourteenth century.

From the mid-fifteenth century, painting in Sicily was closer to an Italian orbit, but the differentiation from the Catalan world was not produced through Antonello da Messina but by secondary painters. It is surprising that nothing like the great school of Sardinian-Catalan painting arose in Sicily. Perhaps it was influenced by the severe civil war of the late fourteenth century.¹⁷

Information about sculpture is very incomplete. The will of Eleanor, Queen of Aragon between 1349 and 1375, confirmed the unity of sculptural arts in precious materials, thanks to such artists as the royal silversmith Pere Bernés,—a central figure in the fourteenth century in the Iberian Peninsula— and Jordi de Déu, a Greek slave working just before 1377 in Tarragona and Barcelona,

17 Maria Concetta Di Natale Guggino, "Prèsencies ibèriques en les expressions artístiques a la Sicília del segle XV," in *Els Catalans a Sicília*, eds. Francesco Giunta, Martí de Riquer, Josep Maria Sans (Barcelona, 1992), p. 151.

and whose work was continued by his sons.¹⁸ In the fifteenth century, the presence of Iberian artists on Sicily or of other Sicilians—who worked in the purest Gothic style—are evidence of these relationships and the duration of the Gothic style. There is also confirmation of some ties in the field of furniture, as proved by the inventory of the Cruïlles family in 1395.

With the arrival of the first viceroy in 1415, close ties with the Aragonese Crown spread into Western Sicily, as demonstrated by some Valencian-Catalan artists already active in Syracuse: Diego de Xibilia, Jaume Sánchez de Sevilla and Juan de Valladolid. Deep Catalan influences are also found even in altarpieces, such as the one for Bishop Pujades of Palermo in the 1460s, with a table painted on both sides, as complex as any that had ever been seen in Sicily. In the western part of the island, the Reliquary of the Holy Thorn, the Processional Cross of the Cathedral of Mazara (Pere and Joan de Espanya, active from the 1420s) prove the presence of Iberian and Balearic silversmiths. The phytomorphic paradigm turned away from previous Tuscan models and approached Catalan ones.¹⁹

Even if starting from similar parameters, the architectural experience in the Christian Mediterranean between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries end up diverging: Central and Northern Italy adopted the Gothic style in the thirteenth century and turned decisively towards the Renaissance of classical forms in the *Quattrocento*. The Iberian Levant, Southern Italy and the islands insisted on testing some building traditions from Late Antiquity, associated with a renewal of Gothic languages.²⁰ This second area is the peculiar architectural heir to ancient times, as indicated by the building methods: diaphragm arches; concrete vaults, and a taste for the stereotomy of stone.²¹ The tendency to take the mechanical resistance of buildings to the limit was a result of intense experimentation, with its bases in the Franciscan roots common to the monarchies of Aragon, Anjou, Majorca, and Naples-Anjou.

18 See the recent Emma Liaño Martínez, "Jordi de Déu, 'maestre de images e de pinzel, de la ciutat de Mecina,'" in *Tra il Tirreno a Gibilterra. Un Mediterraneo iberico?*, eds. Luciano Gallinari, Flocel Sabaté (Cagliari, 2015), pp. 247–304.

19 Di Natale Guggino, "Prèsencies ibèriques," pp. 154–55.

20 This contrast between the geographical area of Burgundy, Provence, Eastern Spain and the Kingdom of Naples and the *Signorie* Italy continued during the Renaissance. See: Laura Carnevali, "L'arco tra geometrie e decorazioni nell'architettura catalano/aragonese," in *Verso un repertorio dell'architettura catalana. Architettura catalana in Campania. Province di Benevento, Caserta, Napoli*, ed. Cesare Cundari (Rome, 2005), pp. 91–92.

21 Arturo Zaragozá Catalán, "Constuidas a la manera de los antiguos romanos, con estilo gótico. Arquitecturas del Gótico mediterráneo," in *Verso un repertorio dell'architettura catalana* (Rome, 2005), p. 32.

From a linguistic point of view, despite the important political role of the Crown of Aragon between thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, the theme of the presence and spread of Catalan in Italy has not been sufficiently appreciated, except on Sardinia. On Sicily, however, there was also the problem of different linguistic superstrates from French and Provençal area prior to the Vespers War, among which is not always easy to find the Catalan component. With the Catalan conquest, a Catalan-Sardinian-Sicilian lexical area was created in which it is difficult to establish the centre of irradiation of individual terms. However, Catalan influence appears far more limited in the bureaucratic and administrative terminology, unlike in Sicily's commercial and intellectual life.²²

As a dependent territory of the kingdom of Sicily, the Maltese archipelago experienced the same events and mutations that resulted in the radical realignment of the *Regno* with the territories of the new emerging power in the Western Mediterranean, the Catalan-Aragonese Confederation. Despite the settlement of an important Catalan garrison to maintain the Maltese stronghold, large-scale Catalanisation of the island was never intended, because it was not a realistic goal. For the Crown of Aragon it was vital to limit the access of the Genoese to the island, which at different stages of its history, had been a Genoese protectorate. Given the island's strategic potential, the Aragonese Crown was interested in using Malta as a springboard for expansion along the North African seaboard.

However, surviving documents referring to a Catalan presence in Malta are scarce and unconnected until the settlement on the island of Guillem Ramon de Moncada, who married Countess Lukina of Malta around 1308. In 1320, Moncada himself swapped the county of Malta for the lordship of Augusta, created in Sicily shortly before this date. This early connection with the Catalan Greece was reaffirmed with the integration of Malta into Frederick of Aragon's dominion. In 1330, Alfonso Frederick of Aragon, natural son of King Frederick of Sicily, who distinguished himself as Vicar General of Catalan Greece, retired from Greek politics and became hereditary count of Malta. His maternal relatives, Arnau de Solimella among others, settled on Malta, where leading positions, such as the island's *castlania* were entrusted to them.²³ There is no doubt

22 Alberto Varvaro, "Catalanismes en el dialecte sicilià," in *Els Catalans a Sicília*, eds. Francesco Giunta, Martí de Riquer, Josep Maria Sans (Barcelona, 1992), pp. 177–88.

23 Charles Dalli, "La Malta catalanoaragonesa: l'exemple de la família Desguanes," in *Els catalans a la Mediterrània medieval. Noves fonts, recerques i perspectives*, eds. Lluís Cifuentes, Roser Salicrú, M. Mercè Viladrich (Barcelona, 2015), p. 217; Francesco Giunta, Antonio Giuffreda *Acta Siculo-Aragonensia*, I, *Corrispondenza fra Federico III di Sicilia e Giacomo II d'Aragona* (Palermo, 1972), p. 181.

that the Catalan merchants included Malta as a crucial spot for routes towards the Levant, and as early as around 1335, there was already an active Catalan consulate on the island. Following the Catalan conquest of Sicily, the brief marquisate of Guillem Ramon de Moncada (namesake of his ancestor, the first Catalan count of Malta) was set up on Malta. The Catalan holders of the title of count of Malta in the fourteenth century are little known on the island.

The Desgues family deserves special attention. Its social ascent began in the early fifteenth century, representing a clear example of the urban gentry's opportunities in remote parts of the Catalan-Aragonese Confederation.²⁴ Following the restoration of royal government and central authority in the Kingdom of Sicily by the two King Martins, Malta was not excluded from the important flow of peninsular officials towards Sicily. The founder of the Desgues lineage in Malta, Guerau Desgues, acquired a significant reputation as a pirate between 1380 and 1390. This ambitious pirate secured his promotion through his service on galleys. In late 1403, Guerau Desgues was appointed squire of the Maltese *Castrum Maris*, and his family became one of the major feudal families on the island.²⁵ From the second generation onwards, the Desgues family was deeply rooted in the island's political structures, marrying into the urban nobility. Unlike his father, who was basically a pirate, Antoni was able to enter the local elite. Gradually, as the newcomers of Iberian origin became established on Malta, the family consolidated its position on the island and increased its wealth by acquiring new concessions. Municipal politics was one of the public environments of the lineage, particularly during the second half of the fifteenth century. There is no doubt that the second and third generations of the Desgues family of Malta still felt some kind of connection with their homeland.²⁶ But until when did the Desgues continue to see themselves as Catalans?

Closely linked to the destiny of Sicily is the kingdom of Naples, where the presence of King Alfonso the Magnanimous until his death in 1458 gave rise to a different social balance, with a subordination of Neapolitan political and economic interests to Catalan-Aragonese ones. However, unlike Sicily, here the monarchy had to seek the support of local nobility and, this way, promote

24 Dalli, "La Malta catalanoaragonesa," p. 218.

25 Maria Teresa Ferrer, "La conquista della Sardegna e la guerra di corsa nel Mediterraneo," in *I catalani in Sardegna*, eds. Jordi Carbonell, Francesco Manconi (Milan, 1984), pp. 37–39; María Dolores López Pérez, *La Corona de Aragón y el Magreb en el siglo XIV, 1331–1410* (Barcelona: 1995), pp. 160–61; Dalli, "La Malta catalanoaragonesa," pp. 219–20.

26 Dalli, "La Malta catalanoaragonesa," pp. 221–23; Godfrey Wettinger, ed., *Acta Iuratorum et Consilii Civitatis et Insulae Maltae* (Palermo, 1993).

the strengthening of prior conditions. Another important difference, stemming from this need for political support, was the scarce use of the *pactism*—a fundamental element of the Catalan-Aragonese legal culture—to which the Alfonso himself preferred authoritarianism which left him more freedom of action.

However the Catalan conquest of the Kingdom of Naples had beneficial effects of the modernisation of society and revitalisation of the economy. From an institutional perspective, the Crown and the Court with its political strength and prestige were now above the main structures of the previous reign (Treasury, Chancery, Holy Royal Council). This political and institutional transformation continued during the reign of Ferdinand the Catholic who was able to initiate the transformation towards an absolutist state, typical of the Modern Age.²⁷ This social structure, born in the “Catalan” era from the collaboration between the monarchy and the aristocracy in the role of a privileged subject, permeated the Kingdom of Naples and persisted in the following centuries, allowing the crown to overcome the difficult crisis between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

In the composition of the Neapolitan and Sicilian kingdoms—with a feudal structure, strong central institutions and other regional entities subordinate to the Crown—we can see, even after centuries, the heritage of typical political and institutional traditions and a tendency towards dialogue between the legal culture of the Crown of Aragon and the local authorities.

Moreover, it was mainly from under Alfonso the Magnanimous that the Catalan heritage can be recognised in buildings, urban planning and decorative aspects, made with taste and construction techniques imported by skilled Iberian workers who followed the Catalan kings.²⁸ It seems that they wanted to show their great building and structural ability, with the expansion of spaces and organisation of façades.

27 Guido D'Agostino, *Napoli, Mezzogiorno, Europa: poteri, istituzioni e società* (Naples, 2008).

28 In Naples the contribution of Catalan masters is particularly apparent in the Castel Nuovo. The work was awarded to the Majorcan Guillem Sagrera, who was erecting the cathedrals of Perpignan and Palma. Sagrera's vault in the barons' hall represents the contemporary crisis of the Gothic world more clearly than any other episode, although it again proposed its language. At the same time, however, almost to facilitate the osmosis between the Catalan artistic tradition and the Italian one, Alfonso entrusted Francesco Laurana with the construction of the triumphal arch, following the new Florentine trends heritage of the Italian courts, rested on Alberti's ideals of a classical *renovatio*. See: Arnaldo Venditti, “Presenze catalana nell'architettura aragonese (1442–1501) a Napoli e in Campania,” in *Verso un repertorio dell'architettura catalana* (Rome, 2005), pp. 150–53.

Catalan artistic influences spread throughout the kingdom of Naples favoured for politico-religious reasons by the feudal lords and Franciscans.²⁹ This is illustrated by some examples of civil architecture in Puglia (Palazzo Affaitati, Barletta) and confirmed by Anselm Adorno, pilgrim to the Holy Land in 1470–1471, who described some houses in Trani, which seemed to have been built with the technique using ashlar, whose origin (Italian or Spanish) is disputed but which is probably the result of a Mediterranean koiné.³⁰ The fame of these expert artists was such that they were hired for work in other Italian courts. This was the case of Peter of Benevento, who had worked with some other masters in the Wooden Chamber of Duke Ercole I D'Este in 1483. This news offer an opportunity to reflect on and review the flow of cultural and artistic currents, too often stereotyped.³¹

2 Sardinia

Since the creation of the *Regnum Sardinie et Corsice* in 1297, Catalans entered into contact with an island with a completely different political and social order. On Sardinia, they found Tuscan and Ligurian territorial lordships (the Doria, Malaspina, Spinola, Visconti and Gherardesca families), the Commune of Pisa, lord of a third of the island, and an institution entirely original in Western Europe's political landscape: the Judicate of Arborea, maintained throughout the course of its existence, like the other three, a social structure derived from its Byzantine origin in the Early Middle Ages. Such institutional specificity of its social structure, devoid of a noble class and a *militia*, was due to the absence of any long Germanic domination, or a deep penetration of feudal structures, as was the case in the rest of Western Europe until the eleventh century, when the island left the Greek political orbit to enter the western one.

The Aragonese conquest of the *Regnum* lasted for about a century (1323–1420) and it can be divided into two phases. A first phase (1323–1326) saw the

29 Aterrana—a hamlet in Montoro Superiore (Campania) on the National Road 88 “of Two Principalities”—is perhaps the only well-preserved district of Catalan-Aragonese architecture with portals, a well and a fountain. Giovanni Villani, “Momenti di architettura aragonese-catalana nelle province di Salerno e Avellino,” in *Verso un repertorio dell'architettura catalana* (Rome, 2005), pp. 135–36.

30 Clara Gelao, “Palazzi con bugnato a punta di diamante in Terra di Bari,” *Napoli nobilissima* 27/1–2 (1988), 12–28.

31 Tiziana Iazeolla, “... in forma dyamantum...,” in *Verso un repertorio dell'architettura catalana* (Rome, 2005), pp. 99–101, especially 107.

Catalans expelling the Pisans from the island and establishing “Italian” territorial lordships in their feudal network.³² In this same phase, one of the first consequences of the establishment of the *Regnum* and the inclusion of Sardinia in the Catalan-Aragonese political orbit was very pragmatic request by Hugh II to King James II in 1322 to change his own Judical title, given that the institutional relations with the Crown of Aragon began to take specific shape.³³ Thus, the judge would have wanted for him and his House a title with unequivocal identity-building and social characteristics that did not lend itself to possible misunderstandings within the new Iberian political and institutional framework. If so, the Judical dynasty could have felt the need for a higher degree of harmony with the Crown of Aragon. This request by the judge was a first, significant consequence of the Catalan presence on the island as it revealed a clear awareness of the difficulty of integrating the Judical society—of Roman-Byzantine origin and almost devoid of feudal institutions—within the Catalan-Aragonese society, with a widespread feudal system.

The Aragonese monarch rejected Hugh II's request, but showed himself willing to grant him another title after hearing his motivations. This complicated operation of integration and cultural assimilation of the Judical dynasty and its state, prompted by Hugh II, was gradually interrupted from the mid-fourteenth century with the rebellion of his son, Mariano IV. After thirty years of relative peace, the Judge's first insurrection (1353–1355)—and, especially, the second one, brought a clash between the Arborea dynasty and the Iberian Crown (1364–1420), and the Sardinian ruler became the bearer of a different political discourse, full of nationalistic and identity-building tones aimed at the independence of the Judicate and its rulers from Iberian monarchs.³⁴

The judge adopted some identity-building connotations defined as nationalist by recent Sardinian historiography. Such topics have been extensively re-used on the island and loaded with ideological and identity-building meanings, largely leading to ignoring the origin and the provenance of the wide Catalan and Iberian cultural heritage or, even worse, to dismiss it as “not Sardinian”

32 Sandro Petrucci, *Cagliari nel Trecento. Politica, istituzioni, economia e società. Dalla conquista aragonese alla guerra tra Arborea ed Aragona (1323–1365)*, PhD Dissertation (Sassari, 2010).

33 Luciano Gallinari, “Institutional and Personal Discourses between the Kings of Aragon and the Judges of Arborea (XII–XV Century),” in *Memory in the Middle Ages*, ed. Flocel Sabaté (forthcoming).

34 Luciano Gallinari, “Alcuni ‘discorsi’ politici e istituzionali nello scontro tra Pietro IV d'Aragona e Mariano IV d'Arborea,” in *Sardegna e Mediterraneo tra Medioevo ed Età Moderna. Studi in onore di Francesco Cesare Casula* (Genoa, 2009), pp. 149–83.

and belonging to an external culture that made the authentic island culture disappear.

Something similar happened after defeat of Arborea in the Battle of Sanluri (June 30th, 1409), when, among the conditions of Capitulations of San Martino (1410), the Judicial vicar, Leonardo Cubello inserted one concerning his person and the new dynasty that would rule the Marquisate of Oristano, the new institutional body that had replaced previous Judicate. Cubello asked for and received from the royal lieutenant Pere Torrelles a title that would make him equal to other barons of the Crown. Cubello's request can be interpreted as a sort of "social re-conversion", which aimed at his inclusion in the Aragonese society with a noble title that would guarantee the exponent of the Judicial aristocracy an adequate social status.

The armed conflict finished in 1420 with the *de iure* end of the Judicate and the ultimate cultural assimilation of the Judicial society within the Iberian one. The fall of the last Judicate ended a long period which had begun in 554, when Justinian created the *iudex Sardiniae*, the supreme civil official of the imperial province of Sardinia. Its end, and the integration of the Marquisate of Oristano into the Aragonese Kingdom of Sardinia and Corsica, was due to the awareness of the Sardinians, whose fate was gradually detached from that of the judges of the family, who wanted to extend the Judicate's boundaries to all of Sardinia.³⁵ An awareness raised by the last judges' intense anti-Aragonese propaganda, who described the period before the Iberians' arrival as the time of the freedom. This propaganda left traces in the island's culture, and some historians of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries considered "judical" Sardinia as the island's golden age, and regarded the transfer of authority from the pope to the king of Aragon in 1297 as the end of the "independence" of Sardinia, and an intolerable foreign interference.

The presence of the Crown of Aragon on Sardinia, either from an institutional, economic, linguistic or socio-cultural point of view, inevitably left a remarkable imprint on Sardinian culture. Since the arrival of the Catalan-Aragonese, the Crown expanded its cultural influences over large parts of the islands for the following five centuries. The initially well-defined frontier between the Catalan-Aragonese, including the population that first settled on Sardinia and their descendants, and Sardinian people weakened and cracked over the centuries, leading to a natural process of mutual assimilation, which,

35 Luciano Gallinari, "Nuovi dati su Mariano V sovrano di Arborea," *Medioevo. Saggi e rassegne* 21 (1996), 138–40; Luciano Gallinari, "Gli ultimi anni di esistenza del Giudicato di Arborea: Riflessioni e prospettive di ricerca," *Medioevo. Saggi e rassegne* 25 (2002), 186–90.

together with the elements provided by new dominations and the development of nationalism, would converge into a single identity, nowadays rich in contradictions. This Catalano-Aragonese heritage, not always easily discernible because of blending with other identity factors over the centuries, remains a notable basis of the identity of the Sardinian people through various elements—still largely visible today.³⁶

In the institutional field, several institutions persisted until the island became part of the Savoyan administrative system.³⁷ Moreover, it is well known that the parliamentary tradition in Sardinia is based on the custom of holding Catalan Courts as a Parliament, although they had fewer functions and efficiency on the island.³⁸

Sardinian royal cities also considered the Catalan municipal system a landmark, Barcelona being the model to follow. Cagliari, the capital of the kingdom, like the capital of Catalonia, would perform the main role in the parliaments and all contacts with the monarchy. Regarding the Sardinian citizen oligarchies, it is noticeable that a vast network of contacts and family and patronage begun to be woven as soon as arrived on the island, maintaining close blood and cultural ties with the mainland peninsular territories of the Crown. On Sardinia, similarly to what happened in Catalonia, it was common to have a family with different members within the parliament or involved in the highest levels of municipal administration, perpetuating family power over time. In this way, Sardinian Catalan elites endured through the centuries with strong influence.³⁹

36 For a more complete view of this topic, see: Esther Martí, “La identidad catalana en Cerdeña,” in *Sardegna catalana*, eds. Anna Maria Oliva, Olivetta Schena (Barcelona, 2014), pp. 229–56; and Esther Martí, “Corona de Aragón e identidad en la Cerdeña bajomedieval,” in *Identità e frontiere. Politica, economia e società nel Mediterraneo (secc. XIV-XVIII)*, eds. Lluís Guàrdia, M. Grazia Mele, Gianfranco Tore (Milan, 2015), pp. 23–32.

37 Antonello Mattone, “Le istituzioni e le forme di governo,” in *Storia dei sardi e della Sardegna*, ed. Massimo Guidetti, 4 vols. (Milan, 1989) 3 [*L'Età moderna. Dagli Aragonesi alla fine del periodo Spagnolo*], p. 217.

38 Francesco Manconi, “De no poderse desmembrar de la Corona de Aragón: Sardegna e i Paesi catalani, un vincolo lungo quattro secoli,” *Archivio sardo. Rivista di studi storici e sociali* 1 (1999), 45–46. On Sardinian parliamentary history see, among others: Alberto Boscolo, *Acta Curiarum. Regni Sardiniae. I parlamenti di Alfonso il Magnánimo* (Cagliari, 1991); Antonello Mattone, “I parlamenti,” in *I catalani in Sardegna*, eds. Jordi Carbonell, Francesco Manconi (Milan, 1984), pp. 83–91.

39 Gabriella Olla Repetto, “L'Amministrazione Regia,” in *I catalani in Sardegna*, eds. Jordi Carbonell, Francesco Manconi (Milan, 1984), pp. 47–50; Antonello Mattone, “I parlamenti,” in *I catalani in Sardegna*, eds. Jordi Carbonell, Francesco Manconi (Milan, 1984),

In this respect, the presence almost exclusively of families of Catalan and Valencian origin in some areas holding high positions on the island during the Late Middle Ages is noteworthy. This tradition would endure without substantial changes until the early seventeenth century. Moreover, the introduction of a new feudal system had important repercussions on Sardinia's political institutions and society from the fourteenth century, but above all, it laid the foundations for a system that would last, surviving dynastic changes, without drastic mutations for five centuries.⁴⁰

Enfeoffment largely responded to the monarchy's will to reward the new feudal lords for the help given. These mostly belonged to the middle and lesser Catalan and Valencian nobility. Therefore, numerous noble families of Iberian origin, such as the Aragall, Aymerich, Carroz, Centelles, Bellit, Boyl, Cardona, Sanjust and Roig, among others, left their mark on Sardinia.⁴¹

On Catalan inheritance in the arts, a number of influences from the Iberian Peninsula can be seen. These led to the development of a style, mainly used in architecture and painting, that is considered Sardinian. Among the many instances available, and which cannot be discussed here in details, a good example of hybridisation is the sanctuary of Bonaria in Cagliari, which displays certain elements that distinguish Sardinian Gothic from Catalan Gothic.⁴²

On the influence of the Catalan language on Sardinia, in his studies, Wagner already held that the Catalan-Castilian factor had the most significant impact

pp. 83–91; Alberto Boscolo, *Acta Curiarum. Regni Sardiniae. I parlamenti di Alfonso il Magnánimo*, 3 vols. (Cagliari, 1991); Esther Martí, "El Brazo real y las asambleas representativas en Cataluña y en Cerdeña en la Baja Edad Media. Notas para un estudio comparativo," in *La Corona Catalanoaragonesa, l'Islam i el món Mediterrani. Estudis d'Història Medieval en homenatge a la Dra. Maria Teresa Ferrer*, eds. Josefina Mutgé, Roser Salicrú, Carles Vela (Barcelona, 2013), pp. 451–60.

40 Marco Tangheroni, "Il feudalesimo," in *I catalani in Sardegna*, eds. Jordi Carbonell, Francesco Manconi (Milan, 1984), p. 41.

41 Francesco Floris, *Feudi e feudatari in Sardegna*, 2 vols. (Cagliari, 1996), 2: 388–90; Francesco Floris, Sergio Serra, *Storia della nobiltà in Sardegna: genealogia e araldica delle famiglie nobili sarde* (Cagliari, 1986), pp. 207–08.

42 Renata Serra, "L'architettura sardo-catalana," in *I catalani in Sardegna*, eds. Jordi Carbonell, Francesco Manconi (Milan, 1984), pp. 125–34; Aldo Sari, "L'architettura del Cinquecento," in *La società sarda in età spagnola*, ed. Francesco Manconi, 2 vols. (Quartu Sant'Elena, 1992), 1: 74–89; Renata Serra, *Pittura e scultura dall'età romanica alla fine del '500* (Nuoro, 1990); Salvatore Naitza, "La scultura del Cinquecento," in *La società sarda in età spagnola*, ed. Francesco Manconi (Quartu Sant'Elena, 1992), pp. 110–19. For a general overview of the heritage of the Crown of Aragon on Sardinia, see: Aldo Pillittu, "La civiltà artistica catalana in Sardegna," in *La Sardegna Catalana*, eds. Anna M. Oliva, Olivetta Schena (Barcelona, 2014), pp. 297–345.

on the Sardinian language, after Latin.⁴³ It is assumed that Catalan was the language of government and legislation, and it was also used in church administration practically until the mid-seventeenth century. However, it must be said that the impact of Catalan in the north of Sardinia was smaller than that registered in the southern area, and Cagliari remained the main point of dissemination of Catalanism, most of which is still evident in the Sardinian language.⁴⁴ In fact, Catalan permeated all social strata to the point that, even in the modern era, royal instructions in Spanish needed to be translated into Catalan in order to be approved or proclaimed. Similarly, the Spanish used in the administration features many Catalan elements which can be found in other kingdoms where Catalan was used.⁴⁵

Religious traditions cannot be ignored as many of them have clear elements of Catalan, and subsequently Spanish, influence, these being not always easily separable. In this respect, we must put the worship of various patron saints into context. These include Saint Eulalia or Saint Raymund Nonnatus, the latter was invoked in difficult births, a veneration closely linked to the Mercedarian presence.⁴⁶ In fact, Francis IV of Austria-Este, in his description of Sardinia, mentions that pregnant women used to measure to the statue of Saint Raymund with ribbons and, at the time of the birth, they would wear this ribbon around their waist.⁴⁷ This cult can be added to the long list of new devotions such as the Virgin of Montserrat, among others, which eventually became part of Sardinian identity, and this is still clearly visible in the local toponyms and onomastics.

On the other hand, the brotherhoods and guilds related to them had a prominent role in the spread of these cults. Although these confraternities

43 Max L. Wagner, "Los elementos español y catalán en los dialectos sardos," *Revista de Filología Española* 9 (1922), 221–65.

44 Giulio Paulis, "Le parole catalane dei dialetti sardi," in *I catalani in Sardegna*, eds. Jordi Carbonell, Francesco Manconi (Milan, 1984), pp. 155–56; Maurizio Virdis, "Il catalano e il sardo in rapporto," in *La Battaglia di Sanluri come scontro fra culture: quanto simili e quanto diverse? Quaderni di studi e ricerche* (Dolianova, 2008), pp. 135–43.

45 Jordi Carbonell, "La lingua e la letteratura medievale e moderna," in *I catalani in Sardegna*, eds. Jordi Carbonell, Francesco Manconi (Milan, 1984), pp. 94–95.

46 Carlo Pillai, "Il culto dei santi. Le feste religiose e profane," in *La società sarda in età spagnola*, ed. Francesco Manconi, (Quartu Sant'Elena, 1992), p. 186. Saint Ramon Nonato is still venerated in the Gothic Bonaria Sanctuary of Cagliari. With regard to the Virgin of Bonaria her popularity was such that she became the patroness of Sardinia.

47 Francesco Alziator, "Echi di tradizioni popolari nelle "Descrizione della Sardegna" di Francesco IV d'Austria-Este," in *Studi in onore di Francesco Loddo Canepa*, 2 vols. (Florence, 1959), 2: 8–10.

only reached their peak in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, it should be noted that much of the system of social organisation based on guilds derived from the customs of Barcelona.⁴⁸

Along with the incorporation of new cults, traditions of religious celebrations were also introduced and included new songs, the *gossos*, which spread across the island.⁴⁹ The *Cant de la Sibil·la* is also of Catalan origin, well known as *Lo senyal del Judici*, which is still recited every Christmas Eve in Catalonia, Valencia, Majorca, Roussillon and Sardinia, as well as every Christmas Eve in the cathedral of Alghero.⁵⁰ In the *Cançoner popular de Catalunya*, Marià Aguiló mentions the presence of this song on the island, “*una cançó de Nadal feta a Alger, Sardenya, a final segle XVIII*”, together with the *camarillas*, a song which in Catalonia, *caramelles*, is sung by young people on the eve of Easter.⁵¹

Furthermore, we can mention the highlights of the Holy Week in Cagliari, where a procession still persists with the mysteries following the Iberian tradition, and where the procession of the meeting, *S'Incontru*, also survives and which is traditional in different places in Catalonia and Valencia. Similarly, a number of texts composed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are characterised by a somewhat Iberian flavour as seen in the popular depictions of the Passion which are performed during Easter Week.⁵²

There was also much Catalan influence on dress and jewellery.⁵³ We can say that traditional costumes, particularly those used during festivities, which are

48 Maria Margherita Satta, “La religiosità popolare,” in *La società sarda in età spagnola*, ed. Francesco Manconi (Quartu Sant’Elena, 1992), p. 176; Giuseppina Usai, “Le confraternite,” in *La società sarda in età spagnola*, ed. Francesco Manconi (Quartu Sant’Elena, 1992), pp. 156–65.

49 Raimondo Turtas, “Alle origini della poesia religiosa popolare cantata in Sardegna,” in *Gosos. Poesia religiosa popolare della Sardegna centro-settentrionale*, eds. Raimondo Turtas and Giancarlo Zichi (Cagliari, 2004), pp. 11–12; August Bover, “I ‘goigs’ sardi,” in *I catalani in Sardegna*, eds. Jordi Carbonell, Francesco Manconi (Milan, 1984), p. 106.

50 The insularity has helped preserve many of the traditions that have disappeared in other parts of the Crown, such as the *Cant de la Sibil·la* still sung on Christmas Eve in Majorca and Alghero, or related to Easter and the Easter period. On this subject see: Antoni M. Alcover, *Corema, Setmana Santa i Pasco* (Palma of Majorca, 1956); Carbonell, “La lingua e la letteratura,” p. 97.

51 “A Catalan Christmas song in Alghero, Sardinia, in the end of 18th Century”. Josep Massot, *Semblances i comentaris* (Barcelona, 1999), pp. 282–83.

52 Juan Francisco Carmona, Antioco del Arca, Gian Pietro Chessa Cappai, *Testi di drammatica religiosa della Sardegna*, ed. Francesco Alziator (Cagliari, 1975), pp. 23–24.

53 Francesco Manconi, “L’eredità culturale,” in *I catalani in Sardegna*, eds. Jordi Carbonell, Francesco Manconi (Milan, 1984), p. 219; Max L. Wagner, *La lingua sarda* (Nuoro, 1997), pp. 203–07; Marisa Porcu Gaias, “La diffusione del gioiello nella Sardegna medioevale e

now worn on specific festive occasions, are a key element of the mechanisms underpinning awareness of identity and the traditional Sardinian costume falls fully into this definition. People in Cagliari and Alghero used to wear Catalan-style dresses and many other towns were likely also influenced through 'contamination' of their way of dress imposed by the textile industry.⁵⁴ In a way similar to clothing, we can also mention the many words of Catalan, and later Spanish, origin found in the description of women's and men's jewellery, as well as the devotional ones.⁵⁵ Several travellers reaching Sardinia between the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries attracted by the exotic characteristics of its people noted a significant Iberian influence in many aspects of Sardinian public and private life, in the dress code and the use of certain clothes for such celebrations as dances and processions.⁵⁶

A certain Catalan legacy is also found in the culinary universe of Sardinia. Many names of dishes, wines and sweets, and numerous cooking utensils and tableware, show remarkable similarities with equivalents in Iberian culture.⁵⁷

The island of Sardinia also retains distinct places of memory which embody the images of a past rich in meaning, which encompass civil rituals from which the sense of belonging to a group derives. In the case of Sardinia, in many of these places of memory, the factor of a Catalan past is nonetheless notably discernible, as a place completely accepted and almost idolatry for Sardinian people as a stronghold of their identity. This is the case of the Sanctuary of Bonaria, patron saint of all Sardinians; as an elements of opposition to a specific Sardinian identity, which sees in these elements linked to the 'invader' a point at which to reclaim a status for Sardinia, claims more or less tinged with demands for self-rule or independence. We can place the Battle of Sanluri in 1409 in this category. In fact, for the Sardinian people, the battle undoubtedly represents the harshest and most sorrowful expression of open

moderna. I corredi delle classi dominanti e i "tesori" delle chiese," in *Gioielli. Storia, linguaggio, religiosità dell'ornamento in Sardegna* (Nuoro, 2004), pp. 48–49.

54 Paolo Piquerredù, "Note di storia dell'abbigliamento in Sardegna," in *Costumi, Storia, Linguaggio e Prospettive del Vestire in Sardegna*, ed. Anna Pau (Nuoro, 2003), p. 25; Susanna Paulis, *La costruzione dell'identità. Per un'analisi antropologica della narrativa in Sardegna fra '800 e '900* (Sassari, 2006), pp. 233–36.

55 Porcu, "La diffusione del gioiello," pp. 48–49.

56 Ester Martí, "Fragmentos de identidad catalana en la cultura sarda a través de la visión de los viajeros del siglo XIX y XX en Cerdeña," in *Tra il Tirreno e Gibrilterra. Un Mediterraneo iberico?*, eds. Luciano Gallinari, Flocel Sabaté, 2 vols. (Cagliari, 2015), 2: 695–747.

57 Fernando Pilia, "Influssi della cultura catalana sulle tradizioni popolari sarde," *Quaderni bolotanesi: appunti sulla storia, la geografia, le tradizioni, le arti, la lingua di Bolotana* 17 (1984), 486–89.

conflict with the Crown of Aragon.⁵⁸ The heavy defeat of the Arborean troops and the almost immediate death of Martin the Younger⁵⁹ have made this macabre scenario a place of remembrance for Sardinians and an event which, remembered through the ages, has been transformed into a recipient of various elements that are essential for the Sardinian people and for the formation of the Sardinian identity.⁶⁰ Thus, this battle becomes a place of memory, evoked in the toponymy of the territory⁶¹ and in its annual re-evocation, which has been carried out since the beginning of the millennium on the same site where lore and memory place the battle.

On the other hand, we cannot ignore the monument erected to the memory of Martin the Younger in the Cagliari Cathedral and several ceremonies linked to it. Still in 1686, a magnificent ceremony was performed by Cagliari's councilors for the transfer of the Martin's remains to the new mausoleum.⁶² Scano mentions a ceremony held on November 2nd every year, and which has taken place in front of the mausoleum since the late seventeenth century, with a catafalque covered with the Aragonese coat of arms embroidered in gold, and twenty-four candles, following an ancient tradition.⁶³

A final point on the legacy of the Crown of Aragon on Sardinia concerns Alghero. This is perhaps the most emblematic example of cultural and linguistic heritage, with powerful ties persisting between Catalonia and this, the

-
- 58 Luisa D'Arienzo, "La Battaglia di Sanluri e il suo contesto storico," in *La batalla de Sent Luri. Textos y documentos*, ed. Rafael Conde (Oristano, 1997), pp. 24–27; Francesco C. Casula, *Profilo storico della Sardegna catalano-aragonese* (Cagliari, 1982), pp. 19–78; Alessandra Cioppi, "Arborea e Aragona in campo. Incontro e scontro di due identità," in *La Battaglia di Sanluri come scontro fra culture: quanto simili e quanto diverse?*, eds. Francesca Carrara, Giorgio Murru, Giovanni Serreli (Dolianova, 2008), p. 31.
- 59 The Battle of Sanluri has been seen throughout the centuries as an element of remembrance, linked to the death of the young King Martin the Younger and the disappearance of the House of Aragon, by the Catalan-Aragonese. It seems inevitable, then, that this battle is related to a whole series of legends. Among these, the most popular is the *Legenda della Bella di Sanluri*. Alberto Boscolo, "Leggende su Martino il giovane," in *La politica italiana di Martino il Vecchio re d'Aragona* (Padua, 1962), p. 149.
- 60 Esther Martí, "The Battle of Sanluri in the process of recreating Sardinian identity," in *Perverse identities. Identities in conflict*, ed. Flocel Sabaté (Bern, 2015), pp. 119–45.
- 61 Aldo Aveni Cirino, "Memoria di antiche battaglie nella toponomastica sarda: 'Sedda sa Batalla,'" in *Uomini e guerre nella Sardegna medioevale*, ed. Joan Armangué (Mogoro, 2007), pp. 5–16.
- 62 Boscolo, "Leggende su Martino," p. 156.
- 63 Dionogi Scano, "Morte e sepoltura di don Martino d'Aragona re di Sicilia," in *Mediterranea* 9 (1929), 4–8.

so-called *Barceloneta* of Sardinia.⁶⁴ *L'Alguer*, its Catalan name, has been perceived by the Catalan homeland as a survivor, a historic refuge in the sea of identity, since its massive repopulation in the times of Peter the Ceremonious with people from the Catalan lands. This factor, together with the pride of belonging to a privileged municipal reality linked to the Crown, have helped *Alguerès* last for centuries, and also allowed many cultural, religious and culinary traditions to persist (although obviously influenced by Sardinian and Italian culture); it is a delicious piece of the medieval Catalan universe even today.⁶⁵

3 The Eastern Islands and Territories

The issue of the Catalan-Aragonese inheritance in the Eastern Mediterranean islands appears significantly different from that associated with the western area. It is also difficult to understand this heritage because, after the old works of Antoni Rubió i Lluch and Lluís Nicolau d'Olwer, Catalan expansion in the East has been little studied.⁶⁶ Catalans distinguished themselves from Italian merchants because they did not control island seaports with a total extra-territoriality as a basis for their trading settlements. However, they were able to form fairly well defined communities in Egypt and Mamluk Syria.

In the Levant, the unique experience of territorial and institutional domain, partially comparable to those of the Western Mediterranean basin, was the Duchies of Athens and Neopatria, conquered in 1311 that, however, brought few strategic or commercial advantages.⁶⁷ At the end of the fourteenth century, John I of Aragon's policy for the Duchy was an example of rhetorical interest, with classical echoes and held together only by a minimal military support,

64 On Catalan on Sardinia and especially its survival and dissemination in Alghero, see: Joan Armangué, *Estudis sobre la cultura catalana a Sardenya* (Barcelona, 2001).

65 Interesting impressions by: Eduard Toda, *Un poble català d'Itàlia. L'Alguer* (Barcelona, 1888), in his "discovery" of the Catalan Sardinian city. Manlio Brigaglia, "Alghero: la Catalogna come madre e come mito," in *I catalani in Sardegna*, eds. Jordi Carbonell, Francesco Manconi (Milan, 1984), pp. 171–82. Marcel A. Farinelli, *Història de l'Alguer* (Barcelona, 2014).

66 Lluís Nicolau d'Olwer, *L'expansió de Catalunya en la Mediterrània oriental* (Barcelona, 1926); Antoni Rubió i Lluch, *Diplomatari de l'Orient català* (Barcelona, 1947).

67 Anthony Luttrell, "La Corona de Aragón y la Grecia catalana, 1379–1394," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 6 (1969), 219–52; Kenneth M. Setton, *Catalan Domination of Athens 1311–1388* (Cambridge, Mass., 1975). Elizabeth A. Zachariadou, "The Catalans of Athens and the Beginning of the Turkish Expansion in the Aegean Area," *Studi Medievali* 21/3 (1980), 821–38.

although we cannot underestimate the cultural circulation powered by this connection with the Greek world.⁶⁸ Despite his control of the kingdoms Naples and Sicily in the fifteenth century, not even Alfonso the Magnanimous was able to achieve any real domain in the Levant.

On the other hand, the Catalans did not leave many monumental and architectural traces in the Greek world. However, there is an echo of their presence at the level of literature and folkloric traditions. The bad memory they left is attested by choruses and curses also from a wider area, such as Albania, Bulgaria and Turkey, that are another link in the chain of the historical hatred with which the Greeks have paid the Westerners for their long domination.⁶⁹

In Thrace a curse based on Catalans has survived: "The Catalans' revenge be on you!". Furthermore, we can mention other Bulgarian folkloric expressions that intensify the Greeks' ungrateful memory of the Catalans, probably an echo of some events featuring the Catalan company. Furthermore, in Bulgaria "Catalan" and "son of Catalan" mean "evil man without a soul, torturer". In that country, this fame has also risen from the folkloric level to that of educated poetry.

The territories that have preserved the negative reputation of the Catalans more intensely are the Duchy of Athens during the Vicariate of Alfonso Frederick (1317–1330) and more specifically, the island of Euboea and the town of Hipatis. In these areas, the term "Catalan" was used as an insult even in the first half of the twentieth century. In addition, a pejorative popular song about the Catalans is known from Athens: "*Franc, vareg, pitsi català, et rentes, et pentines i amb merda t'empastifes*". Away from Attica, the historical memory on the Catalans has been preserved in the mountainous areas of difficult access, as in the Parnassus range, where at the beginning of the twentieth century,

68 In 1380, Peter the Cerimonious promised the bishop of Megara a permanent guard of crossbowmen at the *Castell de Cetines* (the Acropolis). The ruler did not use the usual ritual formulae, but called it: "*la pus richa joya qui al mont sia e tal que entre tots los reys de xpristians en vides lo porien fer semblant*" ("The most beautiful jewel of the World, such that all the Christian kings barely could do a similar one"). Antoni Rubió i Lluch, *Documents per l'història de la cultura catalana mig-eva*, 2 vols (Barcelona, 1908), 1: 287. Moreover, Greece continued to fuel the imagination and dreams of Catalan literature and art: whether it meant the nostalgia for the origins or the longing for a Lost Arcadia. Josep Maria Solà, *El somni de Grècia. La recepció catalana de la cultura clàssica* (Barcelona, 2006), pp. 28–29.

69 Antoni Rubió i Lluch, *El record dels catalans en la tradició popular, històrica i literària de Grècia. Introducció*, ed. Eusebi Ayensa (Barcelona, 2001), pp. 9–13; Eusebi Ayensa, "El recuerdo de los catalanes en la tradición folklórica de Grecia," in *Baladas griegas (Estudio temático, formal y comparativo)* (Madrid, 1999), pp. 307–55.

this proverb was picked up: “*Vaig escapar dels Turks per a caure en mans dels catalans*”.⁷⁰

Some folkloric testimonies come from witnesses of Hipatis—the capital of the Duchy of Neopatras—the Peloponnese or the Cyclades.⁷¹ In Hipatis, some curses referring to the Catalans’ cruelty still appear.⁷² The most eloquent is: “*Que et vegi sota l’espasa d’un català*” (“May I see you under the sword of a Catalan”). In the ballad *La maledicció de l’abandonada*, the memory of Catalan atrocities appears very much alive, as the protagonist wishes her fiancé, who abandoned her, to fall under Frankish swords or into the hands of the Catalans. This dirty fame was perhaps due to military life and the habit of greasing the skins in army camps: “*El grec es rentava i el català s’emmerdava*” (“The Greek was clean and the Catalan was sully”).

Moreover, there are numerous testimonies of the Catalans’ irreverence: “*El català menja carn fins i tot en Divendres Sant*”; “*dejuna com el català*”. These negative images were also due to the religious clash between the Orthodox and Latin churches, especially after the Council of Lyon in 1274 by which the Basileus Michael VIII Palaiologos recognised the superiority of the Pope in exchange for aid against the Turks.⁷³ However, on the Greek Islands, it is quite clear that the term “Catalan” as an insult, name, nickname or eponym seems linked more closely to the expansion of trade and, to a great extent, piracy rather than the events related to the Catalan *Companya*.

Furthermore, there was also the escape of a small group of Catalans after the fall of Byzantium and their subsequent settlement on Chios, then Kidonia before finally reaching Kefalonia, three sites where the term “Catalan” persists until today. On this latter island, this word was still used until 1961 as a nickname. Around the same time, it was eponymous with the island of Kassos.

Moreover, the origin of the surname “Catalan” on Crete can be traced back to the establishment there at the beginning of the fifteenth century of a large number of Catalan merchants often linked to the slave trade and even piracy. All that explains why, also in Cretan collective memory, Catalans are not portrayed favourably. The scarcity of sources makes it impossible to say with

70 “Frankish, Vareng, *pitsi* Catalan, you brush, you comb and you defile yourself with shit”; “I escaped from the Turks to fall into the hands of the Catalans”. Rubió, *El record dels catalans*, pp. 112–15.

71 Eusebi Ayensa, “Στα χνάρια του Antoni Rubió i Lluc,” *Υπάτη* 33–36 (1995–1996), 55–59; Eusebi Ayensa, “Η παλιά φθιωτίδα και ο Παρνασσός με τα μάτια ενός Καταλανού ταξιδιώτη των αρχών του αιώνα,” *Υπάτη* 37–41 (1997–1999), 15–20.

72 Eusebi Ayensa, “El record dels catalans en el folklore grec,” *L’Avenç* 213 (1997), 56–58.

73 “The Catalan even eat meat on Good Friday”; “He fasts like a Catalan”. Rubió, *El record dels catalans*, pp. 116–20.

any precision whether Catalans suffered over time the multicultural influence of Crete's human and natural environment. Furthermore, the Catalans' stay on the island left no traces in the language or local customs.

Quite different were the relations with Rhodes thanks to the presence of the Order of the Hospital.⁷⁴ After 1421, under the Order's Catalan Grand Masters Antoni Fluvià (1421–1437) and Pere Ramon Sacosta (1461–1467), Rhodes became progressively a Catalan city, especially in its architectural forms.⁷⁵ Juan Fernández de Heredia, Grand Master of the Order from 1377 to 1395, perhaps bought a Plutarch manuscript in Greek on the island, and its translation, the first of the *Lives* into a western language, was done out in the island itself, and he continued the *Chronicle of Morea* having translated it into Aragonese. These and numerous other translations commissioned by Heredia contributed to the very early development of Humanism in the Crown of Aragon.⁷⁶ Other cultural confirmations of the importance of Rhodes for Catalan culture come from some literary echoes: 1) Francesc Ferrer's *Romanç de l'armada del Soldà*, on a failed Egyptian attack against Rhodes in 1444; 2) the masterpiece of medieval Catalan literature, Joanot Martorell's *Tirant lo Blanc* (1490), in which, the above-mentioned expedition was described as the result of a Genoese attack; 3) the Guillaume de Caoursin's *Obsidionis Rhodie descriptio* (Rome 1481), which describes the Knights of Rhodes' victory against Mohammed II

74 On the Hospitallers and the Crown of Aragon, see Anthony Luttrell, "Aragoneses y Catalanes en Rodas, 1356–1430," in *VII Congrès d'Història de la Corona d'Aragó. Jerónimo Zurita. La seva obra i l'estat general de la investigació històrica*, 3 vols. (Barcelona, 1962), 2: 383–90; Anthony Luttrell, "The Island of Rhodes and the Hospitallers of Catalunya in the fourteenth century," in *Els catalans a la Mediterrània oriental a l'edat mitjana*, ed. Maria Teresa Ferrer (Barcelona, 2003), pp. 155–65; Prim Bertran, "El Priorat de Catalunya de l'Ordre de l'Hospital a principis del segle XV. Alguns aspectes," in *Profesor Nazario González. Una historia abierta* (Barcelona, 2000), pp. 23–31; Damien Coulon, "Un tournant dans les relations catalano-aragonaises avec la Méditerranée orientale: la nouvelle politique d'Alphonse le Magnanime (1416–1442 environ)," in *La Corona d'Aragona ai tempi di Alfonso il Magnanimo. XVI Congresso Internazionale di Storia della Corona d'Aragona. La Corona d'Aragona ai tempi di Alfonso il Magnanimo*, ed. Mario del Treppo, 2 vols. (Naples, 2000), 2: 1055–79.

75 Luttrell, "The Island of Rhodes," p. 165. Daniel Duran, "Presencia hispánica en Rodas. A proposito del albergue de la Lengua de España," *Memòries de l'Acadèmia Mallorquina d'Estudis Genealògics* 19 (2009), 105–106.

76 Juan Manuel Cacho Blecua, *Juan Fernández de Heredia* (Saragossa, 1997); Esteban Sarasa Sánchez, María Isabel Muñoz, Agustín Sanmiguel, eds. *Juan Fernández de Heredia. Jornada conmemorativa del VI centenario* (Saragossa, 1999).

with some reminiscences of Ferrer's text, although with many more episodes and details.

Conclusions

The influence of numerous Catalan identity-building elements can still be observed in the culture of the Mediterranean islands nowadays. Likewise, the memory of the Crown of Aragon is still fresh in many aspects.

At the institutional level, we cannot overlook the important role played in Sicily's cultural identity by the establishment of the *Corts* and the *Deputació* of the Kingdom, structured according to the equivalent Catalan models. So, in the organisation of the Neapolitan and Sicilian kingdoms—characterised by a feudal structure, with strong central institutions and other regional bodies subordinate to the monarchy—we can see, even after centuries, the heritage of political traditions and a legal culture besides a typical tendency towards dialogue between the Crown and the local authorities. Similarly, one can sense a strong Catalan-Aragonese flavour from its origins and in its evolution through the centuries in the Sardinian parliament, the core of Sardinia's autonomy to which so many autonomist—and separatist—tendencies have repeatedly appealed, evoking a past which was clearly different from present-day Italian unity.

On this island we can still observe a significant survival of what used to be the city elites in Sardinia, especially in the South, a place where the establishment of a new feudal system in the fourteenth century resulted in the appearance of new lineages who, marrying into the previous and the subsequent ruling classes, have reached the present day in high social, economic and cultural positions.

From a linguistic point of view, the theme of the presence and spread of Catalan in Italy, despite the important political role of the Crown of Aragon between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, has not been sufficiently appreciated, except on Sardinia. With the Catalan conquest, a Catalan-Sardinian-Sicilian lexical area was created in which it is difficult to establish the centre of irradiation of the individual terms. In Sicily, nevertheless, there is also the problem of different linguistic superstrates from the French and Provençal area prior to Vespers, among which is not always easy to find the Catalan component. However, different national symbols remain, in the collective memory of the Sardinian people which were imported by Catalans and have since become part of the island's popular culture, thus reaching down to the

present day. A salient example is language, which is probably one of the most obvious and strongest national symbols. In this field, the influence of the Catalan presence on the island can still be perceived nowadays through both toponymy and the thousands of Catalan loanwords present in the different Sardinian dialects.

From an artistic point of view, contact with Hispanic art is traceable in many artistic expressions in Sicily: painting, miniature, architecture and jewellery. For example, in the fifteenth century, the presence of Iberian artists in Sicily or of other Sicilians, who worked in the purest Gothic style, is evidence of these relationships and the duration of this style. Something similar, with some peculiar differences, occurred in the Kingdom of Naples, whose destiny was closely connected to Sicily. Catalan artistic influences spread throughout the kingdom of Naples favoured by feudal lords and the Franciscans for politico-religious reasons. Such influences can also be perceived in the artistic world on Sardinia and in popular culture. One need only consider the spiritual strength of the Virgin of Bonaria, enthroned Patroness of Sardinia, who gathers thousands of pilgrims to her shrine in Cagliari every year, a shrine was built thanks to Catalan-Aragonese devotion. Bonaria is moreover a very common name for women on the island.

The traditional costume is another element that is extremely expressive and symbolic. In the case of Sardinia—unlike other areas—it is well known that Sardinian dress is full of Iberian elements, both in the typology of the fabrics used and in the names of their parts or in the many jewels that decorate and beautify it. Similarly, Catalan influences are still visible nowadays in many traditional dishes, wines, pastries and cooking utensils.

It is extremely interesting to note that the island of Sardinia preserves different memorial sites in which the Catalan past can still be perceived, either as an element opposed to a specific Sardinian identity, such as the Battle of Sanluri, or as totally integrated places, in which the Catalan heritage has become fully Sardinian, such as the Shrine of Bonaria. Another example is Alghero, which, although it still preserves its own identity, is well integrated into Sardinian identity.

The Greek world deserves a separate chapter, because the Catalans did not leave many monuments or architectural traces in it. However, there is an echo of their presence at the level of literature and folkloric traditions. We can draw a picture of the Catalans' legacy and their image in this part of the world, influenced significantly by one of their activities that struck the Orientals: piracy, mentions of which exceed those of regular business activities in fifteenth-century sources. This negative portrayal in the Hellenic world—present in

many Greek insults—is still found in the nineteenth- and twentieth-century Greek nationalist historiography, conditioned by the very unfavourable judgment on the *Companya Catalana d'Orient*'s domain in Greece; a concept that was further confirmed in 1305 by the Patriarch of Constantinople, Athanasius I, who described Catalans to the Basileus Andronicus II as bloodthirsty, small and worse than locusts or grubs.⁷⁷

Beside that, the interest of Greek historiography in this matter is still lively, although it has been examined unsatisfactorily, and the island sources offer further nuances in these negative images.⁷⁸

77 Chryssa A. Maltezou, "Attività catalana in Creta veneziana (XIV sec.)," in *Els catalans a la Mediterrània oriental a l'edat mitjana*, ed. Maria Teresa Ferrer (Barcelona, 2003), p. 124. Daniel Duran, "La Companya catalana i el comerç d'esclaus abans de l'assentament als ducats d'Atenes i Neopàtria," in *De l'esclavitud a la llibertat a l'Edat Mitjana*, eds. Maria Teresa Ferrer, Josefa Mutgé (Barcelona, 2000), pp. 557–71.

78 David Jacoby, "L'état catalan en Grèce: société et institutions politiques," in *Els catalans a la Mediterrània oriental a l'edat mitjana*, ed. Maria Teresa Ferrer (Barcelona, 2003), pp. 79–101.

The Catalans and the Mediterranean

David Abulafia

These closing comments are intended to raise some questions about the place of the Catalan lands, and in particular merchants from those lands, in the history of the medieval Mediterranean. They are thoughts rather than conclusions, and include some big generalisations. But it is only by trying to fill in the whole canvas that one can work out where the details fit into the picture. These comments therefore range across the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries, and encompass both the Spanish and the Italian lands of the Crown of Aragon.

The expansion of Catalan trade has certain features in common with the expansion of Genoese and Pisan trade within the Western Mediterranean, and eventually the Eastern Mediterranean as well; but it also has distinctive features, and by looking at what was the same and what was different, we can hope to explain the extraordinary phenomenon that Catalan intrusion into the Mediterranean represents: the arrival of what might be called a second-generation trading power that was able to challenge better-established Italian commercial powers. The initial signs of economic take-off as early as the eleventh century noted by Jose-Enrique Ruiz Domenec in his study of Ricard Guillem were not followed through. The economy of the Iberian Peninsula was still subject to the strains of the conflicts among the statelets that divided up Christian Spain, and the pressures created as the taifa states of al-Andalus were drawn into the imperial web of the Almoravids. Moreover, if the Genoese notarial records are to be trusted (and one has to allow for the patchy nature of the evidence they provide), Genoese trade along the Spanish coast counted for much less than trade to North Africa, from Ceuta to Tunis, during the twelfth century. Genoese interest in Mediterranean Spain was certainly strong at times, even if the Italians placed more value on goods they could acquire in North Africa (not just gold brought across the Sahara, but wax from Bougie, grain from Ceuta, and so on): the launch of a campaign against Tortosa and Almeria in the 1140s, contemporaneous with, and possibly inspired by, the Second Crusade, proves that the Genoese were happy to turn holy war into an instrument for establishing trading bases in Iberia. Equally, the Pisans, and later on the Genoese, kept an eye on what was happening in Majorca. The Pisan attempt to overwhelm the island at the start of the twelfth century brought the city glory, celebrated

in its lengthy verse *Liber Maiolichinus*; on balance, however, the Pisans and Genoese were content to enter into commercial treaties with the Muslim rulers of Majorca, as they were in North Africa—even with the Almohads who took control of the Maghribi ports in the second half of the twelfth century. In these activities, the Catalans were not invisible; but their ability to fund and sustain long campaigns on sea and land was limited; nor should it be forgotten that the Almeria campaign brought financial disaster to the commune of Genoa.

Even the conquest of Majorca by the fleet and army of James I, king of Aragon, was not a fully Catalan operation, for the king's reliance on shipping from Provence and the involvement of the citizens of Montpellier cannot be ignored. In his *Repartiment* of Majorca these groups received the credit that was due to them. On the other hand, we can see this as the moment when the Catalan-Aragonese rulers began to understand much more clearly both the advantages and the limitations of sea-power. They had to cope with the simple fact that the Pisans and Genoese had been content to trade in Muslim Majorca, and could hardly welcome the conquest of a territory to whose rule they themselves had aspired. That meant compromises, such as continuing to permit them to trade through the island, which was an important stopping-off point for traffic bound for Bougie, Ceuta and other North-African ports. Yet possession of Majorca might also make it possible for the Catalans to rein in piracy in the Western Mediterranean: the neutralisation of Minorca, following its submission in 1231, suggests that the major concern of the Aragonese king was not revenue from the island, which remained rather slight, but the suppression of independent activity at sea by its citizens, in other words pirate attacks. And the returns were visible rather quickly, as Catalan trade burgeoned in Barcelona, including a certain amount of trade in dairy goods with Minorca, handled, interestingly, by Majorcan Mozarabs. The stronger Aragon-Catalonia was perceived to be, the readier the rulers of the north African towns were to receive their merchants, permitting the foundation of the fonduks that also became a significant source of revenue for the cash-strapped kings of Aragon. Oddly, James made no real attempt to capitalise on the conquest of the Balearic Islands although the lack of royal interference may well have let loose a spirit of enterprise that launched the City of Majorca on its path to becoming a second Barcelona—in some respects (notably its very advantageous position between Spain, France, Italy and North Africa) a more successful centre of trade than its mother-city in Catalonia.

There was one feature of Catalan society, particularly in the larger cities, that may or may not have contributed to economic growth, and yet was absent from Genoa and, as far as is known, rather insignificant in Pisa: the presence

of the Jewish community. Exactly how this affected international trade is a complex question, since the notarial acts from thirteenth-century Barcelona do not speak very often of Jewish investment in long-distance trade. Moreover, it has long been argued that the Jews of Barcelona, quite differently to those of Northern France and England, were not heavily involved in money-lending, which was the only major activity they were allowed to pursue in those northern lands. That is to say, they were no more heavily involved than the rest of the urban population, at least in the early to mid-thirteenth century, although this may have changed somewhat during the thirteenth century, as power shifted away from the old Jewish aristocracy towards a new generation of men (and women) whose wealth was more heavily based on trade and finance. Even so, one should not generalise from the activities of the elite, and the impression that remains is of a community mainly involved in retail activities and certain industrial enterprises, including tanning and dyeing, which were laborious and messy. Royal protection, including the development of an area of Jewish habitation close to the cathedral and the royal palace in the very heart of the city, reflected the value that the king-counts placed on this community; but it would also be a mistake to ignore the culture of conditional toleration that existed in the Spanish kingdoms at this period: James I's attempts to encourage Jews to attend conversionist sermons were half-hearted, and he seems to have recognised how well the Jewish interlocutor Nahmanides acquitted himself in the famous Disputation of Barcelona of 1263.

The question raised by Jocelyn Hillgarth in 1975 was whether the accumulation of territories under the authority of the Crown of Aragon amounted to an 'empire', as had been assumed by a good number of historians before him. His insistence that the Catalan-Aragonese territories were acquired in what a nineteenth-century English historian, writing of the British Empire, called 'a fit of absence of mind' still makes the most sense. By comparison with what was happening in the Iberian Peninsula, where since the middle of the twelfth century the Castilians and the Aragonese had defined their respective spheres of interest, long before al-Andalus had been conquered, the acquisition of the Mediterranean islands appears a haphazard process. (This, of course, is to leave aside Valencia, to which it will be worth returning briefly later on.) Despite the clear evidence that Catalans were trading in Sicilian grain well before 1282, and that the growing city of Barcelona had ever more pressing need for grain, access to the Sicilian grain market does not explain the invasion of Sicily by Peter the Great. Indeed, the Catalans were just as likely to put Sicilian grain on sale in Tunis or Genoa as in Barcelona or Majorca, as their role in the carrying-trade of the Western Mediterranean became more and more influential. This, of course, meant that much Catalan shipping spent most of its time well away

from Barcelona. Even when the Catalans and the Genoese were fighting one another, one might find members of their trading communities quietly doing business with one another in the extensive *fonduks* of Tunis. The invasion of Sicily was, rather, a brave and partially successful attempt to exercise a dynastic claim to the lands conquered earlier by Charles I of Anjou —the culmination, indeed, of forty years of rivalry between the house of Barcelona and the house of Anjou, expressed in arguments over the succession to Provence, Sardinia and ultimately the kingdom of Sicily, even if the Aragoneses did not acquire Angevin Southern Italy until 1442. It was also the beginning of a two-hundred years' war that culminated in the French and then the Spanish conquest of Southern Italy in 1494 and 1502–1503.

Moreover, attempts to integrate these territories politically came slowly, and were evidently not part of a thirteenth-century masterplan. It has been seen how James I left the government of Majorca to others; and this was followed through in his remarkable will that separated Majorca and what is now French Catalonia, plus Montpellier, from the rest of Aragon-Catalonia (plus Valencia), to create the short-lived and politically feeble Kingdom of Majorca. This proved to be a recipe for disaster, since the kings of Aragon insisted on their over-arching authority over Majorca, which propelled the kings of Majorca into the arms of the French kings just when rivalry between France and Aragon reached its peak in the War of the Sicilian Vespers. Moreover, the scattered nature of its territories and the ambiguous position of Montpellier as (ultimately) a fief held from the king of France made this kingdom unworkable. Its true strength lay in the commercial position of Majorca, but even that was threatened by boycotts and then by quarrels over trading rights in North Africa. As for Sicily, this too was seen as a reward for a younger son, and—without rehearsing the many complications of the War of the Vespers— here too relations with Aragon-Catalonia were initially difficult, so long as James II remained, or pretended to remain, loyal to his agreements with the Papacy and the Angevins. It thus makes sense to think of the Catalan-Aragoneses Empire as a creation of the mid-fourteenth to the mid-fifteenth centuries, between the invasion of Majorca by Peter the Ceremonious and the invasion of Southern Italy by Alfonso the Magnanimous, although it is worth noting that the invasion of Sardinia did not result in the creation of a separate kingdom under a cadet dynasty, and for the first time, the kings of Aragon assumed the title to Sardinia (and Corsica) directly —this, however, reflected much older agreements with the Papacy according to which Sicily would have been exchanged for Sardinia. In any case, acquiring real control of the reluctant inhabitants of large tracts of Sardinia was a very slow process, still under way when Ferdinand the Catholic became king of Aragon.

The involvement of the kings of Aragon in peninsular politics took on a distinctive character. The first serious attempts to gain control of Muslim Valencia, in the 1230's, faced a severe backlash, so much so that the kingdom had in effect to be reconquered later in the century (as was said at the time). This reflected the particular character of a conquest that was achieved by pacts, compromises, the installation of castles (often managed by the Templars) in hostile territory: a Muslim kingdom with a Christian king, which was a greater political challenge than Jaume I had realised it would be. On the other hand, Valencia became a laboratory in which a method for the treatment of the subject Muslim population was gradually developed. In part, it was based on the model of royal protection for the Jews: the Muslims were the king's *servi*, in theory under his direct authority (although many nobles had their own subject Muslims); but this did not render them unfree, still less slaves, unless they were already enslaved. They, along with the Jews, constituted part of the 'Royal Treasure'; and, despite arguments about the right of Muslims to travel to Mecca, or to utter the call to prayer, the free practice of their religion was largely guaranteed. This did not prevent the haemorrhaging of the population out of Valencia towards Muslim Granada and the Maghreb, where the elites and the richer Muslims tended to go, partly because Muslim law discouraged residence in infidel lands and partly because there was a steady accretion of Christian population in Valencia—very slow at first. As is well known, a substantial rump of Muslims still remained in the kingdom of Valencia when Charles V required all of them to turn Christian in 1525, and a good many were still practising Islam, not always very secretly, at the time of the expulsion of the Moriscos in 1609–1614.

The fascination of the lands of the Crown of Aragon lies in the distinctive nature of its political and economic institutions. The looseness of the ties between the different territories in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries replicated the looseness of ties between Aragon and Catalonia ever since they had been joined together in a dynastic alliance. The powers claimed by the separate parliaments in the various Catalan-Aragonese territories prevented the monarchy from achieving that degree of centralisation that the kings of Aragon could enviously observe in the thirteenth-century kingdom of Sicily. The cost of ambitious expeditions, or fighting off French invasions, hobbled the kings of Aragon and made them ever more dependent on the funds they could obtain from their recalcitrant subjects. If there was another European political entity in any way similar, it was perhaps the Holy Roman Empire in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, with its impoverished rulers and often quarrelsome great princes.

On the other hand, the trading networks created by the Catalans showed considerable resilience, even allowing for great shocks, most notably the ravages of the Black Death in the middle of the fourteenth century. Some decades earlier, in the 1280s, the Catalans of Majorca had been pioneers, alongside the Genoese, in opening up trade routes past Gibraltar and Ceuta into the Atlantic —both towards England and Flanders, and towards the Atlantic coast of Morocco, leading the Majorcans ultimately to the Canary islands, over which James III of Majorca briefly claimed authority. In the fourteenth century, Valencia became an increasingly significant centre of maritime trade, handling wool brought across the Castilian frontier from as far away as Toledo. Its agricultural regime, created by the Arabs and Berbers, saw the development of rice cultivation, and eventually of sugar growing too, items that were loaded on the ships bound for both Mediterranean and Atlantic ports. It is true that much of this business, by the fifteenth century, was handled by Germans, Flemings, Milanese, Tuscans and other non-Catalans, but the success of Valencia was especially significant in the late fifteenth century, when civil war in Catalonia for a time crippled Barcelona, although even Barcelona bounced back to some extent in the 1480s.

The central paradox is that Aragon-Catalonia was at the same time politically enfeebled by its loose, confederate system of government and by its weak ties to the territories acquired by several of the king-counts; and at the same time it was the home of an economic power-house that could challenge even mighty Genoa in the Mediterranean —that power-house being not just Barcelona but Barcelona, City of Majorca, Valencia and lesser cities too. From one perspective, it looks like a great power within the Mediterranean, and from another it appears somewhat dysfunctional. That largely reflects the opportunistic approach to wider Mediterranean politics of its rulers in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Only with the displacement of Alfonso the Magnanimous from Spain to Italy, and the elaboration of his plans to defeat the Turks and the Mamluks, would a coherent, if vastly over-ambitious, common plan of action be articulated.

Bibliography

- Abadal, Ramon d', *Dels visigots als catalans*, ed. Jaume Sobrequés, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1969–1979).
- Abadal, Ramon d', *Els primers comtes catalans*, 2nd ed. (Barcelona, 1965).
- Abulafia, David, *A Mediterranean emporium. The Catalan kingdom of Majorca* (Cambridge, Eng. 1994).
- Abulafia, David, "Signorial Power in Aragonese Southern Italy," in *Sociability and its discontents: civil society, social capital and their alternatives in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, eds. Nicholas Eckstein, Nicholas Terpstra (Turnhout, 2009), pp. 173–92.
- Abulafia, David, *The Great Sea. A Human History of the Mediterranean* (Oxford, 2011).
- Adroer, Anna Maria, *Palaus reials de Catalunya* (Barcelona 2003).
- Agostino, Guido d', Buffardi, Giulia, eds., *La Corona d'Aragona ai tempi di Alfonso il Magnanimo: i modelli politico-istituzionali; la circolazione degli uomini, delle idee, delle merci; gli influssi della società sul costume: celebrazioni alfonsine*, 2 vols. (Naples, 2000).
- Alessandro, Vincenzo d', Giarrizzo, Giuseppe, "La Sicilia dal Vespro all'Unità d'Italia," in *Storia d'Italia*, ed. Giuseppe Galasso, 23 vols. (Turin, 1989), vol. 16.
- Alberni, Anna, Badia, Lola, Cabré, Lluís, ed., *Translatar e transferir. La transmissió dels textos i el saber (1200–1500)* (Santa Coloma de Queralt-Barcelona, 2010).
- Alberni, Anna, Badia, Lola, Cifuentes, Lluís, Fidora, Alexander, ed., *El saber i les llengües vernacles a l'època de Lluís i Eiximenis* (Barcelona, 2012).
- Alvira, Martín, *El Jueves de Muret: 12 de Septiembre de 1213* (Barcelona, 2002).
- Annicchiarico, Annamaria, *'Narracions en vers' catalane medievals: Appunti e materiali per una guida bibliografica* (Rome, 2003).
- Anonymous, *Curial e Güelfa*, ed. Lola Badia, Jaume Torró (Barcelona, 2011).
- Alturo, Jesús, *El llibre manuscrit a Catalunya: Orígens i esplendor* (Barcelona, 2001).
- Arrieta, Jon, "La disputa en torno a la jurisdicción real en Cataluña (1585–1640): de la acumulación de tensión a la explosión bélica," *Pedralbes. Revista d'història moderna* 15 (1995), 33–93.
- Arrieta, Jon, "La *lex regia* en la obra de Francisco Martí Viladamar: recepción y evolución del concepto," *Pedralbes. Revista d'història moderna* 28 (2008), 103–40.
- Ashtor, Eliyahu, *Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1983).
- Aurell, Jaume, *Authoring the Past. History, Autobiography, and Politics in Medieval Catalonia* (Chicago, 2012).
- Badia, Lola, *De Bernat Metge a Joan Roís de Corella* (Barcelona, 1988).
- Badia, Lola, ed., *Història de la Literatura Catalana*, 3 vols. (Barcelona, 2013–2015).
- Balañà, Pere, *L'Islam a Catalunya (segles VIII–XII)* (Barcelona, 1997).

- Barceló, Maria, Ensenyat, Gabriel, *Els nous horitzons culturals a Mallorca al final de l'edat mitjana* (Palma of Majorca, 2000).
- Barral-i-Altet, Xavier, ed., *Art de Catalunya. Ars Cataloniae*, 16 vols. (Barcelona, 1997–2003).
- Barral-i-Altet, Xavier, *Josep Puig i Cadafalch. Escrits d'arquitectura, art i política* (Barcelona, 2003).
- Barral-i-Altet, Xavier, ed., *Viure a Palau a l'Edat Mitjana. Segles XII–XV* (Girona, 2004).
- Barral-i-Altet, Xavier, *L'art romànic català a debat* (Barcelona, 2009).
- Barral-i-Altet, Xavier, Alemany, Joan, eds., *Mediterraneum. L'esplendor de la Mediterrània medieval (segles XIII–XV)* (Barcelona, 2004).
- Barral-i-Altet, Xavier, Iogna-Prat, Dominique, Mundó, Anscari Manuel, Salrach, Josep Maria, Zimmermann, Michel, eds., *Catalunya i França Meridional a l'entorn de l'any mil. Actes del col·loqui Hug Capet* (Barcelona, 1991).
- Barral-i-Altet, Xavier, Mundó, Anscari Manuel, eds., *Corpus vitraearum Medii Aevi. Catalunya*, 5 vols. (Barcelona, 1985–2014).
- Barreto, Joana, *La majesté en images. Portraits du pouvoir dans la Naples des Aragon* (Rome, 2013).
- Batlle, Carme, *Fires i mercats. Factors de dinamisme econòmic i centres de sociabilitat (segles XI a XV)* (Barcelona, 2004).
- Beer, Rudolf, *Die Handschriften des Klosters Santa Maria de Ripoll* [Kommission bei Alfred Holder, 155] (Vienna, 1907–1908); translation: Beer, Rudolf [trans. Barnils Pere], "Los manuscrits del Monastir de Santa Maria de Ripoll," *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 5 (1909–1910), pp. 137–70, 230–78, 299–320, 328–365 and 492–520.
- Belenguier, Ernest, ed., *Història de la Corona d'Aragó*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 2007).
- Benito, Pere, *Senyoria de la terra i tinença pagesa al comtat de Barcelona (segles XI–XIII)* (Barcelona, 2003).
- Bensch, Stephen P., *Barcelona and its rulers, 1096–1291* (Cambridge, Eng., 1995).
- Bisson, Thomas N., *Fiscal accounts of Catalonia under the early count-kings (1151–1213)*, 2 vols. (Berkeley, 1984).
- Bisson, Thomas N., *Tormented voices. Power, Crisis and Humanity in Rural Catalonia 1140–1200* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998).
- Bonnassie, Pierre, *La Catalogne du milieu du Xe à la fin du XIe siècle: Croissance et mutations d'une société*, 2 vols. (Toulouse, 1974–75).
- Bonneaud, Pierre, *Le prieure de Catalogne, le couvent de Rhodes et la Couronne d'Aragon, 1415–1447* (Millau, 2004).
- Burns, Robert I., *Muslims, Christians, and Jews in the crusader kingdom of Valencia* (Cambridge, Eng., 1984).
- Bramon, Dolors, *De quan érem o no musulmans. Textos del 713 al 1010* (Barcelona, 2000).

- Brufal, Jesús, *El món rural i urbà en la Lleida islàmica (s. XI–XII). Lleida i l'est del districte: Castellldans i el pla del Mascançà* (Lleida, 2013).
- Campbell, Tony, "Portolan Charts from the Late Thirteenth Century to 1500," in *The History of cartography. 1. Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*, eds. John B. Harley, David Woodward (Chicago, 1987), pp. 371–463.
- Camps, Jordi, Dectot, Xavier, eds., *Catalogne romane. Sculptures du Val de Boí* (Paris. Musée National du Moyen Age, septembre 2004-janvier 2005) (Paris, 2004).
- Capmany, Antoni de, *Memorias históricas sobre la marina, comercio y artes de la antigua ciudad de Barcelona*, ed. Carme Batlle, Emili Giralt, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1961–1963).
- Carbonell, Jordi, Marconi, Francesco, eds., *I catalani in Sardegna* (Milan, 1984).
- Carrère, Claude, *Barcelone, centre économique à l'époque des difficultés, 1380–1462*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1967).
- Casey, James, "Una 'libertad bien entendida': los valencianos y el estado de los Austrias," *Manuscripts. Revista d'Història Moderna*, 17 (1999), 237–52.
- Castiñeiras, Manuel, *El tapís de la creació* (Girona, 2011).
- Castiñeiras, Manuel, Camps, Jordi, eds., *El romànic i la Mediterrània. Catalunya, Toulouse i Pisa, 1120–1180* (Barcelona, 2008).
- Casula, Francesco Cesare, *La Sardegna aragonese*, 2 vols. (Sassari, 1990).
- Catafau, Aymat, Passarius, Olivier, eds., *Un palais dans la ville*, 2 vols. (Perpignan, 2014).
- Cateura, Pau, *Mallorca en el segle XIII* (Palma of Majorca, 1997).
- Catlos, Brian A., *The Victors and the Vanquished. Christians and Muslims of Catalonia and Aragon, 1050–1300* (Cambridge, Eng., 2004).
- Chalmeta, Pedro, *Invasión e islamización. La sumisión de Hispania y la formación de al-Andalus* (Jaen, 2003).
- Cingolani, Stefano Maria, *Historiografia, propaganda i comunicació al segle XIII: Bernat Desclot i les dues redaccions de la seva crònica* (Barcelona, 2006).
- Cingolani, Stefano Maria, *La memòria dels reis. Les quatre gran cròniques i la historiografia catalana, des del segle X fins al XIV* (Barcelona, 2007).
- Cioppi, Alessandra, *Le estrege dell'invincibilità. Corona d'Aragona e 'Regnum Sardiniae' nella seconda metà del Trecento* (Cagliari, 2012).
- Colomer, Eusebi, *Els pensament als Països Catalans durant l'Edat Mitjana i el Renaixement* (Barcelona, 1997).
- Cornudella, Rafael, ed., *Catalunya 1400. El gòtic internacional* (Barcelona, 2012).
- Corrao, Pietro, "Mezzogiorno e Sicilia fra Mediterraneo ed Europa (sec. XI–XV)," in *L'Italia mediterranea e gli incontri di civiltà*, eds. Pietro Corrao, Mario Gallina, Claudio Villa (Rome, 2001), pp. 95–168.
- Coulon, Damien, *Barcelone et le grand commerce d'Orient au Moyen Âge. Un siècle de relations avec l'Égypte et la Syrie-Palestine (ca. 1330-ca. 1430)* (Madrid-Barcelona, 2004).

- Coulon, Damien "La Corona de Aragón y los mercados lejanos mediterráneos (siglos XII–XV)," in *La Corona de Aragón en el centro de su historia. Aspectos económicos y sociales (1208–1458)*, (Congreso internacional, Zaragoza, noviembre de 2009), ed., José Ángel Sesma (Saragossa, 2010), pp. 279–308.
- Coulon, Damien "El desarrollo del comercio catalán en el Mediterráneo oriental durante el reinado de Jaime I," in *Jaume I. Commemoració del VIII centenari del naixement de Jaume I*, ed. Maria Teresa Ferrer, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 2013), 2: 655–76.
- Debanne, Alessandra, ed., *Lo Compasso de navegare. Edizione del codice Hamilton 396 con commento linguistico e glossario* (Brussels, 2011).
- Débax, Hélène, *La féodalité languedocienne, XI^e–XII^e siècles. Serments, hommages et fiefs dans le Languedoc des Trencavel* (Toulouse, 2003).
- Devic, Claude, Vaissete, Joseph, *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, 2nd ed., 14 vols. (Toulouse, 1872–1904).
- Domenge, Joan, *L'obra de la Seu. El procés de construcció de la catedral de Mallorca en el Tres-cents* (Palma of Majorca, 1997).
- Donne, Fulvio delle, *Alfonso il Magnanimo e l'invenzione dell'umanesimo monarchico. Ideologia e strategie di legittimazione alla corte aragonese di Napoli* (Rome, 2015).
- Duran, Daniel, "Els mallorquins a la Romania (segles XIII–XVI)," in *El regne de Mallorca: cruïlla de gents i de cultures (segles XIII–XV)*, XXVI Jornades d'Estudis Locals, ed. Maria Barceló (Palma of Majorca, 2008), pp. 241–55.
- Durán, Antonio, *Los condados de Aragón y Sobrarbe* (Saragossa, 1988).
- Durán, Antonio, *La Iglesia de Aragón durante los reinados de Sancho Ramírez y Pedro I, (1062?–1104)* (Rome, 1962).
- Español, Francesca, *Els escenaris del rei. Art i monarquia a la Corona d'Aragó* (Barcelona, 2001).
- Español, Francesca, *El Gòtic Català* (Manresa, 2002).
- Español, Francesca, *L'art dels reis catalans. Esplendor i riquesa de la Corona d'Aragó* (Barcelona, 2010).
- Español, Francesca, Yarza, Joaquín, *El romànic català* (Manresa, 2007).
- Fejič, Nénad, *Шпанци ч Дубровникч ч средњем векч* [The Spanish in Dubrovnik in the Middle Ages] (Belgrad, 1988).
- Feliu, Gaspar, "La crisis catalana de la baja Edad Media: estado de la cuestión," *Hispania* 64/2 (2004), 435–66.
- Fernández Trabal, Josep, *Una família catalana medieval. Els Bell-lloc de Girona 1267–1533* (Barcelona, 1995).
- Ferrer, Maria Teresa, "Las comunidades mudéjares de la Corona de Aragón en el siglo XV: la población," in *VIII Simposio Internacional de Mudéjarismo. De mudéjares a moriscos: una conversión forzada (Teruel, 15–17 de septiembre de 1999)* (Teruel, 2002), pp. 27–153.

- Ferrer, Maria Teresa, Mutgé, Josefina, eds., *De l'esclavitud a la llibertat. Esclaus i lliberts a l'edat mitjana* (Barcelona, 2000).
- Ferrer, Maria Teresa, Riu, Manuel, eds., *Tractats i negociacions diplomàtiques de Catalunya i de la corona catalanoaragonesa a l'edat mitjana. Volum I.1. Tractats i negociacions diplomàtiques amb Occitània, França i els estats italians 1067–1213* (Barcelona, 2009).
- Ferro, Víctor, *El Dret Públic català. Les institucions de Catalunya fins al decret de Nova Planta* (Vic, 1997).
- Fodale, Salvatore, *Alunni della perdizione. Chiesa e potere in Sicilia durante il Grande Scisma (1372–1416)* (Rome, 2008).
- Freedman, Paul, *The Origins of Peasant Servitude in Medieval Catalonia* (Cambridge, Eng., 1991).
- Furió, Antoni, ed., *València, un mercat medieval* (Valencia, 1985).
- Galasso, Giuseppe, ed., *Alle origini del dualismo italiano: Regno di Sicilia e Italia centro-settentrionale, dagli Altavilla agli Angiò (1100–1350). Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, (Ariano Irpino, 12–14 settembre 2011)* (Soveria Mannelli, 2014).
- Gallinari, Luciano, "Ethnic identity in medieval Sardinia: rethinking and reflecting on 14th and 15th century examples," in *Perverse Identities. Identities in conflict*, ed. Flocel Sabaté (Bern, 2014), pp. 81–117.
- Garcia Oliver, Ferran, *La vall de les sis mesquites. El treball i la vida a la Valldigna medieval* (Valencia, 2003); translation: Garcia Oliver, Ferran, *The Valley of the six Mosques. Work and Life in Medieval Valldigna* (Turnhout, 2011).
- Gautier Dalché, Patrick *Carte marine et portulan au XII siècle. Le Liber de existencia riveriarum et forma maris nostri Mediterranei* (Pise, circa 1200) (Rome, 1995).
- Gil, Xavier, "El discurs reialista a la Catalunya dels Àustries fins el 1662, en el seu context europeu," *Pedralbes. Revista d'història moderna* 18/2 (1998), 475–87.
- Gil, Xavier, "Parliamentary life in the Crown of Aragon: Cortes, Juntas de Brazos, and other Corporate Bodies," *Journal of Early Modern History* 6 (2002), 362–95.
- Gil, Xavier, "Republican Politics in Early Modern Spain: The Castilian and Catalano-Aragonese Traditions," in *Republicanism. A Shared European Heritage*, ed. Martin van Gelderen, Quentin Skinner, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Eng., 2002), 1: 263–88.
- Giunta, Francesco, *Aragonesi e Catalani nel Mediterraneo*, 2 vols. (Palermo, 1953–1959).
- Glick, Thomas F., *From Muslim fortress to Christian castle. Social and cultural change in medieval Spain* (Manchester, 1995).
- Glick, Thomas F., Guinot, Enric, Martínez, Luis Pablo, eds., *Els molins hidràulics valencians. Tecnologia, història i context social* (Valencia, 2000).
- Gual, Miguel, *Vocabulario del comercio medieval* (Barcelona, 1976).
- Guardia, Milagros, Lorés, Imma, *El Pirineu romànic vist per Josep Gudiol i Emili Gandia* (Trempt, 2013).

- Gudayol, Pilar, Bacardí, Montserrat, ed., *Diccionari de la Traducció Catalana* (Vic, 2011).
- Guilleré, Christian, *Girona al segle XIV*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1993).
- Guinot, Enric, *Els fundadors del regne de València* (Valencia, 1999).
- Guinot, Enric, "Oligarquías y clientelismo en las comunidades rurales del sur de la Corona de Aragón (siglos XIII–XV)," *Hispania* 70/235 (2010), 409–30.
- Hauf, Albert, ed., *Panorama crític de la literatura catalana*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 2010–2011).
- Herren, Michael W., McDonough, Christopher, Arthur, Ros G., eds., *Latin Culture in the Eleventh Century: Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Medieval Latin Studies, Cambridge, 9–12 September 1998*, 2 vols. (Turnhout, 2002).
- Heyd, Wilhelm, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam, 1967).
- Hillgarth, Jocelyn N., *The Problem of a Catalan Mediterranean Empire 1229–1327* (London, 1975).
- Hillgarth, Jocelyn N., *Readers and Books in Majorca (1229–1550)*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1991).
- Kehr, Paul, *Das Papsttum und der katalanische Prinzipat bis zur Vereinigung mit Aragon*, Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Jahrgang 1926, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, vol. 4 (Berlin, 1926); translation: Kehr, Paul [trans. d'Abadal, Ramon], "El papat i el principat de Catalunya fins a la unió amb Aragó," *Estudis universitaris catalans* 12 (1927), 321–47; 13 (1928), 1–12 and 289–323; 14 (1929), 14–32 and 213–26; 15 (1930), 1–20.
- Kehr, Paul, *Das Papsttum und die Königreiche Navarra und Aragon bis zur Mitte des XII. Jahrhunderts*, Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Jahrgang 1928, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, vol. 4 (Berlin, 1928).
- Kosto, Adam J., *Making Agreements in Medieval Catalonia: Power, Order, and the Written Word, 1000–1200* (Cambridge, Eng., 2001).
- Iradriel, Paulino, "Corporaciones de oficio, acción política y sociedad civil en Valencia," in *Cofradías, gremios, solidaridades en la Europa medieval. XIX Semana de Estudios Medievales* (Pamplona, 1993), pp. 253–284.
- Lagardère, Vincent, *Les Almoravides. Le djihâd andalou (1106–1143)* (Paris, 1999).
- Ladero, Miguel Ángel, *Ejércitos y armadas de los Reyes Católicos. Nápoles y el Rosellón (1494–1504)* (Madrid, 2010).
- Laliena, Carlos, *La formación del Estado feudal: Aragón y Navarra en la época de Pedro I* (Huesca, 1996).
- Laliena, Carlos, *Siervos medievales de Aragón y Navarra en los siglos XII y XIII* (Saragossa, 2012).
- Laliena, Carlos, Lafuente, Mario, eds., *Una economía integrada. Comercio, instituciones y mercados Aragón, 1300–1500* (Saragossa, 2012).
- Landingham, Marta Van, *Transforming the state. King, Court and Political Culture in the Realms of Aragon (1213–1389)* (Leiden, 2002).
- Larrea, Juan José, *La Navarre du IV^e au XII^e siècle: Peuplement et société* (Brussels, 1998).

- Les quatre grans cròniques: Jaume I, Bernat Desclot, Ramon Muntaner, Pere III*, ed. Ferran Soldevila (1971; repr. Barcelona, 2007–2014).
- López de Meneses, Amada, "Los consulados de Alejandría y Damasco en el reinado de Pedro el Ceremonioso," *Estudios de Edad Media de la Corona de Aragón* 6 (1956), 83–183.
- López Elum, Pedro, *Los orígenes dels Furs de Valencia y de las Cortes en el siglo XIII* (Valencia, 2001).
- López Pérez, María Dolores, *La Corona de Aragón y el Magreb en el siglo XIV (1331–1410)* (Barcelona, 1995).
- López Rodríguez, Carlos, *Nobleza y poder político. El reino de Valencia (1416–1446)*, (Valencia, 2005).
- Lluch, Rosa, *Els remences. La senyoria de l'Almoina de Girona als segles XIV i XV* (Girona, 2005).
- Madurell, José María, García, Arcadio, *Comandas comerciales barcelonesas en la baja edad media* (Barcelona, 1973).
- Mainé, Enrique, *Ciudadanos honrados de Zaragoza. La oligarquía zaragozana en la Baja Edad Media (1370–1410)* (Saragossa, 2006).
- Mancho, Carles, *La peinture murale du haut Moyen Age en Catalogne (IX^e–X^e siècle)* (Turnhout, 2013).
- Manconi, Francesco, ed., *La società sarda in età spagnola* (Quartu Sant'Elena, 1992).
- Manzano, Eduardo, *La frontera de Al-Andalus en época de los Omeyas* (Madrid, 1991).
- March, Ausiàs, *Poesies*, ed. Robert Archer, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1997).
- Marcos, Ernest, *Almogàvers. La història* (Barcelona, 2005).
- Martí, Esther, "Corona de Aragón e identidad en la Cerdeña bajomedieval," in *Identità e frontiere. Politica, economia e società nel Mediterraneo (secc. XIV–XVIII)*, eds., Lluís Guia, Maria Grazia Mele, Gianfranco Tore (Milan, 2015), pp. 23–32.
- Martorell, Joanot, *Tirant lo Blanch*, ed. Albert Hauf, 2 vols. (Valencia, 2004).
- Mas, Antoni, *Esclaus i catalans. Esclavitud i segregació a Mallorca durant els segles XIV i XV* (Palma of Majorca, 2005).
- Millàs, Josep Maria, *Assaig d'història de les idees físiques i matemàtiques a la Catalunya medieval* (Barcelona, 1931, repr. 1983).
- Mineo, Igor Ennio, *Nobilità di stato. Famiglie e identità aristocratiche nel tardo medio-evo. La Sicilia* (Rome, 2001).
- Miquel Rosell, Francisco, ed., *Liber Feudorum Maior, Cartulario real que se conserva en el Archivo de la Corona de Aragón*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1945–1947).
- Mollat du Jourdin, Michel de, La Roncière, Monique de, *Les Portulans. Cartes marines du XII^e au XVII^e siècle* (Fribourg, 1984).
- Narbona, Rafael, *Pueblo, poder y sexo. Valencia medieval (1306–1420)* (Valencia, 1992).
- Narbona, Rafael, Ferrer, Maria Teresa, "La marginació social i la segregació religiosa," in *Història. Política, Societat i Cultura dels Països Catalans*. 3. *La forja dels Països*

- Catalans, segles XIII–XV*, eds. Ernest Belenguer, Coral Cuadrada (Barcelona, 1996), pp. 220–37.
- Nirenberg, David, *Communities of Violence. Persecution of minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1996).
- Oliva, Anna Maria, Schena, Olivetta, eds., *Sardegna catalana* (Barcelona, 2014).
- Ollich, Immaculada, ed., *Catalunya i Europa a la fi del 11. mil·lenni: Actes del Congrés Internacional Gerbert d'Orlhac i el seu temps* (Vic, 1999).
- Ortega, Antonio, *La marina mercante medieval y la Casa de Mallorca: entre el Mediterráneo y el Atlántico* (Lleida, 2015).
- Orvietani Buch, Silvia, *Medieval Mediterranean Ports. The Catalan and Tuscan Coast. 1100 to 1225* (Leiden, 2001).
- Pagès, Montserrat, *Pintura mural sagrada i profana, del romànic al primer gòtic*, (Barcelona, 2012).
- Paul, Nicholas L. *To Follow in Their Footsteps: The Crusades and Family Memory in the High Middle Ages* (Ithaca, 2012).
- Péquignot, Stéphane, *Au nom du roi. Pratique diplomatiques et pouvoir durant le regne de Jacques II d'Aragon (1291–1327)* (Madrid, 2009).
- Pladevall, Antoni, dir., *L'art gòtic a Catalunya*, 10 vols (Barcelona, 2002–2008).
- Pou, José Maria, *Visionarios, beguinos y fraticelos catalanes (siglos XIII–XV)* (Madrid, 1991).
- Pujades, Ramon J. *Les cartes portolanes. La representació medieval d'una mar solcada* (Barcelona, 2007).
- Pujol, Josep, *La memòria literària de Joanot Martorell. Models i escriptura en el "Tirant lo Blanc"* (Barcelona, 2002).
- Quaini, Massimo, "Catalogna e Liguria nella cartografia nautica e nei portolani medievali," in *Atti del I Congresso storico (Liguria-Catalogna, 14–19 ottobre 1969)* (Bordighera, 1974), pp. 550–71.
- Requesens, Lluís de, Miquel, Bernat, Garcia, Martí, Dies, Rodrigo, Vila-Rasa, Lluís de, Sunyer, Francesc, *Sis poetes del regnat d'Alfons el Magnànim* (Barcelona 2009).
- Riera, Antoni, *La Corona de Aragón y el reino de Mallorca en el primer cuarto del siglo XIV. I. Las repercusiones arancelarias de la autonomía balear (1298–1311)* (Madrid, 1986).
- Riera, Antoni, "La aparición de las corporaciones de oficio en Cataluña," in *Cofradías, gremios, solidaridades en la Europa medieval. XIX Semana de Estudios Medievales*, (Pamplona, 1993), pp. 285–318.
- Riera, Antoni, "El Mediterrani Occidental al darrer quart del segle XIII: concurrència comercial i conflictivitat política," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 26/2 (1996), 760–71.
- Riera, Antoni, "Perpiñán, 1025–1285. Crecimiento económico, diversificación social y expansión urbana," in *En las costas del Mediterráneo Occidental. Las ciudades de*

- la Península Ibérica y del reino de Mallorca y el comercio mediterráneo en la Edad Media*, eds. David Abulafia, Blanca Garí (Barcelona, 1996), pp. 1–61.
- Riquer, Martí de, *Los trovadores: Historia literaria y textos*, 3 vols. (Barcelona, 1975).
- Riquer, Martí de, *Història de la Literatura Catalana. Part Antiga*, 4 vols. (Barcelona, 1984).
- Riquer, Martí de, *Aproximació al Tirant lo Blanc* (Barcelona, 1990).
- Roig, Jaume, *Espill*, ed. Antònia Carré (Barcelona, 2006).
- Roís de Corella, Joan, *Obres*, ed. Ramon Miquel i Planas (Barcelona, 1913).
- Rubiés, Joan Pau, "Reason of state and Constitutional Thought in the Crown of Aragon 1580–1640," *The Historical Journal* 38/1 (1995), 1–28.
- Rubiés, Joan Pau, "El constitucionalisme català en una perspectiva europea: conceptes i trajectòria. Segles XVI–XVII," *Pedralbes. Revista d'història moderna* 18/2 (1998), 453–74.
- Rubió i Balaguer, Jordi, *Història de la Literatura Catalana* (Barcelona, 1984).
- Rubió i Lluch, Antoni, *Documents per l'història de cultura catalana mig-*eval**, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1908–1920).
- Russo, Maria Antonietta, *I Peralta e il Val di Mazara nel XIV e XV secolo. Sistema di potere, strategie familiari e controllo territoriale* (Caltanissetta, 2003).
- Ryder, Alan, *Alfonso el Magnánimo, rey de Aragón, Nápoles y Sicilia (1396–1458)* (Valencia, 1992).
- Ryder, Alan, *The Wreck of Catalonia. Civil War in the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford, 2007).
- Sabaté, Flocel, "Ejes vertebradores de la oligarquía urbana catalana" in *Revista de Historia Medieval* 9 (1998), 127–49.
- Sabaté, Flocel, "Corona de Aragón," in *Historia de España. La época medieval: administración y gobierno* (Tres Cantos, 2003), pp. 237–467.
- Sabaté, Flocel, *La feudalización de la sociedad catalana* (Granada, 2007).
- Sabaté, Flocel, "Per què hi va haver un Compromís de Casp?," in *Els valencians en el Compromís de Casp i en el Cisme d'Occident*, ed. Ricard Bellveser (Valencia, 2013), pp. 45–119.
- Sabaté, Flocel, "L'idéal politique et la nation catalane: la terre, le roi et le mythe des origines," in *La légitimité implicite*, ed. Jean-Philippe Genet, 2 vols. (Paris, 2015), 2: 85–140.
- Sabaté, Flocel, "Jewish Neighbourhoods in Christian Towns (Catalonia, Late Middle Ages)," in *Intricate Interfaith Networks in the Middle Ages. Quotidian Jewish-Christian Contacts*, ed. Ephraim Shoham-Steiner (Turnhout, 2016), pp. 153–91.
- Salavert, Vicente, *Cerdeña y la expansión mediterránea de la Corona de Aragón 1297–1314*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1956).
- Salicrú, Roser, *El sultanat de Granada i la Corona d'Aragó, 1410–1458* (Barcelona, 1998).
- Salrach, Josep Maria, ed., *Història Agrària dels Països Catalans. 2. Edat mitjana* (Barcelona, 2004).

- Sánchez, Manuel, Ortí, Pere, Corts, *parlaments i fiscalitat a Catalunya: els capítols del donatiu (1288–1384)* (Barcelona, 1997).
- Santamaría, Álvaro, "El reino de Mallorca (1276–1343)," in *Historia General de España y América*, eds. Salvador Moxó, Miquel Angel Ladero, 19 vols. (Madrid, 1984), 4:731–58.
- Santoró, Daniela, *Messina l'indomita. Strategie familiari del 'patriziato' urbano tra XIV e XV secolo* (Caltanissetta, 2003).
- Sardina, Patrizia, *Palermo e i Chiaromonte splendore e tramonto di una signoria. Potere nobiliare, ceti dirigenti e società tra XIV e XV secolo* (Caltanissetta, 2003).
- Schneidman, Jerome Lee, *The rise of the Aragonese-Catalan Empire, 1200–1350* (New York, 1970).
- Sénac, Philippe, *La frontière et les hommes (VII^e–XII^e siècle): Le peuplement musulman au nord de l'Ebre et les débuts de la reconquête aragonaise* (Paris, 2000).
- Sénac, Philippe, *Les Carolingiens et al-Andalus (VIII^e–IX^e siècles)* (Paris, 2002).
- Sesma, José Ángel, "La nobleza bajomedieval y la formación del estado moderno en la corona de Aragón," in *La nobleza peninsular en la edad media. VI Congreso de estudios medievales* (Leon, 1999), pp. 343–430.
- Sesma, José Ángel, Laliena, Carlos, eds., *La población de Aragón en la Edad Media (siglos XIII–XV). Estudios de demografía histórica* (Saragossa, 2004).
- Setton, Kenneth M., *Catalan Domination of Athens, 1311–1388* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948).
- Setton, Kenneth M., *Recerca i troballa del cap de Sant Jordi* (Barcelona, 1974).
- Silva, Andréia Cristina Lopes Frazão da, *Hagiografia e História: Banco de dados das hagiografias ibéricas, séculos XI ao XIII* (Rio de Janeiro, 2009).
- Simon, Antoni, *Els orígens ideològics de la Revolució Catalana de 1640* (Barcelona, 1999).
- Simon, Antoni, *Construccions polítiques i identitats nacionals. Catalunya i els orígens de l'estat modern espanyol* (Barcelona, 2005).
- Simon, Antoni, *Pau Claris líder d'una classe revolucionària* (Barcelona, 2008).
- Simon, Antoni, *Del 1640 al 1705. L'autogovern de Catalunya i la classe dirigent catalana en el joc de la política internacional europea* (Valencia, 2011).
- Smith, Damian J., *Innocent III and the Crown of Aragon. The Limits of Papal Authority* (Aldershot, 2004).
- Sobrequés, Santiago, *Els grans comtes de Barcelona* (Barcelona, 1961).
- Stantchev, Stefan K., *Spiritual Rationality. Papal embargo as cultural practice* (Oxford, 2014).
- Tangheroni, Marco, *Commercio e navigazione nel Medioevo* (Rome, 1996).
- Terés, Maria Rosa, ed., *Capitula facta et firmata. Inquietuds artístiques en el quatre-cents* (Valls, 2011).
- Terrosu Asole, Angela, *Il portolano di Grazia Pauli. Opera italiana del secolo XIV trascritta a cura di Bacchisio R. Motzo* (Cagliari, 1987).
- Titone, Fabrizio, *Governments of the 'universitates'. Urban Communities of Sicily in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Turnhout, 2009).

- Torró, Josep, *El naixement d'una colònia. Dominació i resistència a la frontera valenciana (1238–1276)* (Valencia, 1999).
- Torroella, Pere, *Obra completa*, ed. Francisco Rodríguez Risquete, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 2011).
- Tramontana, Salvatore, *Il Mezzogiorno medievale. Normanni, svevi, angioini, aragonesi nei secoli XI–XV* (Rome, 2000).
- Trenchs Odena, Josep, “‘De Alexandrinis’. El comercio prohibido con los musulmanes y el papado de Aviñón durante la primera mitad del siglo XIV,” *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 10 (1980), 237–320.
- Treppo, Mario del, *I mercanti catalani e l'espansione della Corona d'Aragona nel secolo XV*, 2nd ed. (Naples, 1972).
- Udina, Frederic, ed., *Symposium internacional sobre els orígens de Catalunya (Segles VIII–XI)*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1991–1992).
- Vicens Vives, Jaume, *Historia de los Remensas en el siglo XV* (Barcelona, 1945).
- Viguera, María Jesús, *Aragón musulmán* (Saragossa, 1981).
- Vigué, Jordi, Pladevall, Antoni, eds., *Catalunya Romànica*, 27 vols (Barcelona, 1984–1998).
- Villanueva, Jesús, *Política y discurso histórico en la España del siglo XVII* (Alicante, 2004).
- Yarza, Joaquín, Fité, Francesc, eds., *L'artista artesà medieval a la Corona d'Aragó* (Lleida, 1999).
- Zielonka, Jan, *Europe as Empire. The nature of enlarged European Union* (Oxford, 2007).
- Zimmermann, Michel, *Écrire et lire en Catalogne (IX^e–XII^e siècle)*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 2003).

Index of Places and Persons

In line with the cultural and linguistic diversity of the Mediterranean region, many places and people have received different names throughout history. To facilitate communication and diffusion, denominations in this book have been standardised with the common English place names (usually spelt without accents) and, for the names of lineages and people, the consolidated international form where appropriate and the traditional form for others (including accents).

- ‘Abd Al-lāh al-Ġāfiqī 40, 42
- ‘Abd Al-lāh al-Tarḡumān, see Turmeda, Anselm
- ‘Abd Al-lāh ibn ‘Iyad 69
- ‘Abd Al-lāh ibn Kulayb 45, 46
- ‘Abd Al-lāh, Emir 49, 79
- ‘Abd al-Azīz ibn Mūsa ibn Nuḡayr 41
- ‘Abd Allāh ibn Abi ‘Īsa 54
- ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ḥudayr 54
- ‘Abd al-Malik al-Muḡaffar 55
- ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Qaṭan al-Fihri 42
- ‘Abd al-Raḡmān al-Mu‘āwiya, see ‘Abd al-Raḡmān I
- ‘Abd al-Raḡmān al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Al-lāh, see ‘Abd al-Raḡmān III
- ‘Abd al-Raḡmān b. ‘Abd Al-lāh al-Ġāfiqī 40, 42
- ‘Abd al-Raḡmān I, Emir 42, 44
- ‘Abd al-Raḡmān ibn ‘Uqba 42
- ‘Abd al-Raḡmān II, Emir 46
- ‘Abd al-Raḡmān III, Emir and Caliph 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 78, 132
- ‘Amrūs ibn ‘Umar ibn ‘Amrūs 47
- ‘Amrūs, Lineage 41, 43, 44, 50
- ‘Aqabat al-Baqar 55
- ‘Awsayā, see Oseja
- Aachen 72, 79, 125, 127, 128, 143, 154
- Abadal, Ramon d’ 90, 92, 94
- Abbasid, Caliphate 42
- Abbasid, Lineage 42
- Abel 163
- Abenmenassé, Lineage 365
- Abin Habanon 65
- Abinafia, Lineage 365
- Abraham bar Hiyya 364
- Abraham ben Hasday 364
- Abu Jusuf Hasday ben Shaprut 132
- Abulafia, David viii, xii, 30, 256
- Acciaiuoli, Nerio 448
- Achilles 397
- Acre, see Saint John of Acre
- Acropolis, in Athens 504
- Adalard of Corbie 126
- Ademar de Murviel 109
- Ademar lo Negre 148
- Adorno, Anselm 494
- Adrianople 374, 401
- Adriatic, Sea 14, 181, 182, 358
- Aegean, Sea 35, 281, 289, 344, 352, 358, 359
- Aegina 449
- Aelius Donatus, see Donatus
- Aeneas 145
- Aeolian Islands 360
- Afra, Saint 136
- Africa 11, 29, 30, 37, 40, 43, 52, 68, 177, 178, 224–227, 229, 266, 280, 337, 340, 346, 347, 353, 359, 366, 382, 401, 402, 432, 491, 510, 511, 513
- Agatha, Saint 417
- Agde, City, see Saint-Thibery of Agde
- Agde, Viscount 93, 119
- Agen 120
- Ager 41, 60, 127
- Aglauros 407
- Agramunt, Pere d’ 213
- Agreda 218
- Agrigento 301
- Aguiló, Marià 500
- Aḡmad ibn Hud 63
- Aḡmad ibn Muḡammad ibn Ilyās 53
- Aidu de Turdu 179
- Aigues-Mortes 270, 301, 356
- Aimeric de Belenoi 376
- Aimeric de Peguilhan 148

- Aimeric de Sarlat 148
 Aina 55
 Ainsa 250
 Aix-en-Provence 108
 Al-'Arābī 43
 Al-'Udhri 45, 74
 Alagón, Lineage 334, 178
 Alain de Roucy 123
 Alain of Lille 385
 Álamos de Barrientos, Baltasar 476–478
 Al-Andalus xi, 41–46, 48–61, 64, 66–69, 108, 138, 201, 220, 313, 314, 510, 512
 Al-Anṣārī, see Al-Ḥusayn al-Anṣārī
 Alao 81, 89, 128
 Alaó, Domènec, see Domènec d'Alaó
 Alarcos 112
 Albacete 239
 Albaida 329
 Albalat del Cinca 211
 Albania x, 15, 35, 181, 182, 504
 Albaron 105, 110
 Albarracin 61, 66, 108, 211
 Albernha, Peire d', see Peire d'Alvernha
 Albert, Pere 310
 Albertet de Sestairon 148, 149
 Albertet, see Albertet de Sestairon
 Albesa 55, 68
 Albi, City 216
 Albi, Viscounty 93, 119
 Alcacer do Sal 53
 Alcalá, duke 470
 Alcañiz 239, 258
 Alcaraz 239
 Alcarras 206
 Alcoi 250, 329
 Alcoll 301
 Alcostantini. Lineage 365
 Alcudia (Africa) 301
 Alcudia (Majorca) 239
 Alcuin of York 125–127, 130, 133, 143
 Ales 231
 Alexander II, Pope 83
 Alexander III Pope 102
 Alexander of Villedieu 133
 Alexander VI, Pope 14, 389, 455
 Alexandria 35, 218, 230, 233, 263, 266, 268, 275, 282, 284–286, 288–291, 293–299, 301, 303, 305, 306, 341, 352, 357, 431–433
 Alexius, Saint 423
 Al-Fihri 42
 Alfonsi, Petrus 365
 Alfonso Frederick of Sicily 491, 504
 Alfonso I Jordan, Count of Toulouse, Marquis of Provence 97–100, 104
 Alfonso I, Count of Barcelona, see Alfonso the Chaste
 Alfonso I, King of Aragon, see Alfonso the Battler
 Alfonso II, Count of Barcelona, see Alfonso the Liberal
 Alfonso II, Count of Provence 102, 110, 114, 148
 Alfonso II, King of Aragon, see Alfonso the Chaste
 Alfonso III, Count of Barcelona, see Alfonso the Benign
 Alfonso III, King of Aragon, see Alfonso the Liberal
 Alfonso IV, Count of Barcelona, see Alfonso the Magnanimous
 Alfonso IV, King of Aragon, see Alfonso the Benign
 Alfonso of Poitiers, Count of Toulouse 177
 Alfonso, Prince, see Alfonso the Benign.
 Alfonso the Battler 67, 68, 75, 78–80, 84, 87, 95, 96, 132
 Alfonso the Benign 322, 338, 372–374, 377, 422, 451
 Alfonso the Chaste 101, 103–112, 143, 146–148
 Alfonso the Liberal 175, 194, 195, 218, 287, 303, 348, 373, 428
 Alfonso the Magnanimous 13–17, 29, 31, 32, 180–182, 194, 198, 255, 261, 264, 267, 276, 293, 294, 306, 317, 322, 327, 336, 342, 348, 379, 387–389, 391, 400, 402, 403, 407, 427–430, 437, 453, 455, 456, 487, 488, 492, 493, 504, 513, 515
 Alfonso the Troubadour, see Alfonso the Chaste
 Alfonso V, King of Aragon, see Alfonso the Magnanimous
 Alfonso VI, King of Leon and Castile 64, 75, 83
 Alfonso VII, King of Castile 75, 79
 Alfonso X, King of Castile 177, 380, 470

- Algarve 61
 Algeciras 61
 Algerri 51, 67
 Alghero 180, 301, 352, 375, 440, 443, 450,
 500–503, 508
 Algiers 233, 263, 301
 Alguer, see Alghero
 Al-Ḥakam I, Emir 45
 Al-Ḥakam II, Caliph 53, 76, 137
 Al-Ḥusayn al-Anṣārī 43
 Ali 212
 Alicante 239, 259, 263, 277
 Alighieri, see Dante Alighieri
 Al-Khwarizmi 132
 Al-Mahdi, Caliph 55
 Al-Manṣūr, see Muḥammad ibn Abī ʿĀmir
 al-Manṣūr
 Al-Manṣūr Qalawūn, Mamluk Sultan 303
 Almenar 144, 145
 Almeria 10, 56, 61, 263, 301, 510, 511
 Almizra, Treaty 176
 Almodis de la Marche 86, 93, 94, 146
 Almodis de Mortain 96
 Almodis, see Almodis de la Marche
 Al-Muʿtaman ibn Hūd 132
 Almudevar 258
 al-Muẓaffar, see ʿAbd al-Malik al-Muẓaffar
 Alps, Alpine passes 270
 Alpuente 61, 66
 Alquezar 63
 Al-Ashraf Khalīl, Mamluk Sultan 303
 Alt Urgell, see Urgell, Upper
 Al-Tagr al-Aʿla, see March, Upper
 Al-Ṭawīll lineage, see Banū al-Tawīl
 Al-Ṭawīll, see Muḥammad al-Ṭawīl
 Al-ʿUdhri 45, 74
 Alvernh, see Auvergne
 Alzira 213, 239
 Amalarius of Metz 130
 Amaury, Arnaud 117, 118, 121, 122
 America 20, 23, 24, 248
 Amicia 119
 Amor de Soria, Juan 482
 Amorosus, Lineage 41
 Amposta 333
 Anagni, Treaty 5, 178, 287, 303, 305, 348, 349,
 486
 Anatolia 16, 182, 287
 Ancona 301
 Andalusia 231, 233, 271, 272, 363
 Andreu Barnés, see Barnés, Andreu
 Andorra 239
 Andreu, Sant, see Andrew, Saint
 Andrew, Saint 158, 426
 Andrinople 302
 Andronikos II Palaiologos, Byzantine
 Emperor 304, 373, 428
 Anelier, Guilhem 376
 Anfa 301
 Angelescu, Irina 26
 Angilbert of Saint-Riquier 126
 Anglada, Pere ça 422
 Anglesola, Lineage 334
 Aniane 128, See Benedict of Aniane
 Anjou, Lineage and House 29, 177, 178, 347,
 372, 373, 376, 435, 486, 490, 513
 Annaba 233, 263, 301
 Antonello da Messina 489
 Antwerpen 301
 Aquitaine, Duchy 108
 Aquitaine, Duke 41, 42, 95, 97, 101, 120
 Aquitaine, King 71
 Arabia 37, 43
 Aragall, Lineage 498
 Aragon, Bishop 80
 Aragon, Count 62, 74, 78
 Aragon, County 73, 74, 78, 79, 81, 82
 Aragon, Crown iii–viii, x, xi, 1, 3, 7–9, 11–14,
 16–22, 27, 29–36, 70, 75, 76, 78, 79, 81,
 83, 106, 111, 115, 119, 121–124, 132, 146, 172,
 175, 177, 179, 180, 182, 190, 193, 195, 196,
 200, 201, 203, 204, 206–208, 211, 215–221,
 224, 227–229, 231–234, 236, 237, 239,
 241, 243–256, 259–265, 267–280,
 283–289, 291–300, 302–304, 306–309,
 312, 314, 315, 317, 319, 322, 326, 329,
 331–334, 338–342, 344–346, 348–352,
 361, 362, 365, 366, 368, 372, 375, 378,
 379, 383, 387, 388, 392, 409, 411, 413, 419,
 425, 428, 429, 431, 434, 435, 437–442,
 445–457, 459–462, 467, 475, 479, 482,
 484–488, 490–493, 495–497, 500, 502,
 503, 506, 507, 510, 512, 514
 Aragon, House IV 1, 11, 12, 17, 28, 29, 179, 191,
 334, 341, 342, 344, 345, 347, 350, 373,
 434, 436, 444, 454, 458, 486, 490, 502

- Aragon, Kingdom v, x, xi, 3–5, 8, 11, 18, 20, 21,
34–36, 61, 63, 64, 67, 68, 70–90, 104,
106–111, 113, 115, 120–124, 132, 139, 143,
146, 147, 172, 173, 176, 178–181, 183, 185,
186, 196, 197–201, 203, 204, 207, 210, 213,
226, 228, 240, 241, 243, 245, 247, 254,
259, 260, 272, 288, 290, 301, 303, 304,
310, 313, 314, 316, 318, 319, 323, 326, 327,
330, 333–336, 339, 344–346, 348, 356,
358, 368, 370, 372, 374, 376, 384,
394–396, 412, 436, 439, 441, 452, 460,
465, 476–479, 486, 489, 490, 496, 503,
511, 513–515
- Aragon, Law 183, 278, 318, 320, 323, 380, 460,
465–467, 469–472, 475, 476, 479–481
- Aragon, Region 44, 62, 63, 73, 78, 311
- Aragon, River 45, 73, 74, 211
- Aragon, Upper 84, 87, 204, 211, 309, 315
- Aragona, see Aragon
- Aragonia, see Aragon
- Aran, see Aran, Valley
- Aran, Valley 104, 106, 108, 114, 124
- Arba, River 45
- Arborea, Judicate 351, 443, 444, 494
- Arborea, Lineage 179, 437, 441, 445, 495, 496,
502
- Arcos 61
- Arezzo, Guido of, see Guido of Arezzo
- Argence 98, 109
- Arinçana 105
- Ariosto, Ludovico 428
- Aristotle 132, 388
- Ariza 239
- Arles 102, 103, 106, 117, 128, 158, 270
- Arles-sur-Tech 128
- Armenia 287, 352
- Arnallus, Scolasticus 136
- Arnau Bargués, see Bargués, Arnau
- Arnau Bassa, see Bassa, Arnau
- Arnau Cadell, see Cadell, Arnau
- Arnau de Preixens, Bishop of Urgell 148
- Arnau de Solimella 491
- Arnau Mir de Tost 63
- Arnau, magister 133
- Arnaud, Archbishop of Narbonne 121
- Arnaut Daniel 147, 379
- Arnaut de Maruelh 147
- Arnedo 45
- Arnulf, Abbot of Ripoll 129, 132
- Arras 214, 216, 231
- Arta, Despotate x, 15, 181
- Artés, Pere d' 383
- Arthur, King 402, 409
- Aser ben David 364
- Ashtor, Elijah 296
- Asia 237, 280–283, 292, 296, 337
- Asia Minor 281, 292, 302
- Asilah 301
- Aspres 67
- Astarac 376
- At de Mons 376
- Athanasius I, Constantinople Patriarch
509
- Athens, Duchy x, 9, 179, 182, 289, 304, 374,
428, 433, 448, 503, 504
- Athens, City 35, 263, 448, 504
- Atlantic 27, 29, 219, 220, 223, 224, 231, 254,
264, 266, 271, 273–277, 338, 340, 353,
354, 356, 358, 359, 483, 515
- Ató, Bishop of Vic 81, 132, 133
- Atropos 395
- Aude, Region 135
- Aude, River 118
- Augusta 301, 491
- Augustine of Hippo 131, 143
- Augustine, see Augustine of Hippo
- Aurell, Jaume 434
- Aurell, Martin 28
- Ausona, County, see Osona, County
- Austria, Duchess 396, 397
- Austria, Empire 23
- Austro-Hungarian Empire 23, 26
- Autònoma de Barcelona, University xi
- Auvergne 92, 134, 146, 149
- Averçó, Luys d' 378
- Avesnes, Baldwin of 123
- Avianus 132
- Avignon, City 82, 97, 98, 110, 134, 137, 160,
231, 270, 378, 380, 385, 420, 424, 439
- Avignon, Palace 441
- Avinganya 65
- Avingozar 65
- Avis, House 29
- Aymerich, Lineage 498
- Ayşün 44
- Ayyubid, House 282

- Aznar Galíndez, see Aznar I Galíndez, Count of Aragon
- Aznar I Galíndez, Count of Aragon 74, 78
- Aznar II Galíndez, Count of Aragon 74, 78
- Azpilicueta, Martín 464
- Bacon, Roger 447
- Badajoz 52, 61, 67
- Badia, Lola viii, xii
- Badia, Pere 390
- Badr, Emir 43
- Baga 206, 207
- Baghdad 42, 269
- Balaguer 49, 51, 53, 56, 57, 59, 60, 62, 64, 66, 67, 73, 78, 185, 190, 239
- Baldo de Ubaldis 190
- Baldwin Iron Arm, Count of Flanders 142
- Balearic, Islands 20, 21, 30, 37, 58, 70, 78, 84, 196, 197, 208, 214, 215, 220, 224, 225, 228, 229, 243, 245, 246, 254, 267, 269, 274, 276, 339, 344, 345, 352, 360, 375, 419, 437, 484, 490, 511
- Balğ ibn Bišr al Qušaiyri 42
- Balkans 14, 154, 281, 437
- Banastas 65
- Banū al-Ṭawīl, Lineage 50, 51
- Banū Ganiya, Lineage 68
- Banū Hūd, Lineage 56, 62, 64, 67
- Banū Qasī, Lineage 41, 45, 47–49, 50, 51, 78, 79
- Banū Tuğīb, Lineage 49, 50, 51, 53–56, 60, 62, 68
- Banyeres, Joan de 227
- Banyoles 207
- Barbary 266, 269, 359, 379
- Barbastro 51, 63, 64, 73, 75, 80, 83, 211, 258
- Barbens 64
- Barcellona, see Barcelona
- Barcelona, Bishop 81, 82, 122, 137, 160, 470
- Barcelona, Bishopric 73, 80, 94, 127, 152
- Barcelona, Cathedral 127, 132, 133, 137, 138, 141, 154, 158, 166, 414–417, 419, 420, 424, 466
- Barcelona, City 1, 8–12, 17, 22, 43, 44, 52, 67, 71, 72, 75–77, 82, 85, 88, 92, 96, 108, 129, 135, 137, 150, 151, 153, 158, 165, 172, 175, 185–188, 190, 195, 197, 199, 200, 204, 207, 209, 210, 213–220, 222, 223, 225, 226, 228, 230–236, 239, 250, 252, 254, 257, 258, 260–265, 267, 268, 270–278, 283–286, 288, 290–292, 294, 295, 297–301, 305–307, 315, 318–327, 329, 331, 332, 335, 341, 344, 348, 352, 357, 361, 362, 364, 368–370, 372, 373, 375, 379, 382, 389, 393, 399, 407, 408, 413–426, 429, 431–433, 437, 441, 444, 451–454, 466, 469, 471–474, 479, 489, 497, 511–513, 515
- Barcelona, Count 3, 4, 8, 28, 33, 53, 63, 68, 70–73, 75–80, 82, 83, 88, 93–97, 99–103, 106, 108, 109, 111–113, 135, 137, 138, 141–146, 148, 152, 172, 179, 186, 193, 204, 223, 369, 371, 380, 389, 396, 427, 432, 466, 479
- Barcelona, County 28, 35, 54, 61, 64, 67, 68, 71, 75–77, 79, 82, 83, 85, 86, 88, 93, 94, 98, 129, 137, 141, 142, 145, 146, 173, 183, 441
- Barcelona, Drassanes 413, 418, 419
- Barcelona, Disputation 328, 366, 512
- Barcelona, Grand Royal Palace 417
- Barcelona, House 10, 31, 92, 98, 108, 143, 148, 149, 216, 224, 371, 376, 429, 430, 513
- Barcelona, Law 86, 133, 184, 500
- Barcelona, Olegarius of, see Olegarius, Bishop of Barcelona and Archbishop of Tarragona
- Barcelona, Palace of Berenguer Aguilar 438
- Barcelona, Palace of the Generalitat 429
- Barcelona, Palace of the Templars 418
- Barcelona, Plaça del Monestir 416
- Barcelona, Rambla 218, 424
- Barcelona, Rec Comtal 86, 209, 210
- Barcelona, Region 81, 93
- Barcelona, Regomir Gate 218
- Barcelona, Saló del Tinell 417
- Barcelona, University xii, xiii, 363
- Barcelona, wālī 78
- Barceloneta in Sardinia 503
- Barchinona, see Barcelona
- Bargués, Arnau 425
- Bari 263
- Barlaam 364
- Barletta 394
- Barnés, Andreu 420
- Barnés, Pere 420
- Barons of Fame 465
- Barral-i-Altet, Xavier viii, xii

- Barruera 165
 Barsbay, Mamluk Sultan 294, 306
 Bartholomew, Saint 195
 Bartolomeu, Silversmith 420, 489, 490
 Bartolus de Saxoferrato 190, 493
 Bartomeu de Verí, see Verí, Bartomeu
 Bas, Viscounts 9
 Basque Provinces 460
 Bassa, Arnau 420
 Bassa, Ferrer 417, 421–424
 Basset, Joan 370
 Baux, Estefania of, see Estefania of Baux
 Baux, Lineage 96, 99, 100, 103, 117
 Baux, Ramon of, see Ramon of Baux
 Bayeux 167
 Bayisio, Guido de 2
 Bayonne 263
 Braga 67
 Bearn, Viscount 120–122
 Bearn, Viscounty 106, 108
 Beatrice, Countess of Melgueil 98
 Beauvais 251
 Beccarelli il Panormita, Antonio 455
 Bede, the Venerable 126, 131
 Beirut 35, 263, 282, 289, 291, 293, 299, 301
 Bejaia 214, 224, 225, 227, 233, 263, 301, 433
 Belasquita 79
 Belenoi, see Aimeric de Belenoi
 Bellesguard, Palace 425
 Bellit, Lineage 498
 Bellpuig, Lineage 178
 Bembo, Pietro 429
 Benabarre 63
 Benedict, Deacon 139
 Benedict of Aniane 82, 128, 130
 Benedict of Nursia 141
 Benedicte XIII, Antipope 366, 378, 427, 441
 Benedict XIII, Pope, see Benedict XIII, Antipope
 Benevento 177
 Benevento, Peter of 494
 Benito, Pere viii, xii, 108
 Berbeizil, Rigaut de, see Rigaut de Berbeizil
 Berenguer d'Entença, see Entença, Berenguer d'
 Berenguer de Palol 147
 Berenguer de Palou, Bishop of Barcelona 122
 Berenguer Ramon I, Count of Barcelona 78
 Berenguer Ramon I, Count of Provence 98, 100
 Berenguer Ramon II, the Fratricide, Count of Barcelona 77, 83, 94, 95, 144, 145
 Berenguer, Bishop of Vic 81
 Berga 172, 239, 250, 258, 272, 420
 Berga, Pere, see Pere de Berga
 Bergueda 129, 152
 Berguedà, Guillem de, see Guillem de Berguedà
 Bernal, Antonio Miguel 460
 Bernard Ató IV, Viscount of Nîmes 94, 95, 107, 108
 Bernard Ató VI, Viscount of Nîmes and Agde 109, 110
 Bernard I, Count of Besalu 77, 138, 154
 Bernard I, Count of Ribagorza 50, 51
 Bernard II, Count of Besalu 83
 Bernard III, Count of Besalu 95
 Bernard IV, Count of Comminges 112–114, 121
 Bernard of Septimania, Duke 143
 Bernard Taillefer, see Bernard I, Count of Besalu
 Bernard Unifred, see Bernard I, Count of Ribagorza
 Bernard, Count of Toulouse 95
 Bernardus Spanus 442
 Bernart de Rovenac 375
 Bernart de Ventadorn 149
 Bernart Sicart de Maruèjols, see Sicart de Maruèjols, Bernart
 Bernat d'Anduze 109
 Bernat d'Oleto, see Oleto, Bernat d'
 Bernat d'Oltzina 214
 Bernat de Cabrera 488
 Bernat Metge, see Metge, Bernat
 Bernat Saluet see Saulet Bernat
 Bernés, Pere 489
 Berre, River 40
 Berry 378
 Berry, John of, see John of Berry
 Bertran de Born 147, 148
 Bertran de Lamanon 376
 Besalu, Bishop 80
 Besalu, Count 76, 80, 82, 83, 95, 138, 139, 141, 154

- Besalu, County 61, 67, 71, 72, 76–78, 92, 95,
 143, 145, 172
 Besalu, Town 76, 149, 377
 Besora 184
 Beziers, City 109, 118
 Beziers, Viscount 96, 99, 107, 108, 110, 111
 Beziers, Viscounty 93, 95, 108, 119
 Biar 206
 Biga, Political Party 327, 389
 Bigorre 108
 Bilbao 263
 Binueste 55
 Blacatz 149
 Black Sea 281, 289, 290, 352, 354, 355, 359
 Blancas, Jerónimo 465
 Blanche, Queen of Navarre, regent of
 Sicily 487, 488
 Blaye 101
 Boca de Far 394
 Bocaron 212
 Boccaccio 385, 395, 396, 397, 402, 407, 425,
 427, 428
 Bodin, Jean 460, 470
 Boethius 132, 144, 381, 385
 Bofill, Guillem 159
 Bohemia, Kingdom 471
 Boi, Valley 150, 165
 Bologna 362, 390
 Bolquera 377
 Boltaña 73
 Bona 224
 Bonafed, Solomon 364
 Bonaria 13, 449, 450, 498, 499, 501, 508
 Bonastruc de Porta, see Moses ben Nahman,
 the Kabbalist
 Bonet, Maria viii, xii
 Boniface IV, Pope 157
 Boniface VIII, Pope 5, 178, 287, 303, 348,
 349
 Bonifaci de Castellana 375, 376
 Bonnassie, Pierre 93
 Bonsenyor, Jafudà 365
 Bonsom 133
 Bordeaux 108, 372
 Borgo San Dalmazzo 102, 139
 Borgognoni, Teodorico 381
 Borja, Roderic, see Alexander VI, Pope
 Borges 239
 Borrassà, Lluís 424
 Borrell 11, Count of Barcelona 76, 81, 83, 138
 Borrell, *scholasticus* 136
 Borriana 321
 Bosc, Andreu 463
 Bosnia 15, 182, 452
 Bosphorus 290
 Boter, Ramon 391
 Bougie 283, 510, 511
 Bourbons, House 21, 460
 Bourdeaux 108
 Boureau, Alain 191
 Bovalar 38
 Boyle, Lineage 498
 Brabant 216, 251, 262, 270
 Bracciolini, Poggio 388
 Brairac, Pèire de, see Pèire de Bragairac
 Braudel, Fernand 282, 338
 Brechk 301
 Bresc, Henri 30, 31, 439
 Bresc-Bautier, Geneviève 31
 Brezé, Marshal and Marquis 467
 British Commonwealth 33
 British Empire 23, 512
 Brotherhoods, Revolt 265, 388, 499
 Brufal, Jesús viii, xii, 61, 67, 73
 Bruges 231, 232, 251, 263, 275, 276, 301
 Bruni l'Aretino, Leonardo 388, 407, 455
 Bruni, Leonardo, see Bruni l'Aretino,
 Leonardo
 Bruno of Segni 134
 Brussan-Palliols, Lineage 99
 Brussels 252
 Bugia, see Bejaia
 Buil 55
 Bulgaria 504
 Burgos 67, 144
 Burguet, Lineage 175
 Burgundy, Duke 118
 Burgundy, Kingdom 100
 Burgundy, Region 155, 270, 424, 490
 Burriana 206
 Busca, Marquis 105
 Busca, Political Party 327
 Byzantine Empire 37, 179, 281, 283, 289, 401,
 436, 484
 Byzantium, Classical City 338
 Byzantium, see Constantinople
 Byzantium Eastern Empire, see Byzantine
 Empire

- Ça Anglada, *see* Anglada, Pere ça
 Ca'Foscari Venezia, University xii
 Cabestany, Guillem de, *see* Guillem de
 Cabestany
 Cabrera, Lineage 334
 Cabreta, Oliba, *see* Oliba Cabreta
 Cadell, Arnau 165
 Cadiz, City 231, 263, 271, 276
 Cadiz, Gulf 220, 272
 Caersí, Matieu de, *see* Matieu de Caersí
 Caesar 426
 Caffa 281, 308
 Cagliari, Cathedral 502
 Cagliari, City xii, xiii, 180, 196, 198, 263, 276,
 301, 323, 352, 356, 374, 432, 440, 443,
 446, 451, 454, 458, 497–502, 508
 Cahors 102, 231
 Cain 163
 Cairo 287, 303
 Calabria 229, 267, 360
 Calahorra 62, 73, 80
 Calamocha 239, 258
 Calanson, Guiraut, *see* Guiraut de Calanson
 Calassanç 51
 Calatayud 54, 57, 62, 68, 71, 75, 211, 239, 250,
 272, 273, 321, 328
 Calça, Francesc 466
 Caldes, Palace, *see* Barcelona, Palace of
 Berenguer Aguilar
 Caldesa 398
 Calixtus II, Pope 83
 Calixtus III, Pope 14, 19, 442, 455
 Càller, *see* Cagliari
 Callís, Jaume 462
 Caltabellotta, Treaty or Peace 179, 373, 486
 Càmar 394–396
 Camarasa 63
 Camargue 100
 Cambra de Parament, *see* Barcelona, Saló del
 Tinell
 Cambridge, University xii
 Cambrils 218, 239
 Camp de Tarragona 316
 Campanella, Tommaso 477
 Campania 267
 Campbell, Tony 359
 Camprodon 154
 Canals, Antoni 362, 382
 Canapost 153
 Canary, Islands 263, 515
 Candia 263, 289, 301
 Candidus, Hugo, *see* Hugo Candidus
 Canigou 135, 138
 Caoursin, Guillaume de, *see* Guillaume de
 Caoursin
 Capet, Lineage 76, 92, 101, 138, 376
 Carbó, Lineage 288
 Carbonell, Guillem 418
 Carbonell, Pere Miquel 389
 Carcassonne, City 96, 95, 111, 118, 128
 Carcassonne, County 76–78, 92–95, 97, 108,
 109, 113, 146, 227
 Carcassonne, Viscounty 96, 119
 Cardeña 144
 Cardona, Lineage 498, 334
 Cardona, Town 73, 157
 Cardona, Viscounty, County and Duky 82,
 173, 184, 186, 334, 376
 Caresmar, Jaume 22
 Carinthia, Herman of, *see* Herman of
 Carinthia
 Carlades, Viscount 96
 Carlades, Viscounty x, 98, 104–106, 108, 109
 Carlo II Tocco 15, 181
 Carmesina 401, 403
 Carmona 61
 Carolingian Empire viii, 3, 26, 43, 72, 74–76,
 78, 80, 82, 84, 85, 88, 92, 125–127, 130,
 131, 133, 134, 139–144, 149, 183, 370, 467,
 Carròs Pardo de la Casta, Francesc 406
 Carroz, Lineage 498
 Cartagena 239, 301
 Cartellà, Lineage 178
 Carthage 338
 Casa de Ganaderos de Zaragoza 246
 Cascalls, Jaume 420, 421
 Casius, Lineage 41
 Caspe, Compromise 384, 427
 Caspe, Town 239, 427
 Cassian 130
 Castel Nuovo in Naples 14, 31, 428, 429, 453,
 493
 Castellamare di Stabia 301
 Castellana, Bonifaci de, *see* Bonifaci de
 Castellana
 Castellano, Juan Luis 460
 Castellbo, Viscount 158, 186
 Castellldans 58

- Castellfolit de Riubregos 73
 Castellnou, Joan de 377
 Castello 239, 329
 Castello d'Empuries 377, 422
 Castello de Farfanya 67
 Castello, see Castello de Farfanya
 Castellví, Lluís de 399
 Castelnau, Pierre de, see Pierre de Castelnau
 Castelnou 116
 Castile, Count 61
 Castile, Crown, see Castile, Kingdom
 Castile, King/Queen 18, 20, 63, 64, 75, 78, 79, 83, 177, 315, 380, 388, 430
 Castile, Kingdom 6, 13, 19, 20, 22, 29, 54, 61, 63, 64, 67, 68, 72, 74, 75, 78, 79, 83, 88, 108, 176, 177, 182, 227, 228, 231, 237, 250, 258, 262, 264, 272, 273, 290, 315, 372, 384, 387, 388, 456, 457, 459, 470, 477–479, 482
 Castilla, see Castile
 Castille, see Castile
 Castillonroy 60
 Castrum Maris 492
 Catalan Central Depression 247
 Catalan Civil War 17, 200, 248, 249, 264, 276, 294, 295, 307, 317, 322, 388, 400, 408, 469, 515
 Catalan-Aragonese Confederation, see Aragon, Crown of
 Catalan-Aragonese Crown, see Aragon, Crown of
 Catalanus de Valencia 442
 Catalonia x, 1, 3–8, 11–13, 17, 20, 21, 23, 30, 32–35, 70–73, 76, 79, 86, 90, 91, 104, 108, 121, 125, 127–129, 131, 132, 134–136, 141, 142, 144, 146, 147, 149, 150, 152–156, 158, 160, 162, 165–169, 171–175, 179, 180, 182–186, 188, 189, 191, 196–200, 203, 207, 208, 211, 220, 230, 232, 233, 238, 245, 246, 248, 249, 252, 253, 257–260, 264, 265, 269, 270, 272, 275–277, 279, 280, 283, 284, 294, 295, 297, 299, 307, 308, 310, 312, 314, 319, 321, 324–326, 330, 333–335, 346, 349, 352, 361, 362, 366, 370, 372, 373, 376, 377, 384, 389, 410, 411, 414, 415, 418–424, 426, 429, 430, 432–434, 439–441, 446, 449, 451, 455, 459–467, 469–475, 479–482, 492, 500, 502, 511, 513–515
 Catalonia, New 84, 87, 134, 135, 242, 258, 310–312, 414
 Catalonia, Old 84, 86, 166, 241, 248, 258, 309–311, 315–318
 Catalunya, see Catalonia
 Catania 301, 373, 488
 Cathalogna, see Catalonia
 Cathalunya, see Catalonia
 Cathelanus de Maioricha 442
 Cathelanus de Valencia, see Catalanus de Valencia
 Catherine, Saint 408
 Caucasus 292, 302
 Caunes 128
 Cavalcanti, Guido 379
 Cecco di Naro 489
 Cefalu 301
 Celestine III, Pope 112, 113
 Centelles, Lineage 498
 Centule II of Bigorre, Count 104
 Cephalus 398
 Cerdagne, see Cerdanya
 Cerdanya, Count 82, 83, 97, 129, 138–141, 152
 Cerdanya, County x, 43, 61, 67, 71, 72, 76–78, 82, 83, 88, 97, 108, 127, 129, 141, 143, 152, 166, 172, 175, 177, 196, 209, 214
 Cerdanyola 416
 Cerdanya, see Sardinia
 Ceremonious, see Peter the Ceremonious
 Cervantes, Miguel de 400
 Cervello, Barony 188
 Cervelló, Lineage 334, 336
 Cervello, Town 336
 Cervera 73, 239, 320, 410
 Cervera, Rafael 464, 466
 Cerverí de Girona 376, 377, 379, 391
 Cesarius, Abbot of Santa Cecilia de Montserrat 81
 Ceuta 11, 218, 263, 283, 285, 301, 305, 359, 431, 432, 510, 511, 515
 Chalons 251
 Champagne 208, 216, 232, 233, 270
 Charlemagne, Emperor of the Holy Roman Germanic Empire 43, 78, 80, 81, 125, 127, 420
 Charles I of Anjou, Count of Provence and King of Sicily 177, 178, 347, 372, 373, 376, 435, 513

- Charles I, King of Spain, see Charles v,
Emperor of the Holy Roman Germanic
Empire
- Charles II the Bald, King of Francia and
Emperor of the Holy Roman Germanic
Empire 76, 466
- Charles II, King of Naples 348
- Charles Martel 40
- Charles of Austria, see Charles VI, Emperor of
the Holy Roman Germanic Empire
- Charles v, Emperor of the Holy Roman
Germanic Empire 16, 167, 514
- Charles v, King of France 356, 381
- Charles VI Emperor of the Holy Roman
Germanic Empire 474
- Charles, Prince of Viana 388, 397–400, 418
- Chartres 411
- Cherchell 301
- Chiaromonte, Andreotto 443
- Chiaromonte, Andrea 180
- Child, see Jesus Christ
- Chimillas 65
- China 281
- Chios 263, 269, 281, 293, 505
- Chiva 239, 258
- Chomsky, Noam 24
- Christ, see Jesus Christ
- Chrodegang of Metz 127
- Cicero 380, 381, 385, 407, 425
- Cid, El, see Díaz de Vivar, Ruy
- Cilicia 287
- Cinca, River 44, 58, 211
- Cinegia 41
- Cingolani, Stefano 438
- Cioppi, Alessandra viii, xii
- Cistercian Order 107, 117, 118, 135, 168, 170,
242, 333, 380, 414, 419, 425
- Citeaux 117, 118
- Ciudadella 239
- Claramunt de, Guillem, see Guillem de
Claramunt
- Clare, Saint 423
- Clarís, Pau 467
- Claudius of Turin 125, 126
- Clement IV, Pope 178
- Clement of Ireland 125
- Clement v, Pope 341
- Clement VI, Pope 290
- Cloto 395
- Clovis 137
- Cluny 82, 129, 133, 135, 140, 154
- Clytemnestra 392
- Coimbra 67
- Cold War 24
- Coll, Ponç des 416
- Collioure 218, 225, 239, 263, 291, 300, 301
- Collomerius, Johannes 442
- Columbia University xii
- Comminges 104, 106, 108, 112–114, 120–122,
376
- Concentania 250
- Conesa, Jaume 381
- Confederation, see Aragon, Crown of
- Conflent 72, 177, 206, 250, 421
- Conques, Ramon de 285, 297
- Conrad III, Emperor of the Holy Roman
Germanic Empire 100
- Conrad of Montferrat 284
- Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche. Istituto di
Storia dell'Europa Mediterranea xii, xiii
- Constance of France, Countess of
Toulouse 101, 103
- Constance, Council 20
- Constance, Queen of Sicily 177, 305, 345,
346
- Constantine 301
- Constantine, Donation 83
- Constantine I, Roman Emperor 83, 125
- Constantinople, see Constantinople
- Constantinople 15, 27, 136, 230, 263, 281, 286,
289, 292–295, 298, 300–302, 307, 374,
396, 401, 402, 409, 431, 478, 505, 509
- Conti, Lotario de, see Lotario de Conti
- Corb, River 58
- Corbeil, Treaty 124, 177, 342
- Corbera, Esteve 466
- Corbie 126
- Corbieres 118, 201
- Corbins 66
- Corcova, Bernat 214
- Cordoba, Caliphate xi, 37, 50–52, 54, 55, 58,
60, 72, 73, 76–78
- Cordoba, City 38, 41, 42, 46, 52, 57, 59, 62,
67, 72, 73, 77, 79, 81, 138, 239
- Cordoba, Emirate 41, 42, 45, 49, 50, 51, 73, 79
- Cordoba, Taifa 61

- Corfu 181
 Corinth 15
 Cornel, Lineage 334
 Cornella de Conflent 420
 Cornet, Raimon de 377
 Corona d'Aragó, see Aragón, Crown of
 Corral, José Luis 34
 Corrao, Pietro 445, 454
 Corsica x, 5, 13, 30, 35, 178–181, 323, 338, 350,
 358, 360, 496, 513
 Cortona 357
 Coulon, Damien viii, xii, 265, 273
 Courtrai 251
 Couserans 208
 Crespi de Valldaura, Cristòfor 476
 Cresques, Abraham 356
 Crete 281, 289, 308, 358, 360, 505, 506
 Crimea 281, 287, 308
 Cristià, Pau 366
 Crown, see Crown of Aragon
 Cruïlles, Lineage 490
 Cubello, Leonardo 496
 Cucuphas, Saint 81, 129, 136, 141, 151, 164, 165,
 170
 Cuenca 147, 239, 320
 Cugat, See Cucuphas, Saint
 Cuixa 81, 82, 149
 Cupid 145
 Curial 393–397, 401, 428
 Cyclades 505
 Cyprus, Island 262, 285, 287–289, 291, 293,
 297–299, 307, 352, 358, 360, 366, 433,
 Cyprus, King/Queen 285, 287, 288, 304, 434,
 448

 D'Alessandro, Vincenzo 441
 Dalmau, Lluís 424, 426, 427
 Damascus, Caliphate 37, 40, 42
 Damascus, City 72, 263, 268, 282, 301
 Damiata 400
 Damit, Antonius 442
 Daniel 163, 207, 213, 379
 Dante Alighieri 378, 379, 396, 397, 428
 Dār al-Islām 72
 Darenas 489
 Dares 397
 Daroca 54, 68, 71, 211, 239, 272, 320, 321, 327
 Dauphiné 270

 Davies, Norman 33, 34
 De Lille, Alain, see Alain of Lille
 Defensor 131
 Del Treppo, Mario 30
 Dellys 301
 Denia, Taifa 61, 62, 64
 Denia, Town 61, 64, 218, 225, 227, 277
 Des Coll Ponç, see Coll, Ponç des
 Desclot, Bernat 8, 371, 396
 Desfeu, Jaume 418
 Desguanes, Guerau 492
 Desguanes, Lineage 492
 Desplà, Lluís 389
 Destorrents, Ramon 421, 424
 Déu, Jordi de 421, 429, 489
 Devisse, Jean 224
 Dezcoll, Bernat 380
 Dhuoda, Countess of Barcelona 143
 Diafebus 401, 402
 Diago, Francesc 466
 Diana 407
 Díaz de Vivar, Rodrigo, see Díaz de
 Vivar, Ruy
 Díaz de Vivar, Ruy 63, 74, 75, 77, 144, 145
 Dictys 396
 Dido 395
 Didot 410
 Die 108
 Diego de Acebo, Bishop 117
 Dionysius the Areopagite 131
 Djerba 373
 Domènec d'Alaó 141
 Domènec, Jaume 380
 Domingo de Guzmán, see Dominic, Saint.
 Domínguez Ortiz, Antonio 460
 Dominic, Saint 117, 362, 408 See Preachers
 Order
 Donatello 429
 Donatus Aelius 127, 132, 133
 Donatus, see Donatus Aelius
 Dordrecht 232
 Doria, Brancaloneo 7, 443
 Doria, Lineage 179, 351
 Douce, Countess of Provence 96, 98, 146
 Drassanes, see Barcelona, Drassanes
 Drysdale, Helena 33
 Dubrovnik, see Ragusa
 Dufourcq, Charles Emmanuel 30

- Dungal of Bobbio 125
 Durance, River 98, 105
 Durazzo 181
 Durliat, Marcel 30
 Durrës, see Durazzo
- Eastern March, see March, Eastern
 Eastern Roman Empire, see Byzantine Empire
- Eberhard of Béthune 133
 Ebles de Roucy 83
 Ebro, River 45, 72, 73, 75, 210, 231, 240, 255, 257, 264
 Ebro, Valley 41, 43, 44, 46, 48–51, 53, 54, 58–60, 62–66, 69, 74, 75, 85, 87, 240, 247, 253, 254, 258, 272, 283, 330
 Edirne, see Adrianople
 Egadi Islands 360
 Egara, Bishopric 80, 127, 152
 Egara, City 40
 Egypt 57, 182, 224, 233, 250, 261, 262, 271, 276, 282, 284–287, 290–292, 294, 296–299, 303–307, 503
 Eimeric II, Viscount of Narbonne 97, 98
 Eimeric, Nicolau 362
 Einhard 126, 140
 Eiximenis, Francesc 189, 190, 331, 382, 383, 402, 404, 409, 453, 463, 464
 Elche 239, 410
 Elche, Sentence 177
 Eleanor of Aragon, Count of Toulouse 113, 148
 Eleonor of Poitou, Duchess of Aquitaine and Queen of England 101
 Eleonor of Sicily, Queen of Aragon 418, 489
 Elias Fonsalada 148
 Elies, Canon 137
 Elisabet, Countess of Barcelona 94
 Elisenda de Montcada, Queen of the Crown of Aragon 416
 Elliot, John H. 471
 Elne, Bishop 389
 Elne, Bishopric 73, 80, 127, 333
 Elne, Cathedral 127, 153
 Elne, City 71, 73, 127, 131, 150, 153, 166
 Eloi de Montbrai 420, 421
 Elx, see Elche
- Emma, Abbess of Sant Joan de les Abadesses 129
 Empuries, Bishopric 80, 127
 Empuries, City 40, 73, 151
 Empuries, Count 97, 334, 377, 431
 Empuries, County 61, 67, 71, 72, 76, 78, 108, 172, 186, 377, 422
 England, Kingdom 110, 112, 113, 116, 125, 252, 266, 274, 277, 295, 345, 400, 401, 462, 482, 512, 515
 England, King 101, 103, 104, 109, 124, 176, 409, 449
 English Channel 262, 276
 Entença, Berenguer d' 374
 Entenza, Lineage 334
 Entenza, Teresa de 335
 Ephesus 448
 Epicurus 384
 Epila 248
 Epirus x, 15, 36, 181
 Epulon 165
 Eraclea 301
 Erasmus 388
 Ercole I, Duke 494
 Ermemir Quintila 133
 Ermengard, Viscountess of Albi and Nîmes 93, 95
 Ermengard, Viscountess of Narbonne 99, 111
 Ermengol II, Count of Urgell 77
 Ermengol III, Count of Urgell 78, 83
 Ermengol IV, Count of Urgell 63, 77, 78
 Ermengol of Urgell, Bishop 136
 Ermengol V, Count of Urgell 79, 83
 Ermengol VI, Count of Urgell 205
 Ermengol, Saint, see Ermengol of Urgell, Bishop
 Ermesinde of Carcassonne, Countess of Barcelona 77, 146, 422
 Ermessenda, Countess of Barcelona, see Ermesinde of Carcassonne
 Escatron 255
 Escrivà, Bernat 371
 Escrivà, Joan 399
 España, see Spain
 Espanya, Joan de 490
 Espanya, Pere de 490
 Espanya, see Spain

- Espanyol, Lineage 175
 Este, Lineage 429
 Estefania 401, 402
 Estefania of Baux, see Stephanie of Baux
 Esteve, Joan 390
 Ethiopia 402
 Euboea 281, 504
 Eulalia, Saint 136, 158, 420, 426, 454, 499
 Eulogius of Cordoba 46, 81, 82
 Eulogius, Saint, see Eulogius of Cordoba
 Europa, see Europe
 Europe vii, viii, xi, xii, 2, 3, 11, 20, 21, 24–27, 32, 84, 88, 133, 154, 155, 160, 167, 171, 172, 201, 203, 227, 237, 240, 247, 249, 250, 254, 261, 262, 278, 280–284, 290, 299, 337, 338, 340, 343, 353, 382, 395, 411, 415, 422, 426, 432, 434, 447, 450, 461, 462, 475, 478, 484, 494
 Eusebius 139
 Exodus 163, 240, 424
 Extremadura 84

 Fabre, Jaume 416
 Faḥs Maškiḡān 64
 Falces 63
 Falquet de Romans 376
 Famagusta 263, 289, 291, 294, 301
 Fanjeaux 122
 Farfa 166
 Fatimid, Caliphate 52
 Fazio, Bartolomeo 388, 455
 Febrer, Andreu 379
 Fébus, Gaston, see Gaston Phoebus
 Fécamp, John of, see John of Fécamp
 Felipe III, see King Philip III of Spain
 Feliu, Gaspar 379
 Felix of Urgell, Bishop 80, 128, 130
 Felix, Saint 135, 136
 Feodosia 281, see Caffa
 Ferdinand I, King of Aragon, see Ferdinand of Antequera
 Ferdinand I, King of Leon and Castille 63
 Ferdinand I, King of Sicily and Naples 14, 182, 336, 429, 455
 Ferdinand II, Emperor of the Holy Roman Germanic Empire and King of Bohemia 471
 Ferdinand II, King of Aragon, see Ferdinand the Catholic
 Ferdinand of Antequera, King of the Crown of Aragon 13, 14, 180, 348, 384, 387, 396, 407, 409, 427, 487, 488
 Ferdinand of Majorca 373
 Ferdinand the Catholic, King of Castile and the Crown of Aragon 18, 182, 318, 388, 389, 430, 488, 493, 513
 Ferdinand V, King of Castile, see Ferdinand the Catholic
 Ferdinand, Prince, see Ferdinand the Catholic
 Fernández de Heredia, Juan 380, 506
 Fernández de Portocarrero-Bocanegra y Moscoso-Osorio, Luis Manuel 473
 Ferrandis d'Herèdia, Joan 410
 Ferrando, don, see Ferdinand I, King of Sicily and Naples
 Ferrante, see Ferdinand I, King of Sicily and Naples
 Ferrara 429
 Ferrara, Wooden Chamber 494
 Ferrer Bassa, see Bassa, Ferrer
 Ferrer, Arnau 419
 Ferrer, Francesc 506
 Ferrer, Pere Joan 390, 406, 426, 429
 Ferrer, Vincent, see Vincent Ferrer, Saint
 Ferro, Víctor 469
 Ferruḡ, Gabriel 379
 Fez 301, 402
 Figueres 239
 Filelfo, Francesco 388
 Fivaller, Lineage 288
 Flamenca 377
 Flanders, Count 142
 Flanders, County 142, 207, 216, 226, 233, 262, 266, 270, 271, 274–276, 277, 295, 299, 306, 384, 425, 515
 Fleury 135, 145
 Flor, Roger de 289, 373, 374, 401, 428
 Florence 365, 369, 427, 428
 Florensac 116, 120
 Florent de Ville 123
 Fluvà, Antoni 16, 293, 506
 Foces, Lineage 334
 Foix, City 376, 378

- Foix, Count 93, 94, 113, 119, 121, 123, 158, 334, 378
- Foix, County 108, 185
- Foix, House 376, 378
- Foixà, Jofré de 377
- Folc II, Viscount Regent of Cardona, Bishop of Barcelona 82
- Folc IV, See Ramon Folc IV Viscount of Cardona
- Folquet de Lunel 376
- Folquet de Marselha 147
- Fonoll, Reinard 421
- Fonolledes 95
- Fonsalada, Elias, see Elias Fonsalada
- Font, Norbert 32
- Fontanella, Joan Pere 463, 464, 467, 480
- Fontanet 206
- Fontanet, Lineage 420
- Fontfroide 117, 135
- Forans, Revolt 248, 249
- Forcalquier, County 97, 98, 102, 105, 106, 108, 110, 116
- Formentera 334, 360
- Fortún I Garcés, King of Pamplona 79
- Fortún ibn Muḥammad 79
- Fortuna 382, 394–396
- Fortune, Island 383
- Fourques 109
- Fraga 59, 68, 69, 139, 239
- França, see France
- France, Kingdom, Empire and Republic viii, 2, 5, 21–23, 29, 30, 32, 33, 85, 92, 101–103, 107, 110, 112, 115, 117, 118, 124, 142, 155, 161, 164, 168, 171, 193, 213, 214, 216, 226, 231, 298, 345, 348, 352, 356, 368, 372, 378, 381, 384, 389, 394, 401, 411, 415, 419, 423, 425, 465–467, 472, 476, 477, 511–513. See Francia.
- Francia, Merovigian and Caroligian Kingdom 40, 72, 75, 76, 79, 82, 83, 85, 149
- Francia, see France, Kingdom
- Francis IV of Austria-Este 499
- Francis of Assisi, Saint 361, 382, 423
- Francis, Saint, see Francis of Assisi, Saint
- Franciscans, Order 361, 363, 366–369, 384, 414, 427, 490, 494, 508
- Frankfurt 130
- Frankland, See Francia, Merovigian and Carolingian Kingdom
- Frederick I Barbarossa, Emperor of the Holy Roman Germanic Empire 100, 102
- Frederick I, King of Sicily, See Frederick II, Emperor of the Holy Roman German Empire
- Frederick II, Emperor of the Holy Roman Germanic Empire and King of Sicily 177, 228, 229, 305, 338, 345, 491
- Frederick II, King of Sicily 5, 347, 348, 373, 439, 452, 454, 486, 491
- Frederick III, Emperor of the Holy Roman Germanic Empire 14
- Frederick III, King of Sicily (according German account), see Frederick II, King of Sicily
- Frederick III, King of Sicily 180, 448, 486
- Frederick IV, King of Sicily (according German account), see Frederick III, King of Sicily
- Frederick of Aragon and Sicily, Count of Luna 13, 180
- Frederick of Aragon, see Frederick II, King of Sicily
- Frederick of Sicily, see Frederick II, King of Sicily
- Frederick, Palatine elector and King of Bohemia 471
- Friar Minors, Order, see Franciscans Order
- Frontinus 381, 402
- Fructuosus of Tarragona 128
- Fulc II, see Folc II
- Fulc IV de Cardona, Ramon, see Ramon Folc IV Viscount of Cardona
- Fulda 132
- Fuliola, La, see La Fuliola
- Furtūn ibn Mūsa 45
- Fusi, Juan Pablo 460
- Fuster, Guillem 389
- Gabes 263
- Gaeta 301
- Galata 281
- Galba, Martí Joan de 400
- Galceran de Tous 370
- Galindo II Aznárez, Count of Aragon 74
- Gallano, Viscounty 334

- Gallego, River 58, 73
 Gallia Narbonensis 145
 Gallinari, Luciano viii, xii
 Gallipoli 448
 Gadesa 239
 Gandia 239, 371, 396, 397
 Ganiya, Ibn 68
 García de Cortázar, Fernando 460
 García Iñíguez, King of Pamplona 45
 García Ordóñez 144
 García Sánchez I, King of Pamplona 78
 García Sánchez III, King of Pamplona 62
 Garcia, Martí 391
 Garcies, see Garsias, Monk
 Garcin, Jean-Claude 296
 Gardeny 206
 Gargano, see Monte Gargano
 Garí, Abbot of Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa 129, 140, 154
 Garibaldi, Giuseppe 488
 Garsenda of Sabran 110
 Garsias, Monk 140, 155
 Ġarsiyā ibn Wannaquh al-Baškuniṣī, see García Iñíguez
 Gascony 135, 146, 149, 216
 Gaston III, see Gaston Phoebus
 Gaston IV of Montcada, Viscount of Bearn 120
 Gaston Phoebus, Count of Foix and Viscount of Bearn 378
 Gaston VI, Viscount of Bearn 121
 Gatala 360
 Gaul 135, 136
 Gausbert de Poicibot 375
 Gausfred III, Count of Roussillon 147
 Gellone 128
 Generalitat, Palau, see Barcelona, Palace of the Generalitat
 Geneva 261
 Genoa 7, 13, 99, 101, 103, 105, 109, 175, 180, 181, 214, 224, 225, 228, 237, 250, 253, 255, 263, 265, 269, 272, 280, 288, 290, 293, 301, 322, 345, 349, 357, 428, 431, 433, 441, 511, 512, 515
 George, Saint 9, 420, 448
 Gerb 63
 Gerberge, Countess of Arles 96
 Gerbert of Aurillac, see Sylvester II, Pope
 Gerbert, Count of Gevaudan 96, 99, 100
 German Empire, see Holy Roman Germanic Empire
 Germany 16, 23, 270, 371, 393, 394
 Gerri 128
 Gevaudan, County 96, 98, 106, 108–110, 114, 146
 Gevaudan, Viscounty 104–106
 Ghent 214, 251
 Gherardesca, Lineage 494
 Ghiberti 429
 Gibraltar 219, 231, 232, 271, 273, 274, 515
 Giles of Rome 381
 Giotto 422
 Giraut de Bornelh 147
 Giraut del Luc 147
 Girona, Bishop 82, 129, 137, 139, 389
 Girona, Bishopric 73, 80, 127
 Girona, Cathedral 127, 154, 158, 166, 167, 414, 415, 419, 422
 Girona, Cerverí de, see Cerverí de Girona
 Girona, City 43, 52, 71, 97, 127, 128, 135–137, 141, 143, 150, 154, 158, 165–168, 172, 197, 207, 223, 239, 250, 277, 318, 320, 323, 334, 362–364, 366, 372, 376, 377, 379, 389, 414, 415, 420–422, 454
 Girona, Count 143, 172
 Girona, County 61, 67, 71–73, 76, 77, 143, 172
 Girona, Plaça dels Apòstols 415
 Girona, Street in Lapola 454
 Girona, University 363
 Giunta, Francesco 30
 God 17, 85, 130, 143, 145, 148, 157, 163, 165, 173, 188, 189, 191, 342, 361, 367, 370, 373, 383, 405, 407, 408, 447, 450
 Godall 313
 Golden Horn 281
 Gonçalbo d'Híxar, see Híxar, Gonçalbo d'
 González Antón, Luis 460
 González de Cellorigo, Martín 476
 Gonzalo 74
 Gosol 207
 Gothia 149
 Gotmar II, Bishop of Girona 137
 Gozzo, Island 178
 Granada, City 56, 61, 301
 Granada, Kingdom 61, 266, 273, 307, 342, 514

- Grandselve 135
 Grandson, Oton de 378
 Granollers 239
 Grasse 105
 Graus 63, 64, 74, 254
 Great Occitan War 94, 96, 101, 111, 112
 Great War 24
 Grecia, see Greece
 Greece 9, 15, 22, 33, 181, 182, 289, 292, 300, 374, 394, 428, 432, 448, 491, 504, 509
 Gregoras, Nicephorus 374
 Gregory I the Great, Pope 83, 130, 131, 141, 143, 381
 Gregory IX, Pope 174, 362
 Gregory VII, Pope 83
 Gregory, Saint, see Gregory I the Great
 Grifoll, Isabel viii, xii, 87
 Grimau, Armengau 275
 Guadalacete, River and Battle 42
 Guadalete, River and Battle 37
 Guadalope, River 58
 Guadalquivir, River 272
 Guadalupe, Sentence 248, 249
 Guarini, Guarino 388
 Guascuenha, see Gascony
 Guehenno, Jean Marie 26
 Güelfa 393–395, 397, 428
 Guerau de Maçanet 378, 492
 Guerau de Puigtornès 184
 Guerrejat, Gui 103
 Guevara, Che 24
 Guido of Arezzo 134
 Guilhem de Mur 376
 Guilhem IV, Count of Forcalquier 105, 110
 Guilhem IX of Poitiers, Duke of Aquitaine, see Guilhem IX, Duke of Aquitaine
 Guilhem IX, Duke of Aquitaine 95, 97
 Guilhem IX, Lord of Montpellier 114
 Guilhem Margret 148
 Guilhem of Laurac 109
 Guilhem VI, Lord of Montpellier 97–99
 Guilhem VII, Count of Poitiers, see Guilhem IX of Aquitaine
 Guilhem VII, Lord of Montpellier 103, 106, 110
 Guilhem VIII, Lord of Montpellier 106, 109, 113, 114
 Guillaume de Caoursin 506
 Guillaume de Machaut 373, 379
 Guillaume de Nangis 356
 Guillem Bonfill, see, Bonfill, Guillem
 Guillem de Berguedà 148
 Guillem de Cabestany 149
 Guillem de Claramunt 165
 Guillem de Montanhagol 176
 Guillem de Montcada, Bishop of Lleida 170
 Guillem de Montcada, Citizen of Barcelona 297
 Guillem de Moncada, Noble 184
 Guillem de Montgrí, Archbishop of Tarragona 175
 Guillem de Peralada 230
 Guillem de Volpiano 155
 Guillem Pere de Ravidats, see Ravidats, Guillem Pere de, Bishop of Lleida
 Guillem Ramon de Moncada, Count of Malta 491
 Guillem Ramon II de Moncada, Marquis of Malta 492
 Guillem Ramon de Montcada, Baron 371
 Guillem Ramon de Montcada, Count of Malta, see Guillem Ramon de Moncada, Count of Malta.
 Guillem Ramon de Montcada, Seneschal 103
 Guillem Ramon II de Montcada, Marquis of Malta see Guillem Ramon II de Moncada, Marquis of Malta
 Guillem Ramon, Count of Cerdanya 93
 Guillem Sagrera, See Sagrera, Guillem
 Guillema of Lleida, see Lleida, Guillema of
 Guiraut d'Espanha 377
 Guiraut de Calanson 148
 Guiraut Riquier, see Riquier Guiraut
 Guitard, Abbot of Sant Cugat del Valles 129
 Guy de Nanteuil 374
 Guy of Warwick 400–402
 Habsburg, House 459, 460
 Ḥārīt ibn Bazī' 45
 Hausser, Christian 27
 Hautefort 109
 Ḥazar ibn Mu'min 45
 Hector, Mythical Hero 145, 397
 Hellin 62
 Helvetic Union 482

- Henry II Plantagenet, King of England 101,
103, 107, 110
- Henry II, King of Cyprus 288, 304, 403
- Henry III, King of England 124, 176
- Henry III, King of Castille 273, 304
- Henry of Settimello 385
- Heraklion, see Candia
- Hercules, Mythical Hero 231, 370, 392, 396
- Heredia, Juan Fernández de 380, 410, 506
- Herman of Carinthia 133
- Hernan Paez 38
- Hijar, Lineage 334
- Hillgarth, Jocelyn N. 31, 32, 512
- Hipatis, Town 504, 505
- Hipòlit, see Hippolytus
- Hippolytus 401, 402
- Hišām I, Emir 44
- Hišām ibn ‘Abd al-Malik, Caliph 42
- Hišām II, Caliph 53–55
- Hisn Zanāta, see Lizana
- Hispania 19, 125, 141, 369, 370, 389, 456
- Hispania Carthaginensis 37
- Hispania Citerior 39
- Hispania Tarraconensis 72
- Hispania Ulterior 39
- Hispanic Crown, see Hispanic Monarchy.
- Hispanic Monarchy 19, 20
- Hispanus, Joseph, see Joseph Hispanus
- Híxar, Gonçalves d’ 400, 401
- Híxar, Teresa d’ 391, 393
- Hohenstaufen, House 102, 228, 230, 413
- Holy Land 95, 110, 117, 144, 283, 284, 286, 288,
297, 305, 342, 357, 394, 402, 447, 494
- Holy Roman Empire, see Holy
Roman-Germanic Empire
- Holy Roman-Germanic Empire 23, 27, 107,
108, 338, 514
- Holy See, see Papapy
- Holy Sepulchre, Order 75, 160
- Holy Spirit 167
- Homer 145, 397
- Honein 301
- Honfleur 263
- Horace 132, 133, 145
- Hospital de la Santa Creu, see Santa Creu,
Hospital in Barcelona
- Hospital Order, see Saint John of the Hospital,
Order
- Hotman, François 465
- Howden, Roger of 106
- Hucbald of Saint-Amand 130
- Huelva 61
- Huesca, City 38, 39, 43, 44, 46–48, 50–54, 56,
59, 62, 64, 65, 71–73, 75, 78, 80, 172,
204–206, 211, 215, 239, 250, 258, 272, 327,
328, 363, 365
- Huesca, University 363
- Hug Gaufred 104
- Hug II, Count of Rodez 106
- Hug of Baux 102, 105
- Hugh Capet, King of Francia 76, 138
- Hugh II, Judge of Arborea 495
- Hugh of Sanctalla 132
- Hugo Candidus 83
- Hugonet 148
- Huguet de Mataplana 149
- Huguet, Jaume 424
- Hundred Years, War 6
- Hungary, Kingdom 15, 35, 182, 437
- Huyadi, John 182
- Hyeres 104
- Iberia, see Iberian Peninsula
- Iberian Peninsula v, viii, xi, 3, 6, 12, 17, 19, 20,
32, 35, 37, 38, 41, 42, 44, 52, 61, 67, 69, 72,
73, 75, 77, 79, 83, 84, 103, 120, 131, 132,
144, 150, 155, 172, 176, 177, 181, 224, 226,
229, 240, 244, 245, 247, 251, 253, 254,
264, 269, 270, 341, 343, 347, 348, 351,
363, 389, 414, 433, 438, 440, 441, 454,
455, 459, 476–479, 481, 484, 487, 489,
490, 492, 493, 495, 496, 498, 500, 501,
508, 510, 512
- Ibiza 175, 196, 239, 263, 267, 268, 334, 344,
372
- ibn Ḥaldūn 40
- Ibn Ḥayyān 76
- Ibn Maḥdī 68
- Ibn Mardaniš 69
- Ibn Wasil 305
- Iben Abtalib 65
- Ibrahim ben Halaf 225
- Ifranġa 40
- Ifriqiyah 5, 11, 175, 177, 224, 229, 230, 262,
266, 267, 425
- Igual, David 256, 268
- Igualada 207, 239
- Ilerda, see Lleida

- ʿImād al-Dawla 78
 Imola, Benvenuto da 397
 India 23
 Indian Ocean 271
 Innocent II, Pope 84, 99
 Innocent III, Pope 112, 113, 115, 117, 118, 121, 122
 Iradiel, Paulino 256
 Isaac the Blind 364
 Isabel de Villena, see Villena, Isabel de
 Isabelle of Castile, see Isabelle the Catholic
 Isabelle the Catholic, Queen of Castile 388, 408, 430
 Isaia da Pisa 429
 Ischia 3, 60
 Isidore of Seville 128, 131, 133
 Isere, River 98
 Ismāʿīl ibn Mūsā ibn Qasī 48, 49
 Ispanus Joseph see Joseph Hispanus
 Israel 284
 Islam viii, 3, 32, 38, 39, 41, 43, 45, 50, 57, 60, 68, 69, 386, 402, 465, 514
 Italia, see Italy
 Italian Peninsula 14, 134, 181, 337, 455, see Italy
 Italy 10, 14, 17, 18, 22, 29, 35, 36, 97, 125, 134, 139, 145, 154, 155, 160, 161, 164, 166, 174, 181, 190, 191, 198, 220–222, 224, 228–230, 246, 255, 261–263, 265, 267–269, 271–273, 277, 278, 280–283, 285, 288, 290, 292, 295, 298, 305, 337, 345, 354, 359, 366, 367, 375, 378, 379, 384, 386, 388–390, 393, 395–397, 399, 400, 402, 415, 418, 420–425, 428–430, 434, 436, 437, 442, 445, 455–458, 483–485, 489–491, 493–495, 503, 507, 510, 511, 513, 515, see Italian Peninsula.
 Jaca, Bishopric 73, 80
 Jaca, City 52, 71, 74, 75, 80, 85, 173, 204, 206, 211, 263, 320, 321, 329
 Jacme, see James I the Conqueror, King of the Crown of Aragon
 Jacobus de Varaigne 381
 Jafudà Bonsenyor, see Bonsenyor, Jafudà
 Jäger 474
 Jalon, Valley 248
 James I the Conqueror, King of the Crown of Aragon 4, 5, 11, 29, 32, 119, 120, 124, 143, 173–178, 186, 188, 198, 210–212, 217, 218, 222, 225, 226, 228, 229, 232, 234, 285, 286, 297, 298, 303–306, 321, 324, 327, 328, 342–345, 362, 363, 366, 369, 370–376, 413, 414, 416, 432, 434, 436, 511–513
 James II the Just, King of the Crown of Aragon 5, 12, 31, 70, 177, 186, 195, 197, 199, 217, 287, 289, 303, 304, 305, 338, 341, 342, 347–350, 356, 362, 365, 368, 371, 374, 375, 377, 416, 428, 433, 439, 452, 454, 486, 495, 513
 James II, King of Majorca 372, 373
 James III, King of Majorca 193, 373, 380, 515
 Jarnegues 104
 Jaufré Rudel 149, 374, 377, 379
 Jaume de Vilaseca, see Vilaseca, Jaume de
 Jerome, Saint 139
 Jerusalem, City 136, 144, 154, 181, 293
 Jerusalem, Kingdom 15, 35, 181, 281, 284
 Jesus Christ 130, 141, 142, 162, 167, 189, 330, 331, 361, 369, 383, 297, 399, 405, 408–410, 422, 423, 426
 Jesus, see Jesus Christ
 Jijel 301
 Jiménez de Rada, Rodrigo 369
 Jiménez de Urrea, Lineage 334
 Jimeno Garcés, Regent of Pamplona 144
 Joan Basset, see Basset, Joan
 Joan Berenguer de Masdovelles, see Masdovelles, Joan Berenguer de
 Joan de Castellnou, see Castellnou, Joan de
 Joan of England, Countess of Toulouse 112, 113, 116
 Joan, Bishop of Egara 152
 Joan, Pere 426, 429
 Joan, Saint, see John the Evangelist, Saint
 Jofre de Foixà, see Foixà, Jofre de
 Jofreu, Pere Antoni 467
 John I, King of the Crown of Aragon 8, 12, 180, 194, 196, 198, 200, 274, 317, 330, 356, 378–381, 384, 385, 419, 424, 448, 452, 503
 John II, King of the Crown of Aragon 17, 182, 248, 264, 276, 317, 388, 389, 400, 403, 418, 430, 456
 John Joseph of Austria 472
 John of Aragon, Archbishop of Tarragona 420
 John of Berry 425

- John of Fécamp 134
 John of Navarre, see John II, King of the
 Crown of Aragon
 John of Paris 463
 John of Salisbury 383
 John the Baptist, Saint 423
 John the Evangelist, Saint 206
 John XIII, Pope 81
 John, Prince, see John I, King of the
 Crown of Aragon
 Jonas 163
 Jordi de Déu, see Déu, Jordi de
 Jordi de Sant Jordi, see Sant Jordi, Jordi de
 Josaphat 364
 Joseph ben Meir ibn Sabara 364
 Joseph Hispanus 132
 Joseph Sapiens 132
 Jucar, River 231, 258, 272
 Juno 396
 Junyent, Joan de 426
 Just, Saint 414
 Justinian 39, 496
 Juvenal 133, 405
- Kassos 505
 Kastellorizo x, 15, 35, 182
 Kefalonia x, 505
 Kerkennah 373
 Kidonia 505
 Kobrin, Stephan J. 26
 Kosovo 15, 132
 Kosto, Adam viii, xii
 Kruje 15, 182
- La Cavalleria, Lineage 365
 La Fuliola 64
 La Junquera, Agreements 348
 La Magdalena, Neighbourhood in
 Lerida 206
 La Marche 93, 146
 La Peronne 472
 La Rapita 63
 La Real 333
 La Seu, see La Seu d'Urgell
 La Seu d'Urgell, Bishopric, see Urgell,
 Bishopric
 La Seu d'Urgell, City 73, 150, 152, 153, 157,
 158, 166, 207, 239
 La Vila Joiosa 277
- Labata 54
 Labiba 54
 Lackland, John 120, 122
 Lady of Bonaria, see Bonaria
 Lagrasse 102, 128
 Laguarres 63
 Lalinde, Jesús 457
 Lamanon, Bertran de, see Bertran de
 Lamanon
 Lamtūna Banū Turğūt, Lineage 68
 Lancelot 372, 374, 387, 396
 Lanfranchi da Pistoia, Paolo 376
 Languedoc 92, 94, 96, 101, 105, 107, 108, 111,
 115, 117, 124, 135, 146, 148, 204, 214, 216,
 230, 231, 249, 253, 258, 262, 269, 270,
 282, 284, 297, 299, 362, 414
 Lapola 454
 Laquesis 394, 395
 Las Navas de Tolosa 121, 149, 371
 Lascuarre 63
 Lateran III, Council 107, 365
 Lateran IV, Council 365, 447, 451
 Lattes 116
 Laurac, Guilhem of, see Guillem of Laurac
 Lauragais 120, 270
 Laurana, Francesco 429, 493
 Lauria, Roger of 8, 289, 372, 373
 Laurieux, Bruno 455
 Lavaix 81, 128
 Lavaur 121, 122
 Lawrence, Saint 421
 Lazarus 165
 Le Puy 154, 231
 Leicester 118
 Leidrad 130
 Lemozi, see Limousin
 Lenin 24
 Lentini 301
 Leon, City 67
 Leon, Kingdom 53, 54, 61, 63, 64, 67, 75, 83
 Leonardo III Tocco 15, 181
 Lesser Armenia 287, 352
 Leukas x, 15
 Levant 30, 178, 226, 260, 262, 264–267, 271,
 273, 275, 276, 279, 280, 283–286, 289,
 290–296, 298–300, 306, 307, 348, 492,
 503, 504, 509
 Iberian Levant 68, 490
 Leyre 46, 82

- Licata 301
 Liguria 10, 13, 100, 220, 229, 233, 265, 268,
 269, 270, 277, 494
 Lille 232, 263, 385
 Limoges 145
 Limousin 93, 101, 146, 147, 149
 Liori, Lineage 334
 Lipari 301
 Lippio, Lorenzo 389
 Lisbon 53, 67, 263
 Livadia 443
 Livy 380, 381
 Lizana 41
 Lleida, Cathedral 161, 168, 170, 171, 414, 421
 Lleida, City 6, 38, 44, 46–48, 50–57, 59,
 61–69, 71–73, 75, 78, 80, 100, 108, 127, 135,
 139, 144, 161, 168–171, 187, 197, 204–206,
 208, 211–215, 217, 230, 232, 239, 250, 258,
 263, 272, 315, 319–321, 323, 327, 361, 362,
 390, 407, 414, 421, 454
 Lleida, Guillema of 206
 Lleida, Suda 170
 Lleida, Taifa 61–64, 66
 Lleida, University x, xii, xiii, 71, 108, 239, 263,
 301, 362, 363
 Llobet, Francesc 426
 Llobet, Seniofred, see Seniofred Llobet
 Llobregat, River 258
 Lower Llobregat 209, 249
 Llull i de Gualbes, Joan 426
 Llull, Ramon 189, 192, 356, 364, 366–369,
 402, 428
 Llull, Romeu 391, 406, 407
 Llúria, Lineage 334
 Lluria, Roger de, see Lauria, Roger of
 Lo Monaco, Guglielmo 429
 Lo Templier, Olivier, see Olivier Lo Templier
 Lochner, Michael 426
 Lodeve 108
 Lombardy 154, 246, 270, 299, 423
 London 231, 232, 263, 274
 Longo Adorno, Massimo 450
 Longosardo 180
 Longudoro 196
 López de Mendoza, Íñigo 387
 López Fernández de Luna, Archbishop of
 Saragossa 421
 López Madera, Gregorio 476
 Lorenzetti, Ambrogio 422
 Lorenzetti, Pietro 422
 Lorraine 145
 Lorrin, Treaty 177
 Lot 405
 Lotario de Conti 113
 Lothair, King of Francia 76
 Louge 123
 Louis IV, King of Francia 137
 Louis IX, King of France 124, 177, 356, 435
 Louis the Pious Emperor of the Holy Roman
 Germanic Empire 1, 44, 72, 76, 81, 125,
 126, 128, 152
 Louis V, King of Francia 76
 Louis VII, King of France 79, 101, 103, 107
 Louis XIII, King of France 467, 472
 Louis XIV, King of France 473
 Louis, King of Aquitaine, see Louis the Pious
 Louviers, Treaty 112
 Low Countries 20, 388, 482, 459
 Lubb ibn Muḥammad ibn Lubb ibn Mūsa ibn
 Mūsa ibn Qasī 49, 79
 Lubb ibn Muḥammad, see Lubb ibn
 Muḥammad ibn Lubb ibn Mūsa ibn
 Mūsa ibn Qasī
 Lucca 134, 222
 Lucocisterna 374
 Lucretia 406
 Ludolph of Saxony 397, 399
 Lukina, Countess of Malta 397, 399
 Luna, Peter de, see Benedicte XIII, Antipope
 Lunel, de Folquet, see Foquet de Lunel
 Lusignan, Lineage 388, 433
 Luttrell, Anthony 32
 Luys d'Averçó, see Averçó, Luys d'
 Luzas 63
 Lyon 108, 118, 231, 261, 505

 Maastrich 154
 Maçanet de, Guerau, see Guerau de Maçanet
 Macedonia 478
 Machaut, Guillaume de, see Guillaume de
 Machaut
 MacIlwan, Charles H. 468
 Macrobius 132, 385
 Madariaga, Salvador de 23
 Madeira 271
 Madhia 224
 Madinat al-Zahrā 53
 Madrid 393, 473, 481

- Maestrazgo 259
 Alto Maestrazgo 245
 Maestrazgo de Teruel 247
 Maestro di Campo 488
 Maghreb 42, 69, 210, 213, 214, 220, 224–227,
 229, 233, 260, 262, 264, 266, 271,
 284–286, 298, 300, 307, 514
 Magnanimous, see Alfonso, the
 Magnanimous
 Magret, Guilhem, see Ghilhem Magret
 Maguelone 114
 Mahault, Countess of Barcelona 95
 Maimonides 364
 Mainz 128
 Majorca, Cathedral 416
 Majorca, City 4, 10, 12, 14, 21, 29, 35, 67, 97,
 141, 174, 175, 178, 179, 185, 191, 193, 198,
 210, 212–214, 223–225, 227–231, 233,
 238, 239, 241, 246, 248, 250, 252–254,
 259, 260, 262–264, 266–268, 274, 276,
 277, 286, 288, 289, 291, 292, 294, 298,
 300, 301, 305–307, 313, 318–322, 327, 332,
 333, 343–346, 349, 356–358, 361, 363,
 366, 368, 370–373, 380, 416, 418, 429,
 431, 432, 434–438, 441, 442, 446, 452,
 454, 455, 490, 493, 500, 510–513, 515
 Majorca, House 179, 191, 454, 490
 Majorca, Island 172, 196, 267, 342, 344, 356,
 386, 410, 413, 441
 Majorca, Kingdom x, 30, 175, 194, 196, 215,
 218, 220, 222, 223, 237, 259, 287, 298,
 305, 307, 308, 334, 417, 513
 Majorca, University 363
 Malaga 61, 263, 276, 301
 Malaspina 179, 351, 437, 494
 Malla, Felip de 380, 387, 407, 408
 Mallorques, see Majorca
 Malorques, see Majorca
 Malta, Count 491, 492
 Malta, County 491, 492
 Malta, Island x, 16, 33, 35, 174, 301, 432, 485,
 491, 492
 Malta, Marquis 492
 Mamluk Sultanate 282, 285–288, 291,
 293–295, 298, 303, 305, 503, 515
 Mamluks, see Mamluk, Sultanate 515
 Manconi, Francesco 457
 Manfred, King of Sicily 177, 305, 345, 347
 Manresa, County 129
 Manresa, Town 73, 127, 239, 258
 Manzil al-Barbar, see Monzalbarba
 Manzil Quraix, see Massalcoreig
 Marca, see March
 Marcen 54, 59
 March 72
 Eastern March 72
 Upper March 42–51, 53–57, 59, 61–63, 65,
 67–69, 72
 March de Cervelló, Guillem 336
 March, Ausiàs 378, 390–392, 398, 400, 402
 March, Jaume 378
 March, Lineage 102, 336, 397
 March, Pere 378
 Mare Nostrum, see Mediterraneum
 Marededeu del Pessebre in
 Saint-Michel-of-Cuixa 155
 Marettimo 360
 Margarit i Pau, Joan, Bishop 1, 17, 28, 31, 389
 Marguet, Guilhem, see Guilhem Margret
 Maria de Luna, Queen of the Crown of
 Aragon 383
 Maria, Queen of Navarre 422
 Mariana, Juan de 475
 Mariano IV, Judge of Arborea 495
 Marie of Lusignan 304, 433
 Marie of Montpellier, Queen of the Crown of
 Aragon 113, 114, 116, 148
 Marquet, Bernat 219
 Marquet, Lineage 288, 432, 286
 Marquet, Ramon 373
 Marsala 301
 Marseilles 96, 104, 108, 111, 135, 140, 141, 206,
 221, 224, 225, 227, 228, 255, 263, 270, 282,
 284, 288, 301, 321, 360, 431
 Marselha, Folquet de, see Folquet de
 Marselha
 Marselha, Paulet de, see Paulet de Marselha
 Marsili, Pere 362, 371
 Marsilius of Padua 190, 463
 Martí, Esther viii, xii
 Martí, Ramon 362
 Martin the Elder, see Martin the Humane
 Martin I the Humane, King of the Crown of
 Aragon 12, 13, 180, 196, 198, 200, 305, 317,
 347, 378–381, 384, 407, 409, 424, 425,
 430, 436, 439, 444, 452, 487, 492

- Martin I the Younger, King of Sicily 12, 180,
 436, 439, 445, 449, 486, 487, 492, 502
 Martin IV, Pope 5, 444
 Martin, Prince, see Martin the Humane
 Martin, River 58
 Martinez, Pero 408
 Martinez, Petrus, de Aragonia 442
 Martínez de Vera, Isabel 398
 Martínez Shaw, Carlos 460
 Martínez, Gregorio 464
 Martínez, Pedro Luis 463, 465
 Martini, Royal Lineage 180, 436, 439, 488,
 492
 Martini, Simone 422
 Martino, Federico 450
 Martino, see Martin I the Younger,
 King of Sicily
 Martorell, Bernat 421, 424
 Martorell, Joanot 380, 399, 400–402, 428,
 506
 Marwān al-Jilliḳī 49
 Mary Magdalene, Saint 389, 409
 Mary of Castile, Queen of the Crown of
 Aragon 325, 403, 405
 Mary, Princess, see Mary Queen of Sicily
 Mary, Queen of Sicily 180, 379
 Mary, Saint 156, 158, 159, 170, 361, 405, 409, 410,
 416, 423, 426
 Mary, Virgin, see Mary Saint
 Masdovelles, Joan Berenguer de 393
 Massalcoreig 41
 Massif Central 231
 Mataplana, Huguet de, see Huguet de
 Mataplana
 Mataplana, Ponç, see Ponç de Mataplana
 Mates, Bartomeu 390
 Mateu i Sanz, Llorenç 476
 Matieu de Caersí 376
 Matilde, Countess of Bigorre 104
 Matoses, Pere Joan 390
 Maṭrūḥ 44
 Mazara 301, 490
 Mechelen 251
 Medea 392, 398
 Medina del Campo 261
 Medina Elvira 56
 Medina Mayurca, see Majorca, city
 Medinaceli 61, 68, 239
 Mediterranean v–xi, 1, 2, 6, 9–13, 16, 18, 22,
 28, 29–36, 70, 78, 88, 97, 115, 146, 154, 171,
 172, 180–182, 220–225, 227, 229–234,
 246, 253–255, 264–266, 268, 270, 274,
 276, 278–280, 282, 285, 287, 290,
 293–301, 302, 303, 305–308, 322, 332,
 334, 337–346, 348–360, 375, 401, 411, 413,
 415, 417–420, 422, 424, 426–429,
 431–434, 436–441, 446, 448, 449, 451,
 452, 455, 457, 484, 486, 490, 491, 494,
 503, 507, 510–512, 515
 Mediterraneo, see Mediterranean
 Megara 504
 Melgueil, County 98, 103, 105, 108, 110, 114
 Melis, Federigo 255
 Melun 394, 396
 Men 54
 Menorca, see Minorca
 Mequinsensa 41, 58, 255
 Mercader, Berenguer 398, 399
 Mercedarians, see Mercy, Order
 Mercy, Order 450, 499
 Merida 38, 41
 Mertola 61
 Meseta 45
 Messina 178, 230, 263, 301
 Messulam ben Solomon de Piera 364
 Metge, Bernat 380, 382, 384, 385, 404, 425,
 453
 Methoni, see Modon
 Meuse, Valley 262
 Mézières, Philippe de 385
 Mezzogiorno 229, 230, 253, 267, 268
 Mezzoiuso 488
 Michael VIII Palaiologos, Byzantine
 Emperor 374, 505
 Michael, Archangel, see Michael, Saint
 Michael, Saint 135, 158, 417, 423
 Midi 28, 270, 415
 Miguel (Cornel), Bishop of Tarazona 132
 Miguel, Prince 19
 Miknasa, see Mequinenza
 Milan 14, 269, 395
 Milazzo 301
 Millau 104, 105, 106, 108, 134
 Minorca 21, 175, 196, 246, 252, 342, 344, 360,
 373, 428, 511, 512
 Mir de Tost, Arnau, see Arnau Mir de Tost

- Miramar 366
 Miravet 255
 Miró Bonfill, Count III of Cerdanya, II of Besalu, Bishop of Girona 82, 139
 Miró, Count II of Cerdanya and I of Besalu 139
 Mislata 326
 Mitjavila, Pere de 289, 290
 Modon 263, 293, 301
 Mohammed II, Ottoman Turkish Sultan 506
 Moirai, see Parcae
 Moissac 120, 135, 154
 Moldova 154
 Molina 239
 Molinos, Pedro de 465
 Moncada, Francisco de 22
 Moncada, Hugo de 489
 Moncada, Sancho de 476
 Moner, Francesc 456
 Monreale 422
 Mons, At de, see At de Mons
 Montalban 239, 258
 Montanhagol, Guillem de, see Guillem de Montanhagol
 Montauban 120, 121
 Montblanc 320
 Montbrai, Eloi de, see Eloi de Montbrau
 Montcada, Catalan Lineage 439, 334
 Montcada, Lineage in Sicily 439
 Montcada, Lineage in Valencia 334
 Montcada, Street in Barcelona 417
 Monte Cassino 83, 130
 Monte Gargano 135
 Monteagudo, Treaty 177
 Montecristo 360
 Montesa, Order 312
 Montfalcon Murallat 186
 Montferrand 103
 Montferrat 394, 395
 Montfort, Simon, see Simon de Montfort
 Montgenevre 98
 Montgrí, Guillem de, see Guillem de Montgrí
 Montjuic 324
 Montmagastre 51, 55
 Montolieu 128
 Montoliu 206
 Montpalau, Joan de 400
 Montpellier, City x, 97–100, 103, 104, 106, 108, 109, 113–116, 120, 122, 124, 125, 175, 207, 213, 214, 216, 225, 231, 233, 238, 263, 270, 272, 282, 284–286, 288, 297, 298, 301, 320, 363, 370, 413, 511, 513
 Montpellier, University 363, 368
 Montsec 55
 Montsegur 177
 Montserrat 80, 129, 153
 Montsia 106
 Monzalbarba 41, 44
 Monzon 47–51, 57, 65, 78, 186, 189, 199, 211, 213, 239, 250, 253, 274, 328, 470
 Mora 239
 Moragues, Pere 421, 422
 Morea 15, 506
 Morell, Guillem 421, 422
 Morella 239, 250
 Morgana, Fata 409
 Morocco 177, 224, 231, 266, 515
 Moron 61
 Morvedre 206, 239
 Moses ben Nahman, the Kabbalist 364, 366, 512
 Moses Natan 364
 Mostaganem 301
 Mother of God, see Mary, Saint
 Muel 239
 Muḥammad 212
 Muḥammad al-Nasir, Caliph 120
 Muḥammad al-Ṭawīl 78
 Muḥammad I, Emir 46, 47
 Muḥammad ibn Abī ‘Āmir al-Manṣūr 54, 76, 137
 Muḥammad ibn Lubd ibn Qasī 49, 51
 Muluya, River 177
 Muntaner, Ramon 179
 Munūsa, Wālī 41, 42
 Mur, Guilhem de, see Guilhem de Mur
 Murcia, City 67–69, 239, 476
 Murcia, Kingdom x, 177, 228, 230, 258, 370, 372, 373
 Muret 371
 Murviel 109
 Mūsa ibn Fortūn ibn Qasī 44, 49
 Mūsa ibn Mūsa ibn Qasī 45
 Mūsa ibn Nuṣayr 37, 39
 Mussolini, Benito 31

- Muṭarrif ibn Mūsā 43, 45–48, 78
 Muṭarrif, see Muṭarrif ibn Mūsā

 Nahmanides, see Moses ben Nahman,
 the Kabbalist
 Najera 73
 Nangis, Guillaume de, see Guillaume de
 Nangis
 Nantes 263
 Nanteuil, Guy de, see Guy de Nanteuil 374
 Naples, City 13, 14, 17, 20, 31, 181, 255, 263,
 268, 276, 301, 322, 334, 348, 352, 373, 391,
 406, 428, 429, 434, 453, 455, 456, 458, 493
 Naples, House 490
 Naples, Kingdom x, 20, 21, 47, 181, 182, 228,
 230, 250, 254, 267, 294, 301, 306, 322,
 334, 348, 427, 429, 455, 456, 458, 484,
 485, 488, 490, 492–494, 504, 508
 Narbonne, Archdiocese 80, 96, 121, 127
 Narbonne, City 40–42, 45, 52, 80, 82, 92, 263,
 376, 415
 Narbonne, Viscounty 9, 5, 97, 98, 106, 108,
 109, 111, 113
 Narcissus, Saint 136, 421
 Nasrid, Lineage 303, 306
 Navar, Bishop of Couserans 117
 Navarre, Kingdom 19, 20, 72–74, 78, 82, 90,
 106, 108, 264, 388, 422, 487,
 Nebrija, Antonio 388
 Negroponte 281
 Neopatrás, Duchy x, 9, 35, 179, 182, 428, 448,
 505
 Neptune 396, 407
 Netherlands, see Low Countries
 Nevers, Count 118
 New York xii
 Nice 102, 105, 106, 108, 146
 Nicholas IV, Pope 287
 Nicolau d'Olwer, Lluís 280, 503
 Nicolau Eimeric, see Eimeric Nicolau
 Niebla 61
 Nife 359
 Nile 210, 282
 Nîmes 40, 93, 107, 111, 270
 Nîmes, Viscounty 107–110
 Nisus 395
 Nocco, Sebastiana viii, xii
 Noguera Pallaresa, River 73
 Noguera Ribagorçana, River 73
 Noguerola, River 206
 Normandy 155, 167
 North Sea 216, 232, 233, 262, 273, 274, 277
 Notre-Dame du Puy 134, 394–396
 Nueno 65
 Nuno Sanç, Count of Cerdanya and
 Roussillon 184

 Obarra 81
 Occitania viii, 106, 115, 124, 135, 148, 200, 207,
 227, 266, 270, 377
 Odena 186
 Olegarius, Bishop of Barcelona and
 Archbishop of Tarragona 160
 Oleto, Bernat d' 420
 Olfo of Prócida 356
 Oliba Cabreta, Count of Cerdanya and
 Besalu 83, 140
 Oliba, Abbot of Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa and
 Bishop of Vic 82, 129, 132, 133, 136,
 138–140, 151, 154–157, 159, 166
 Oliba, Antoni 463
 Oliba, master 133
 Olivares, Count-Duke 471, 477–479, 481
 Oliver, Ramon 227
 Olivi, Pere Joan 191
 Olivier Lo Templier 376
 Omelades x
 Oña 82
 Onda 213
 Ondara, River 58
 Onneca 79
 Ontinyent 250
 Ora 49
 Oran 263, 301
 Orange, City 98
 Orange, Principality 395
 Organya 134
 Orient, see Levant
 Orihuela, see Oriola
 Oriol, Count of Aragon 74
 Oriola 177, 239, 250, 259
 Oristano, City 301
 Oristano, Marquisate 496
 Orpheus 385, 398
 Orpi 186
 Ortafa, Ramon d' 182

- Orthodox Church 447, 452, 505
 Os 67
 Oseja 41
 Osma, Bishop 117
 Osma, City 53
 Osona, County 61, 67, 71–73, 76, 77, 129, 172, 186
 Osor, Ponç d', see Ponç d'Osor
 Ostalritxe, see Austria
 Ostend 251
 Ot, Bishop of Urgell 136
 Otger Cataló, Mythical Hero 370
 Oton de Grandson, see Grandson, Oton de
 Ottoman, Empire 26, see Turks
 Ouargla 224
 Ovid 381, 385, 392, 396, 398, 402, 405, 407
 Oviedo 52
 Oxford 362
- Pachymeres, George 374
 Paderborn 78
 Palace of the Generalitat, see Barcelona, Palace of the Generalitat
 Palaizi 375
 Palamos 218
 Palancia, River 258
 Palau de la Generalitat, see Barcelona, Palace of the Generalitat
 Palau Major, see Barcelona, Grand Royal Palace
 Palau Reial, see Barcelona, Grand Royal Palace
 Palau, Pere 425
 Palazzo Affaitati 495
 Palermo 5, 178, 229, 230, 233, 263, 266, 276, 301, 322, 375, 432, 435, 439, 454, 488, 489, 490
 Palestine 206, 220, 281
 Pallars Jussa, County 61, 67, 72, 106, 108, 172
 Pallars Sobira, County 61, 67, 72, 108, 172, 185
 Pallars, County 50, 71–74, 76–78, 80, 81, 127, 128, 137, 141, 143, 145, 152, 166
 Pallars, House 92
 Pallars, Late-Medieval County (=Pallars Sobira County) 185, 324
 Pallars-Roda, see Roda, Bishopric
 Palma of Majorca, see Majorca, City
 Pamplona, Bishopric 80
 Pamplona, City 43, 45, 46, 52, 67, 71–74, 239, 263
 Pamplona, King 47, 50, 62, 74, 78, 79
 Pamplona, Kingdom 47, 50, 54, 61, 62, 67, 71, 73, 74, 78
 Pando, Melcior de 395
 Pantelleria 360
 Pantera, Pantero 357
 Pantocrator 165, 167
 Papacy 78, 82, 83, 114, 115, 121, 124, 130, 134, 287–290, 303, 305, 345, 348, 372, 441, 442, 448, 513
 Paradise 167
 Parcae 395
 Pardinella, Maria de 206
 Pardines, Pere de 214
 Paris, City 17, 122, 134, 145, 166, 362, 366, 378, 395, 404, 407, 423–425, 449, 463
 Paris, Mythical Hero 399
 Parnassus 396, 504
 Parry, John Horace 27
 Paschal II, Pope 97
 Paschasius Radbertus 130
 Pas-de-Calais 261
 Pasiphaë 398
 Paternus, Abbot of San Juan de la Peña 82
 Patti 301
 Pau 239
 Pau, Jeroni 389
 Paul the Deacon 125
 Paul, Saint 163
 Paulet de Marselha 376
 Pavia, Peter of see Peter of Pavia, Cardinal
 Pechina 56
 Pedralbes, Capitulation 248
 Pedralbes, Farm 416
 Pedralbes, Monastery, Convent and Church, see Santa Maria de Pedralbes
 Peguilhan, Aimeric de, see Aimeric de Peguilhan
 Pèire d'Alvernha 146
 Pèire de Bragairac, see Brairac Pèire
 Pèire Raimon de Tolosa 142
 Pèire Vidal 147
 Pellicer, Isabel 403, 405
 Peloponnese 281, 293, 504, 505
 Peloponnesus, see Peloponnese
 Peninsula, see Iberian Peninsula

- Pera 281, 292, 298, 300, 301
 Peralada 72, 372, 373
 Peralta, Lineage 439
 Pere Barnés, *see* Barnés, Pere
 Pere ça Anglada, *see* Anglada, Pere ça
 Pere d'Albalat, archbishop 416
 Pere d'Artès, *see* Artès, Pere
 Pere de Berga, Baron (12th century) 148
 Pere de Berga, Baron (13th century) 184
 Pere Joan, *see* Joan, Pere
 Pere Ramon 16, 506
 Perelada, Guillem de, *see* Guillem de Peralada
 Pérez, Antonio 477
 Pérez, Miquel 408
 Perpenyà, *see* Perpignan
 Perpignan, Cathedral 493
 Perpignan, Palace of the Kings of Majorca 417, 425
 Perpignan, Town 112–114, 175, 195, 207–209, 214, 216, 232, 239, 251, 250, 257, 258, 263, 270, 275, 291, 300, 301, 303, 315, 320, 322, 373, 415, 417, 420, 425, 454
 Perpignan, University 363
 Perpinyà, *see* Perpignan
 Persia, *see* Persian
 Persian 26, 478
 Peter, brother of Alfonso the Chaste, *see* Ramon Berenguer IV of Provence
 Peter de Luna, *see* Benedict XIII, Antipope
 Peter I Count of Barcelona, *see* Peter the Catholic
 Peter I, King of Aragon 64, 75, 78, 79, 83
 Peter I, King of Cyprus 290, 304
 Peter I, Viscount of Bearn 164
 Peter II, Count of Barcelona, *see* Peter the Great
 Peter II, King of Aragon, *see* Peter the Catholic
 Peter III, Count of Barcelona, *see* Peter the Ceremonious
 Peter III, King of Aragon, *see* Peter the Great
 Peter IV, King of Aragon, *see* Peter the Ceremonious
 Peter of Aragon, Prince, *see* Peter the Great
 Peter of Benevento 494
 Peter of Pavia, Cardinal 107
 Peter of Pisa 125, 177
 Peter of Portugal, Count of Urgell and Lord of Majorca 175
 Peter of Portugal, Pretender to the Crown of Aragon 400
 Peter Ramon 77, 94
 Peter the Catholic, King of the Crown of Aragon 111–117, 119–124, 148, 149, 209
 Peter the Ceremonious, King of the Crown of Aragon 9, 13, 29, 176, 180, 186, 189, 193, 267, 298, 304, 305, 326, 356, 361, 371, 378–382, 404, 413, 418, 419, 422–425, 435, 440, 444, 448, 450, 452, 503, 504, 513
 Peter the Great, King of the Crown of Aragon 5, 9, 33, 124, 143, 177, 184–186, 193, 195, 213, 218, 235, 236, 287, 305, 343, 345–347, 365, 370–373, 376, 385, 396, 419, 428, 435, 445, 486, 512
 Peter the Venerable 133
 Peter, Count of Ribagorza 361, 377
 Peter, Saint 134, 156, 158, 163
 Peter, son of the count Ramon Bereguer I of Barcelona, *see* Peter Ramon
 Petrarch 362, 380, 385, 396, 397, 402, 406, 425, 428
 Petronilla, Queen of Aragon 70, 75, 79
 Pettit, Philip 483
 Peyrepertuse 95
 Pezenas 119
 Phaedra 392
 Philip Augustus, King of France 110, 112, 115, 117, 118, 122
 Philip I of Namur 122
 Philip II, King of France, *see* Philip Augustus
 Philip III, King of France 5, 372
 Philip III, King of Spain 5, 470, 477
 Philip IV, King of France 216, 368
 Philip IV, King of Spain 462, 467, 470, 479
 Philip of France, Prince 401
 Philip V, King of Spain 473
 Philip, Apostle, Saint 135, 165
 Philomela 398
 Phocaea 281
 Piacenza 222
 Piazza Armerina 301
 Piedra, *see* Santa Maria de Piedra
 Pierre de Castelnau 117
 Pietro I Orseolo, Dux of Venice 134, 136

- Pietro IV Candiano, Dux of Venice 136
 Pietschmann, Hörst 27, 29
 Pillars of Hercules 231
 Pina 239
 Pinós, Lineage 334
 Pirenne, Henri 202
 Pisa 14, 28, 78, 97, 99, 103, 125, 127, 141, 172, 224, 228, 229, 233, 255, 263, 265, 269, 301, 338, 345, 349–351, 355, 428, 429, 433, 494, 511
 Pisa, Peter of, see Peter of Pisa
 Pisano, Andrea 421
 Pisano, Nino 421
 Pistoleta 148
 Pius II, Pope 17
 Plaerdemavida 401, 402
 Plana Baixa 312
 Plantagenet, House 28, 101, 112
 Platina, Bartolomeo 19
 Plato Tiburtinus 384
 Plautus 409
 Plutarch 381, 426, 506
 Poblet, see Santa Maria de Poblet
 Pocock, John A. 483
 Poicibot, Gausbert de, see Gausbert de Pocibit
 Poitiers 40, 95, 97, 102
 Poitou 101, 146
 Pompilio Paolo 389, 455
 Ponç Bonfill 133
 Ponç d'Osor 141
 Ponç de la Guàrdia 142
 Ponç de Mataplana 148
 Pons de Capduelh 148
 Pons, Joan 30
 Pons-Gaucelm de Lunel 109
 Pont d'Armentera 207
 Pontano, Giovanni 455
 Ponza 181, 306, 360
 Poor Clares, Order 416
 Portella, Lineage 365
 Porter, Bernat 298
 Portocarrero, Cardinal, see Fernández de Portocarrero-Bocanegra y Moscoso-Osorio, Luis Manuel
 Portolés, Gerónimo de 465
 Portolés, Jerónimo, see Portolés, Gerónimo
 Portugal, Kingdom 19–21, 27, 29, 231, 354, 477–479
 Pou, Pere 406
 Prat de la Riba, Enric 23
 Preachers, Order 329, 362, 383, 403, 414
 Principality, see Catalonia
 Priscian 132, 133
 Procne 398
 Procris 398
 Proensa, see Provence
 Próixita, Gilabert de 378, 379
 Próixita, Joan de 399
 Próixita, Lineage 334
 Propertius 133
 Provence, Count 78, 92, 96, 98, 100, 102, 103, 105, 108, 109, 114, 124, 146, 177
 Provence, County 78, 94, 96–106, 108–112, 114, 135, 146–149, 155, 177, 191, 214, 216, 262, 270, 282, 284, 371, 376, 377, 431, 435, 490, 511, 513
 Provence, House 92, 124
 Provence, March 97, 98, 102, 103, 108, 146
 Provence, Marquisate, see Provence, March
 Proxita, see Próixita
 Ptolemy 437
 Puerto de Santa Maria 231, 271
 Puertomingalvo 247
 Puglia 494
 Puibolea 60, 63
 Puig de Nostra Dona, see Notre-Dame du Puy
 Puigcerda 239, 250, 258, 272, 207, 209
 Pujades, Jeroni 466
 Pujades, Nicolò, Bishop 490
 Punic Wars 389
 Punta de Tarifa 37
 Puy-en-Velay 395
 Pyrenees 43, 44, 70–72, 74, 75, 77, 78, 80, 82, 84, 92, 101, 106, 109, 111, 122, 128, 136, 145, 150, 163, 165, 172, 176, 208, 211, 244, 247, 342, 381
 Pyrenees, Treaty 21
 Pyrrhus 145
 Qasī, Lineage, see Banu Qasī
 Queralt, Lineage 178
 Queralt, Pere de 373, 378
 Quercy 102, 108, 112, 120

- Quintila, Ermemir, see Ermemir Quintila
 Quirieleison de Muntalbà 401
- Rabanus Maurus 130, 143
 Radbertus, Paschasius, see Paschasius
 Radbertus
- Ragusa 11, 15, 35, 263, 442, 452
 Raimbaut d'Aurenga 379
 Raimon de Cornet, see Cornet Raimon de
 Raimon de Miraval 148, 149
 Raimon de Tors 276
 Ramiro I, King of Aragon 63, 74, 78
 Ramiro II, King of Aragon 75
 Ramiro II, King of Leon 53
 Ramon Berenguer I, Count of Barcelona 77,
 86, 93, 94, 105, 143, 146, 422
 Ramon Berenguer II, the Towhead, Count of
 Barcelona 77, 94, 95, 144
 Ramon Berenguer III, Count of
 Barcelona 77, 79, 84, 95–99, 129, 137, 139,
 141–146, 371
 Ramon Berenguer III, Count of Provence 100,
 102–105, 108, 146
 Ramon Berenguer IV, Count of Barcelona 70,
 75, 86, 98, 100–102, 139, 141–143, 146, 205,
 319, 371
 Ramon Berenguer IV, Count of
 Provence 103, 106, 109
 Ramon Berenguer V, Count of Provence 124,
 376
 Ramon Borrell, Count of Barcelona 77, 138,
 146, 152
 Ramon d'Ortafa, see Ortafa, Ramon d'
 Ramon de Caldes 143
 Ramon de Cardona, see Ramon Folc v,
 Viscount of Cardona
 Ramon Folc IV, Viscount of Cardona 148
 Ramon Folc V, Viscount of Cardona 173, 186,
 376
 Ramon Folc VI, Viscount of Cardona 186
 Ramon Guillem, Bishop of Roda 137
 Ramon II, Count of Pallars and
 Ribagorza 79
 Ramon Muntaner, see Muntaner Ramon
 Ramon Nonato, Saint 499
 Ramon of Baux 97, 99, 100
 Ramon Vidal de Besalú 149, 377
 Rangard of La Marche 93
- Rangerius of Lucca 134
 Ravaya, Lineage 365
 Ravidats, Guillem Pere de, Bishop of
 Lleida 170
 Ravensburg 270
 Rawls, John 248
 Raymond Bernard Trencavel, Viscount of Albi
 and Nîmes 93, 118
 Raymond IV, Count of Toulouse 144
 Raymond of Aguilers 144
 Raymond of Pennafort, Saint 362
 Raymond Roger Trencavel, Viscount of
 Carcassonne-Razes, Albi and Beziers 119
 Raymond V, Count of Toulouse 100–104,
 107, 109–111, 146
 Raymond VI, Count of Toulouse 103, 111–121,
 148
 Raymond VII, Count of Toulouse 176, 121,
 124
 Raymond-Roger, Count of Foix 119, 121
 Razes, County 77, 78, 92–97, 108, 119, 128, 146
 Razes, Viscounty 119
 Red Sea 281, 282, 296
 Reggio, see Reggio Calabria
 Reggio Calabria 229, 263
 Regordane Way 231
 Reinard Fonoll, see Fonoll Reinard
 Remences, War of 248, 249, 317, 318
 Remiremont 145
 Renall, Canon 137
 Renall, Master 133, 137
 Requena 239, 258
 Reya, Simó 298
 Rhine 270
 Rhodes 16, 35, 263, 293–295, 299, 306, 307,
 352, 360, 401, 402, 434, 506
 Rhone 72, 97–99, 104, 124, 138, 155, 231, 270
 Ribagorza, County 50, 61, 67, 71–74, 78, 80,
 81, 127–130, 141, 152, 166, 377
 Ribera, Neighbourhood in Barcelona 432
 Ricard Guillem 510
 Richard Lionheart, King of England 110, 112
 Richard, Archbishop of Narbonne 96
 Richeneau 132
 Richeza of Poland, Countess of
 Provence 102, 103
 Ricomana 401
 Riculf, Bishop of Elne 131

- Riera, Antoni viii, xii, 239, 263, 440
 Rigaut de Berbezilh 396
 Ripoll, Acaci de 464
 Ripoll, Books 132, 133, 135, 136, 138–142, 144, 145, 166, 377
 Ripoll, Monastery, see Santa Maria de Ripoll
 Ripoll, Town 207, 239, 250
 Ripolles 147
 Riquer, Martí de 456
 Riquier, Guiraut 376
 Robert de Nola 14
 Robert of Ketton 133
 Rocaberti, Bernat Hug de 391
 Rocaberti, Lineage 334
 Rocafort, Bernat de 374
 Roda, Bishopric 73, 80, 127, 137
 Roda, Cathedral 127
 Roda, City 55, 73, 80, 89, 127, 139–141
 Roda de Isabena, see Roda
 Roda de Ribagorza, see Roda
 Rodano, see Rhone
 Roderick, King of the Visigoth Spain 37, 41
 Rodes, see Sant Pere de Rodes
 Rodez, City 376
 Rodez, County 98, 109, 108, 110
 Rodríguez, María 144
 Roger de Flor, see Flor, Roger de
 Roger de Lluria, see Lauria, Roger of
 Roger I the Old, Count of
 Carcassonne-Razes 93
 Roger I, Count of Foix and II of
 Carcassonne 93
 Roger I, Viscount of Beziers 99
 Roger II Trencavel, Viscount of Carcassonne-
 Razes and Beziers 107
 Roger II, Count of Foix 93
 Roger II, Viscount of Beziers 107, 108, 110, 111
 Roger III, Count of Carcassonne-Razes 93
 Roig, Jaume 403, 404, 405
 Roig, Lineage 498
 Roís de Corella, Joan 380, 388, 397, 402, 404, 406, 408
 Roma, see Rome
 Roman Church 82, 83, 115, 121, 125, 126, 128, 130, 135, 156, 452
 Roman Empire 26, 27, 38, 41, 59, 72, 125, 127, 141, 153, 155–158, 162, 169, 338, 389, 405, 409, 411, 414, 417, 428, 495, 514
 Roman Law 1–3, 27, 35, 173, 183, 184, 187, 192, 193, 196, 234, 278
 Romania 11, 281, 282, 286, 287, 289, 290, 294, 300, 302, 304, 305, 307, 452
 Romano, Paolo 429
 Romans, Falquet de, see Falquet de Romans
 Rome 14, 81–83, 107, 115, 121, 122, 125, 128, 130, 134, 148, 153–158, 162, 172, 182, 234, 278, 338, 381, 389, 405, 409, 411, 414, 417, 428, 429, 442, 455, 478, 506
 Romuald of Ravenna 134
 Roncesvalles 43
 Ronda 61
 Roses 218
 Rosseti, Gabriela 277
 Roucy, Ebles de, see Ebles de Roucy
 Rouergue 96, 102, 106, 108, 120, 146
 Rousseau, Jean-Jacques 23
 Roussillon, County x, 12, 30, 61, 67, 71, 72, 76, 78, 80, 106, 108, 114, 127, 128, 135, 147, 149, 159, 163, 172, 175, 177, 196, 208, 214, 225, 232, 300, 500
 Rovenac, Bernart de, see Bernart de Rovenat
 Rovira i Virgili, Antoni 29
 Rovira i Virgili, University xii
 Rubió i Lluch, Antoni 503
 Rubió, Bartomeu 420, 421
 Rudel, Jaufré, see Jaufré Rudel
 Rudolf of Fontfroide 117
 Rueda de Jalón 132
 Ruiz Domenec, Jose-Enrique 510
 Russia 23, 292, 302
 Ruy Díaz de Vivar, see Díaz de Vivar, Ruy
 Saavedra y Fajardo, Diego 476, 482
 Sabaté, Flocel viii, x, xii, 71, 108, 485
 Sabater, Lineage 432
 Sabaterii, Antiquis 433
 Sabayes 65
 Šabrit̃, Lineage 41, 43, 44
 Sacoma, Pere 415
 Sacosta, Lineage 206
 Sacosta, Pere Ramon 16, 506
 Safi 224, 263
 Sagrera, Guillem 14, 415, 429, 453, 493
 Saguàrdia, Lineage 147
 Sagunto, see Morvedre.
 Sahara 466, 510

- Saint-Amand, Hucbald of, see Hucbald of Saint-Amand
 Saint-Andre-de-Sorede 153, 159
 Saint-Antonin 216, 231
 Saint-Denis, Abbey 411
 Saint Dominic, Order, see Preachers Order
 Saint-Esteve 208
 Saint Front 109
 Saint-Genis-des-Fontaines 159
 Saint-Gilles, Count 97, 112, 117, 118
 Saint-Gilles, Town 117, 284
 Saint-Hilaire of Carcassonne 128
 Saint-Jacques, Neighbourhood in Perpignan 208
 Saint James of Compostela 85, 154
 Saint John in Perpignan 415
 Saint John of Acre 282, 285–287, 299, 431
 Saint John of Jerusalem, see Saint John of the Hospital of Jerusalem
 Saint John of the Hospital of Jerusalem, Order 16, 35, 75, 123, 160, 182, 294, 311, 331, 333, 433, 506, 293, 380
 Saint-Martial Abbey 145
 Saint-Martin-du-Canigou 138
 Saint Martin of Tours 154
 Saint Mathieu 208
 Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa 129, 140, 153–155
 Saint Narcissus 136, 421
 Saint Olegarius, see Olegarius, Bishop of Barcelona and Archbishop of Tarragona
 Saint-Omer 214
 Saint Pancras in Rome 115
 Saint-Polycarpe of Razes 128
 Saint-Pons de Thomieres 135
 Saint Ruf of Avignon 82, 134, 137, 160
 Saint Sernin 123
 Saint-Thibery of Agde 128
 Saint Victor of Marseilles 96, 135
 Saint Victor, near Paris 134
 Sainte-Foy de Conques 134
 Sainte-Marie d'Arles 128, 154
 Saiol, Ferrer 384
 Saira 59
 Sala, Jaume 425
 Sala, Pere Joan 249
 Saladin 282, 284
 Salamanca 67
 Salerno 301
 Sallee 11, 224, 359
 Sallust 402
 Saló del Tinell, see Barcelona, Saló del Tinell
 Salou 146, 218
 San Juan de la Peña 55, 81–83, 380
 San Marco in Venice 168
 San Martino 496
 San Salvatore in Turin 168
 San Victorian in Sobrarbe 81
 Sancha of Aragon 78, 116, 120, 124
 Sánchez de Arévalo, Rodrigo 19
 Sánchez de Sevilla, Jaume 490
 Sancho I Garcés, King of Pamplona 50, 63, 74, 78–80
 Sancho I Ramírez, King of Aragon 74, 75, 77, 82, 83, 85
 Sancho I, King of Leon 54
 Sancho III Garcés, King of Pamplona 62, 74, 78, 81, 82
 Sancho III the Great, see Sancho III Garcés, King of Pamplona
 Sancho IV Garcés, King of Pamplona 74
 Sanctalla, Huc de, see Huc de Sanctalla
 Sandwich 276
 Sanglier de Vilair 394
 Sanjust, Lineage 498
 Sanlucar de Barrameda 231, 271
 Sanluri 180, 445, 496, 501, 502, 508
 Sant Andreu d'Eixalada 129
 Sant Andreu de Sureda, see Saint-Andre-de-Sorede
 Sant Benet del Bages 153
 Sant Climent in Taull 165
 Sant Cugat del Valles 81, 129, 151, 164, 165, 170
 Sant Daniel 207, 213
 Sant Feliu de Guixols 218, 277
 Sant Feliu in Girona 421
 Sant Francesc in Barcelona 424
 Sant Genis les Fonts 153
 Sant Gervasi in Barcelona 425
 Sant Joan de les Abadesses 81, 129, 161, 250, 253, 411, 420
 Sant Joan, Neighbourhood in Lleida 206
 Sant Jordi, Jordi de 387, 391
 Sant Just in Barcelona 414
 Sant Llorenç de Morunys 250, 253
 Sant Mateu 239, 250

- Sant Miquel in La Seu d'Urgell 158
 Sant Miquel in Terrassa 153
 Sant Pere d'Ager 127
 Sant Pere de Casserres 154
 Sant Pere de les Puelles 153
 Sant Pere de Rodes 159, 166, 411
 Sant Pere in Camprodon 154
 Sant Pere in La Seu d'Urgell 158
 Sant Pere in Terrassa 152, 153
 Sant Pere in Vic 156, 159, 163, 164
 Sant Pere, Neighbourhood in Barcelona 210
 Sant Pol de Mar 218
 Sant Quirze de Pedret 153
 Sant Sadurn de Tavernoles 128, 159
 Sant Vicenç de Cardona 127, 157
 Sant Vicenç in Valencia 333
 Sant'Abbondio 154
 Santa Caterina in Barcelona 362
 Santa Cecilia de Montserrat 81, 153
 Santa Coloma de Queralt 421
 Santa Creu, Hospital in Barcelona 414
 Santa Eulalia in Barcelona 420, 454
 Santa Maria ad Martyres in Vic 157
 Santa Maria de Benifassa 333
 Santa Maria de Colera 169
 Santa Maria de los Predicadores in
 Saragossa 324
 Santa Maria de Manresa 127
 Santa Maria de Pedralbes 416, 423
 Santa Maria de Piedra 333
 Santa Maria de Poblet 135, 168, 170, 333, 389,
 419–421, 425, 429
 Santa Maria de Ripoll 81, 82, 129, 132, 135,
 138–141, 145, 153, 156, 157, 159, 162–164,
 166, 411
 Santa Maria de Vilabertran 160
 Santa Maria del Mar 218, 414, 419
 Santa Maria del Mar, Neighbourhood in
 Barcelona 218
 Santa Maria del Pi 414
 Santa Maria in La Seu d'Urgell 152, 158
 Santa Maria in Majorca 416
 Santa Maria in Ripoll 162
 Santa Maria in Taull 165
 Santa Maria in Terrassa 152
 Santa Maria in Vic 164
 Santa Maria see, Saint Mary
 Santanocento 301
 Santes Creus 135, 168, 419, 421
 Santiago de Compostela 52, 67
 Santillana, Marquis, see López de Mendoza,
 Íñigo
 Santjoan, Pere 422
 Saone 155, 231, 270
 Sapiens, Joseph 132
 Saporitus, Lineage 41
 Saportella de Pinós, Francesca 423
 Saragossia, see Saragossa
 Saragossa, Archbishopric 333
 Saragossa, Bishopric 80
 Saragossa, Cathedral 421, 429
 Saragossa, City 37–39, 42–50, 52–56, 59,
 61–69, 71–75, 78, 80, 84, 108, 132, 173, 174,
 190, 198, 199, 211, 213, 239, 250, 253, 255,
 257–260, 263, 264, 272, 320, 321, 324,
 327, 329, 331, 333, 335, 363, 421, 425, 429,
 442
 Saragossa, Taifa 61–64, 69, 74, 75
 Sarasa, Esteban 29
 Sardenya, see Sardinia
 Sardinia, Island x, 9, 12, 13, 20, 21, 30, 35,
 178–181, 196, 198, 199, 248, 254, 267–269,
 276, 321, 323, 334, 338, 339, 342, 344,
 349–351, 357–360, 374, 375, 428, 432,
 437, 440–446, 449–451, 454, 457,
 484–486, 489, 491, 494–503, 507, 508,
 513
 Sardinia, Kingdom 5, 12, 13, 178, 355, 436,
 496
 Sarrià, Lineage 178, 334
 Sasabe 80
 Sassari 179, 301, 440, 444, 458
 Sàsser, see Sassari
 Saulet, Bernat 420
 Sault 105
 Savall, Ramon 379, 426
 Savari de Mauléon 120
 Saves 104
 Savona 165, 301
 Scandenberg 182
 Scano, Dionogi 502
 Scheldt, Valley 216, 262
 Schengen 25
 Schneidman, Jerome L. 31
 Sciacca 301
 Sclavonia 15, 182

- Scotus Eriugena, John 131
 Scylla 398
 Secastilla 64
 Seco Serrano, Carlos 460
 Sedulius 133, 139
 Segre, River 59, 73
 Segre, Valley 44, 58, 63, 129, 206, 258
 Seine, River 216
 Sen 54
 Seneca 362, 381, 385, 392, 396, 398, 399, 402
 Seniofred 1, see Sunifred 1
 Seniofred Llobet 132
 Seniofred, Abbot of Ripoll 132
 Sentís, Joan de, Bishop of Barcelona 470
 Septimania 38, 40, 42, 44, 76, 92, 128, 143
 Serra, Amadeo 31
 Serra, brothers, painters 423, 424
 Serra, Joan, writer 390
 Sescas, Amanieu de 377
 Sesma, Ángel 244, 256
 Set, River 58
 Seta 329
 Seu d'Urgell, see La Seu d'Urgell
 Seu Vella, see Lleida, Cathedral
 Seville 61, 67, 128, 131, 231, 233, 239, 263, 271, 301, 381, 433
 Sharq Al-Andalus 44
 Sibila de Fortià, Queen of the Crown of Aragon 404
 Sicart de Maruèjols, Bernart 375
 Sicilian Vespers, War 5, 177, 185, 216, 218, 230, 236, 288, 343, 346–348, 350, 372, 445, 486, 488, 489, 491, 507, 513
 Sicilie, see Sicily
 Sicliy, House 454
 Sicily, Island 5, 7, 9, 11–13, 16, 20, 21, 30–33, 35, 177–180, 185, 195, 206, 210, 216, 220, 226, 229–231, 233, 236, 250, 253, 254, 262, 266, 267, 300, 305, 321, 334, 335, 339, 342–350, 357, 360, 372, 373, 375, 377, 379, 401, 402, 413, 418, 422, 425, 432, 433, 435, 436, 438–441, 443, 445, 448, 450–452, 454, 457, 484–486, 488–492, 507, 508, 512, 513
 Sicily, Kingdom x, 5, 12, 13, 32, 35, 179, 180, 191, 304, 345, 347–349, 379, 432, 435, 436, 439, 441, 445, 448, 486, 491, 492, 504, 507, 513, 514
 Siena 222, 422, 423, 428
 Sigüenza 68
 Sijilmasa 224
 Silk Road 281
 Silves 61
 Simon de Montfort 118–124
 Simon, Antoni viii, xiii
 Simone di Corleone 489
 Şinhâya, see Cinegia
 Siresa 81, 82, 89
 Sirvent, Lluís 275
 Sisebutus, Bishop of Urgell 152
 Skinner, Quentin 483
 Skokloster 141
 Sluter, Claus 422
 Smaragdus 130, 133, 139
 Sobrarbe 55, 71, 72, 74, 81
 Sobrequés, Santiago 28, 90, 93, 95
 Sogorb 239
 Solanus, Johannes 442
 Soldevila, Ferran 29, 113, 345
 Soller 239
 Solomon ben Messulam de Piera 364
 Solomon Bonafed, see Bonafed, Solomon
 Solomon, King 405
 Solsona, Canonry and Collegiate 411
 Solsona, Town 165, 414
 Somme, Valley 262
 Somport 85
 Sordel 375, 376
 Soria 71, 75, 239
 Sors, Lleonard de 391
 Southampton 274, 276
 Spain 16, 18, 19, 21–24, 27, 32, 34, 88, 137, 138, 388, 415, 457, 460, 475, 477, 479, 490, 510, 511, 515, see Iberian Peninsula.
 Spanish Succession War 21, 459–461, 467, 473, 474
 Spanya, see Spain
 Spinola, Lineage 494
 Spremic, Momčilo 31, 182
 Stalls, Clay 32
 Stefan Vukcic 182
 Stephanie of Baux 99, 100
 Stephen, Saint 136, 423
 Steri di Palermo 489
 Strasbourg, University xii
 Suárez, Francisco 464

- Sulaymān al-Musta'in 55
 Sulaymān ibn Hūd 62, 64
 Sulaymān ibn Yaqzān al-Kalbī al 'Arābī 43
 Summonte, Pietro 453
 Sunifred I, Count of Cerdanya-Urgell 76, 152
 Sunifred of Carcassonne, See Sunifred I,
 Count of Cerdanya-Urgell
 Sunyer, Count Barcelona 53, 78
 Sunyer, Monk of Cuixa 82
 Sweden 482
 Switzerland see Helvetic Union
 Sylvester II, Pope 132
 Syracuse 263, 266, 290, 301, 433
 Syria 182, 261, 262, 281, 282, 286–294, 296,
 298, 299, 304, 305, 307, 482, 503
 Syrtis 224

 Tacitus 478
 Tagus, River 258, 264
 Tales 213
 Tallac, Lineage 178
 Tamarit 66, 67
 Tangheroni, Marco 351
 Taormina 301
 Tarafa, Francisc 466
 Taranto 263
 Tarascon, Peace 104, 110
 Tarascon, Town 104
 Tarazona, Agreements 348, 349
 Tarazona, Bishop 132
 Tarazona, Bishopric 80
 Tarazona, City 73, 80, 211, 239, 258, 272, 321,
 348
 Tarifa 37
 Tāriq ibn Ziyād 37
 Tarraconense, see Tarraconensis
 Tarraconensis 38, 40, 72, 80, 333
 Tarragona, Archbishop 137, 160, 175, 416, 474
 Tarragona, Archbishopric 81, 127, 137, 160
 Tarragona, Camp, see Camp de Tarragona
 Tarragona, Cathedral 168, 169, 414, 420, 429
 Tarragona, City xii, 38, 40, 59, 72, 78, 80, 81,
 83, 127, 128, 137, 142, 151, 168, 169, 170,
 186, 218, 221, 228, 239, 301, 320, 321, 323,
 334, 414, 420, 429, 489
 Tarrega 320, 364
 Tartars 447
 Taull 165

 Taunt 224
 Temple, Order 160, 333
 Tenes 263, 301
 Terence 132, 402, 409
 Teresa, Dona, see Híxar, Teresa de
 Teresa d'Híxar, see Híxar, Teresa de
 Termini 301
 Terrassa 127, 151–153
 Terres, Andreu de 213
 Tertiary Franciscans, Order 361
 Teruel 173, 239, 247, 258, 320, 321, 323, 327
 Tet, River 258
 Thaghr al-aqsā', see March, Upper
 Thaghr al-sharqī, see March, Eastern
 Thebes 9, 433, 448
 Theodulf of Orleans 125, 126
 Thomas Apostle, Saint 165
 Thomas Aquinas, Saint 362, 408
 Thomas, Saint, see Thomas Aquinas
 Thrace 504
 Thucydides 381
 Tiber, River 268
 Tibidabo 425
 Tiburtinus Plato, see Plato Tiburtinus
 Timur 293
 Tirant 398–403, 409, 428, 506
 Tiresias 385
 Tlemcen 263, 301
 Tocco, Lineage 36, 181, 442
 Toledo 38, 47, 52, 61, 64, 67, 79, 239, 364, 425,
 515
 Toledo, Archbishop 369
 Tomier 375
 Tora 55
 Torrelles, Arnau de 380
 Torrelles, Pere 496
 Torrelles, Sentence 177
 Torres, Lineage 178
 Torroella de Montgri 218
 Torroella, Guillem de 378, 385, 410
 Torroella, Pere 391, 456
 Tortosa, Cathedral 414, 416
 Tortosa, City 10, 43, 44, 52, 53, 56–59, 61,
 65–69, 71, 72, 75, 77, 78, 80, 100, 106, 134,
 135, 140, 141, 197, 218, 239, 252, 257, 263,
 277, 301, 319, 321–324, 328, 366, 414, 416,
 510
 Tortosa, Disputation 324, 366

- Tortosa, Law 322
 Tortosa, Taifa 56, 61, 66
 Tossa 218
 Toulousain 109, 120
 Toulouse, City 72, 95, 102, 104, 107, 120, 121, 123, 147, 148, 205, 227, 239, 263, 270, 363, 377
 Toulouse, Count xi, 76, 78, 93–96, 100–105, 107–113, 116–124, 137, 144, 146, 148, 176
 Toulouse, County 76, 75–77, 95, 97–105, 107–113, 120–122, 124, 125, 146–148, 177
 Toulouse, House 98, 124
 Toulouse, University 363
 Tournai, Jean 421
 Tours 154
 Trapani 230, 233, 263, 301, 433
 Trastámara, House and Dynasty 387, 427, 459
 Transoxiana 293
 Trencavel, Lineage 107, 119
 Trinitat, Convent 403
 Trinity 156, 367
 Trinquetaille 100, 117
 Tripoli 224, 263, 285, 431
 Tristan 372, 387, 396
 Trojan War 145, 397
 Trueta, Josep 33
 Tudela 45–48, 51, 52, 56, 65, 71–73, 239, 284
 Tudmîr 42
 Tudmîr, Agreement 39
 Tugores, Lineage 175
 Tunis 224, 263, 301
 Tunisia, see Ifriqiyah
 Turbie 98
 Turia, River 258
 Turin 102
 Turkey 504
 Turks 9, 14, 15, 16, 181, 182, 281, 294, 295, 301, 302, 373, 394, 395, 401, 402, 436, 437, 505, 515, see Ottoman Empire
 Turmeda, Anselm 384, 386
 Turpia 301
 Tuscany 14, 233, 246, 268, 299
 Two Peters, War of the 271, 272
 Tyre 263, 284
 Tyrrhenian 178, 181, 267, 269, 350, 360
 Ulldecona 311
 Umar ibn Hafsûn 49, 51
 Umayyad, Caliphate of Damascus 37, 42
 Umayyad, Caliphate of Cordoba 50
 Umayyad, Lineage 46, 50, 51, 53, 55
 Uncastillo 211
 Universitat de la Ribera, see Universitat dels Prohoms de la Ribera de Barcelona
 Universitat dels Prohoms de la Ribera de Barcelona 234, 235
 Upper Aragon, see Aragon, Upper
 Upper March, see March, Upper
 Urban II, Pope 83, 134
 Urban IV, Pope 346
 Urgell, Bishop 80, 130, 136, 148
 Urgell, Bishopric 73, 80, 166
 Urgell, Cathedral 127, 131, 136, 153, 157, 158, 166
 Urgell, Count 43, 63, 68, 76–78, 83, 92, 133, 141, 146, 152, 183, 186, 188, 205, 334, 453
 Urgell, County 49, 61, 64, 67, 68, 71–73, 76, 78–80, 82, 88, 108, 127, 143, 145, 172, 175, 335
 Urgell, House 92, 377
 Urgell, Region 152
 Urgell, Upper, Region 128, 129
 Urraca, Queen of Leon and Castile 75, 79
 Ursula, Saint 405
 USA 24
 Ustica 300
 Usuard, Saint 130
 Utiel 239
 Utrecht, Treaty 21
 Uzes 108
 Val d'Aran, see Aran, Valley
 Valencia, Cathedral 416
 Valencia, City 8, 17, 37, 38, 52, 53, 58, 61, 66–68, 70, 75, 124, 176, 190, 199, 206, 212, 214–218, 222, 225, 227–230, 232, 235, 236, 239, 247, 249, 250–254, 258, 260, 262–265, 267, 268, 270–273, 276, 277, 283, 291, 295, 300, 301, 307, 313, 321–326, 331, 332, 334, 335, 363, 364, 370–373, 382, 390, 391, 393, 398, 399, 402, 404, 408, 416, 422, 425, 435, 437, 442, 453, 454, 515

Uc de Saint Circ 148

- Valencia, Kingdom x, 4, 8, 12, 20, 21, 29,
 33–35, 77, 176, 177, 179, 180, 185, 186, 189,
 195–200, 208, 213, 216, 224, 225, 229, 230,
 232, 233, 235, 243, 245, 249, 257–260,
 264, 267, 268, 277, 300, 306, 312–316,
 319, 320, 323, 332–335, 340, 352, 357,
 363, 367, 370, 375, 384, 388, 410, 413, 419,
 434, 435, 440, 441, 454, 455, 479, 500,
 512–514
 Valencia, Law 176
 Valencia, Pedro de 476
 Valencia, Region 238, 265, 311, 312
 Valencia, Taifa 61, 62, 64, 75
 Valencia, University 361
 València, see: Valencia
 Valentí, Teseu 389
 Valerius Maximus 362, 381, 406, 426
 Vall de Boi, see Boi, Valley
 Valla, Lorenzo 35, 388
 Valladolid 399, 490
 Valladolid, Juan de 490
 Vallbona de les Monges 135, 168, 170
 Vallbona, see Vallbona de les Monges
 Valldaura, Palace 416
 Valldigna 315
 Vallespir 72, 95
 Vallmanya, Antoni 393
 Valls 192, 207, 239, 273
 Var, River 105
 Vatican 166
 Vázquez de Menchaca, Fernando 464
 Velardinello 458
 Velasquita 47
 Velay 108
 Venaissin, County 97, 98, 108
 Vencillo 65
 Venecia, see Venice
 Venice xii, 7, 19, 28, 168, 180, 255, 263, 265,
 280, 288, 293, 301, 345, 390, 399, 422,
 427, 448
 Venice, Marciana, Biblioteca 422
 Ventura, Jordi 108, 113
 Venus 407
 Verí, Bartomeu de 389
 Vernet 208
 Via Augusta 38
 Viacamp 63
 Vianes 149
 Vic, Bishop 81, 82, 129, 132, 133, 156, 192
 Vic, Bishopric 73, 80, 81, 127
 Vic, Cathedral 127, 153, 154, 156, 158, 163, 164,
 166, 414
 Vic, City 73, 82, 127, 130–133, 150, 153,
 154, 156–159, 163–166, 207, 239, 323,
 379, 410
 Vicens Vives, Jaume 29, 460
 Vicent, Fra, see Vincent Ferrer, Saint
 Victor iv, Antipope 102
 Victor, Saint 96, 134
 Vidal de Besalú, Ramon 149, 377, 378
 Vidal de Bezaudun, Raimon, see Vidal de
 Besalú, Ramon.
 Vidal Pèire, see Pèire Vidal
 Vienne, Council 341, 366
 Vila Joiosa, La, see La Vila Joiosa
 Vila, Jaume Ramon 466
 Vilabertran 160
 Viladamor, Francesc Martí 464, 467, 481
 Viladamor, Martí 467
 Vilafranca, see Vilafranca del Penedes
 Vilafranca de Conflent 206, 239, 250
 Vilafranca del Penedes 239
 Vilafranca, street in Lapola 454
 Vilanova del Mar, Neighbourhood in
 Barcelona 210
 Vilanova in Lavaix 81
 Vilanova, Arnau de 128, 366, 368, 369, 377, W
 381
 Vilar, Joan 389
 Vilar, Pierre 30
 Vila-rasa, Guillem Ramon de 399
 Vila-rasa, Lluís de 391
 Vilaseca, Jaume de 232
 Vilatorta, Antoni de 426
 Villanueva, Jesús 464–466
 Villefranche, see Vilafranca de Conflent
 Villefranche de Conflent, see Vilafranca de
 Conflent
 Villena, Enrique de 387, 396, 402, 408
 Villena, Isabel de 407, 408
 Vinaixa 65
 Viñas Mey, Carmelo 460
 Vinatesa 65
 Vincent Ferrer, Saint 191, 329, 382–384
 Vincent, Saint 136
 Vinferri 65

- Vinyes, Felip 467
 Violant of Bar, Queen of the Crown of
 Aragon 378, 381
 Virgil 132, 133, 139, 145, 380, 385, 396, 397,
 425
 Virgin Mary, see Mary, Saint
 Virgin of Bonaria, see Bonaria
 Virgin of Mercy, statue 422
 Virgin of Montserrat 499
 Virgin of the "Consellers" in Barcelona 426
 Virgin, see Mary, Saint
 Viroli, Maurizio 483
 Visconti, Lineage 494
 Visigoth Kingdom 19, 37–41, 43, 50, 71, 72,
 79, 80, 82, 85, 92, 125, 127–131, 416, 456,
 465, 466
 Vitoria 71
 Viuda Reposada 401
 Vivar 63, 64, 66, 74, 144
 Vivier 108
 Volpiano, Guillem de, see Guillem de
 Volpiano
 Vukcic, Stefan, see Stefan Vukcic
- Wādīḥ 78
 Wadilakka, see Guadalete
 Waever, Ole 26
 Wagner, Max L. 498
 Wervicq 251, 252
 Western Schism 383, 386, 439
 Westphalia 23, 25
 Wido of Ivrea 145
 Wilfred I the Hairy, Count of Barcelona and
 Cerdanya-Urgell 49, 76, 80, 92, 129, 138,
 139, 141, 142, 465
 Wilfred II of Cerdanya 138, 154
 Wilfred of Arriaount 142
 Wilfred, Count, see Wilfred I the Hairy
 William I the Fat, Count of Besalú 138
 William of Conches 381
 William of Septimania, Count of Toulouse,
 Barcelona and Empuries 143
 William, see William of Septimania
 Witiza 128, see Benedict of Aniane
 World War II 485
- Xabia 277
 Xativa 206, 213, 226, 239, 425
 Xestaltar 312
 Xibilia, Diego de 190
 Ximena, Countess of Besalu 95
 Ximénez d'Urrea, Pedro 391
 Xirivella 373
 Xixona 176, 177
- Yaḥya ibn Muḥammad al-Tuḡībī 54
 Yehuda al-Harizi 364
 Yequeda 65
 Ypres 214, 251
 Ytàlia, see Italy
 Yūsuf al-Fihri 42
 Yuṣuf al-Muẓaffar 62
- Zafadola 69
 Zaragoza, see Saragossa
 Zaragoza, Casa de Ganaderos, see Casa de
 Ganaderos de Zaragoza
 Zamora 67
 Zerahiah ben Isaac ha-Levi of Girona 364
 Zielonka, Jan 26